

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

HEARINGS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE (TO CONDUCT AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS, EVIDENCE
AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF) THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE.

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER OF THOUSANDS OF
POLISH OFFICERS IN THE KATYN FOREST NEAR
SMOLENSK, RUSSIA

OCTOBER 11, 1951

Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation
of the Facts, Evidence and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre



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**SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
FACTS, EVIDENCE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE KATYN FOREST
MASSACRE**

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THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1951

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 9:30 a. m., Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Machrowicz, Dondero, and Furcolo.

Also present: John J. Mitchell, chief counsel.

Mr. MADDEN. The meeting will come to order.

I might mention for the record that this special committee was authorized by Congress to make an investigation of the Katyn massacre but has not been completely organized as yet as far as the office personnel and office location is concerned.

The original intention of the committee was not to start formal hearings until after the Congress reconvened in January.

I wish at this time to state that a quorum is present, Mr. Machrowicz, Mr. Dondero, Mr. Furcolo, and myself, and owing to the fact that this hearing was rather impromptu, Congressman Flood and Congressman O'Konski were unable to be in the city this morning.

I might also state that the committee wishes to thank the Secretary of Defense and the Department counselor of the Army, Mr. Shackelford, and Mr. Pace, the Secretary of the Army, for their cooperation in making available our witness this morning.

The reason for the hearing being called this morning is that our witness, Lt. Col. Donald B. Stewart, was about to be assigned to Tokyo, was leaving in 2 weeks, and owing to the fact that it would cause considerable inconvenience to have the Army return Colonel Stewart next year, we decided to hold this hearing in order to obtain his testimony.

I might also state that Mr. Sheehan, a member of the committee, was also out of the city, and it is hoped that he may be here before the committee adjourns.

Without objection, I will submit for the record House Resolution 390, authorizing the Special Committee for the Investigation of Katyn.

(H. Res. 390 is as follows:)

[H. Res. 390, 82d Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the facts, evidence, and extenuating circumstances both before and after the massacre of thousands of Polish officers buried in a mass grave in the Katyn Forest on the banks of the Dnieper in the vicinity of Smolensk, which was then a Nazi-occupied territory formerly having been occupied and under the control of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Upon completing the necessary hearings, the committee shall report to the House of Representatives (or the Clerk of the House, if the House is not in session) before the adjournment of the Eighty-second Congress the results of its investigation and its study, together with any recommendations which the committee shall deem advisable.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, the witness we have here this morning, is Lt. Col. Donald B. Stewart.

Colonel Stewart, you have no objection to being sworn, have you?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, just before you swear the witness in, may I just make the statement that Colonel Stewart was my West Point appointee in 1936. I saw him yesterday for the first time in 15 years and was not aware or conscious of the fact that he was one of the two American officers taken by the German army up into Russia to see the Katyn massacre site.

Mr. MADDEN. I might also state that Congressman Kluczynski of the city of Chicago is present at the hearing this morning.

(Whereupon, Colonel Stewart was duly sworn.)

Mr. MADDEN. The committee wishes to thank you, Colonel Stewart, for your cooperation and your willingness to come here to testify this morning, and I might say that you and others who were prisoners of war, at the time of the investigation and the observations that you made at the Katyn Forest, are just a few of the unsung heroes of World War II. The committee appreciates your great record as a soldier and the sacrifices that you have made in the cause of liberty and freedom, not only during World War II but throughout your active career as a military man, and continuing through to the present time.

Would you state your name, please?

TESTIMONY OF LT. COL. DONALD B. STEWART, UNITED STATES ARMY

Colonel STEWART. I am Donald B. Stewart, lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army.

Mr. MADDEN. Where are you stationed at the present time?

Colonel STEWART. St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Tex., ROTC duty.

Mr. MADDEN. For the record, you may state where you were born.

Colonel STEWART. I was born in Detroit, Mich., March 17, 1915. I lived there until I joined the Army.

Mr. MADDEN. Did you attend West Point?

Colonel STEWART. Yes. After enlisting in the Army in 1934 and serving 2 years, I received an appointment to West Point from Mr. Dondero and entered in 1936.

Mr. MADDEN. And after you graduated from West Point what was your assignment?

Colonel STEWART. After 3 months of schooling at Fort Sill, in 1940, I was assigned to the Seventeenth Field Artillery at Fort Bragg. Most of my service there was as a battery commander.

Mr. MADDEN. Just proceed to narrate.

Colonel STEWART. After the unit had trained at Bragg it was transferred around to other points. We went to England in August of 1942 and to Africa in November of 1942.

In January 1943 my battalion was moved up to the front of Tunisia. On the 14th of February 1943 we were hit by a German attack, and on the 15th I and a number of my men were captured while trying to make our way out. I was taken to the city of Tunis on about the 19th. I was flown to Naples, Italy, on the 19th or 20th. We spent approximately 2 weeks at Capau, Italy, before going into Germany. I arrived then at Oflag, IX A/Z, about the 15th of March.

Mr. MADDEN. What year?

Colonel STEWART. 1943. That was the British prison camp, four hundred-odd officers, to which 125 or 150 Americans were added. I was there when I first heard about Katyn in April of 1943.

Mr. MADDEN. Just proceed in a sort of chronological review of what led up to your visit to the Katyn Forest.

Colonel STEWART. The Germans told the senior British officer and the senior American officer that British and American officers would be sent to Katyn as a committee of investigation to judge who killed some 10,000 Polish officers.

Mr. MADDEN. Let me ask you this: How long had you been a prisoner up to that time?

Colonel STEWART. I was captured on the 15th of February. This was the last of April. I had been a prisoner approximately 2½ months.

Mr. MITCHELL. When was that?

Colonel STEWART. 1943.

Mr. MADDEN. 1943?

Colonel STEWART. Yes.

The British senior officer, Brigadier Nicholson, and the senior American officer, Colonel Van Vliet, both protested against any Allied officers being sent to Katyn.

Mr. MADDEN. How far were you from the Katyn location at this time; how many miles, approximately—not exactly?

Colonel STEWART. Roughly, I would say around 900 miles. It could be determined accurately from the map, but that would be a rough estimate.

Colonel Van Vliet and Brigadier Nicholson both submitted written protests to the Swiss, as the protecting power, against any Allied prisoners being involved in this propaganda effort of the Germans.

The Germans told Colonel Van Vliet that he and one officer would have to go. Colonel Van Vliet said that he would go only under guard. He found that he had to go. One other officer had to go. He asked me if I would go with him if it was necessary to go. I told him that I would.

His decision to ask me to go along with him was based on the fact that he knew me because his battalion was in the same location as my battery when we were in combat. I had also had some dealings with him in a prison camp on a matter pertaining to prison administration, and he knew that I was Regular Army. He felt that if an officer was in the Army for the duration of the war and were to get mixed up in propaganda by the Germans, and after the war he came home, some of the people in his home town might believe that he was mixed up in it voluntarily, and some people might hold it against him. He felt that because of our permanency in the Army we would not run into any trouble about people thinking that we were tools of the Germans.

Mr. MADDEN. Let me interrupt right there. Did you receive an order for this trip, a military order, to go?

Colonel STEWART. Yes. After the German camp security officer, Captain Heyl, told me that I would go, we received a written order. We insisted that it be in writing. It was marked "Depruft," meaning "censored," and that meant that it would never be taken from me. He gave me that order. I kept it all through the war, through all the searches that I went through, and no German took it from me. I have that order here. I cannot translate the German very well because I did not like the Germans and I felt that if they wanted to talk to me they could talk to me in English. What it says roughly is that Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson of the British Army and Lieutenant Colonel Van Vliet, American, and Captain Stewart, American, were to go to room 136 at 2145 hours for a search. They would be given rations for 4 days; that on the orders of the Commandantur, Oflag, IX A/Z, these people would go to Katyn by airplane. Then on the back it says that this order would not be taken from the prisoners. They would be allowed to keep it.

Mr. MADDEN. Interrupting you further: What was your rank at that time?

Colonel STEWART. I was a captain, sir.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, would you object to presenting that order, as an exhibit for the purpose of this hearing? The same will be returned to you.

(Colonel Stewart handed the order to the committee counsel. The order follows:)

Abschrift (ausgewiesen)

Kommandantur
St. L. II A/2

Katzenburg/T., den 9. Mai 1943.

Lager - befehl Nr. 11/43.

1) usw.

2) Verlegung (Kommandierung) nach Katyn.

Gemäß GKK-Verfügung vom 8.5.43 Chef Kgf. werden die folgenden Kgf. am 10.5.1943 nach Berlin in Marsch gesetzt, um von dort aus dem Flugzeug nach Katyn verbracht zu werden:

- a) Oberleutnant Stevenson Nr. 12683 (Briten)
- b) Oberleutnant Van Vliet Nr. 1584 (Amerik.)
- c) Rptn. Stewart, Nr. 1581

Sie haben sich mit leichtestem Gepäck und einer Decke am 10.5.43 um 21.15 Uhr in Zimmer 135 zur Ausgangsuntersuchung einzufinden. Sie erhalten für 4 Tage Marschverpflegung. Der Transportführer ist angewiesen, den Betrag von RM 50.— zur Bestreitung etwaiger Bedürfnisse der Kgf. während des Transportes mitzuführen. Abrechnung erfolgt nach Rückkehr in das Lager.

gez. Dr. Bormann
Major und stellv. Kommandant

Nur die Richtigkeit:
Major, stellv. Ldt.

Gedr.
D 1
T

Gedr.
13
T

Kr. Gef. Offizierlager II A/2
Der Abschriftsleiter.

Katzenburg/T., den 9.5.1943.

Der umstehende Lagerbefehl ist den Kriegsgefangenen, soweit Name in dem Lagerbefehl genannt ist, bei Durchsichtungen zu belassen.

Hauptmann und L.O.

Gedr.
D 1
T

Gedr.
13
T

Mr. MADDEN. Clarifying the record, the Lt. Col. John Van Vliet that you referred to is not General Van Fleet?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir. It is V-a-n V-l-i-e-t.

Mr. MADDEN. Where is the Van Vliet that you refer to at the present time?

Colonel STEWART. I understand that he is in Tokyo.

Mr. MADDEN. What is his rank now?

Colonel STEWART. He is a lieutenant colonel, also.

Mr. MADDEN. Proceed.

Colonel STEWART. We gathered our stuff together and went down for our search. They issued our rations, cans of meat and a loaf of bread. We left in the evening. I went to Kassel, where we were supposed to meet British General Fortune.

Mr. MITCHELL. What date was that, approximately?

Colonel STEWART. The night of the 10th of May. The only way that I can be sure of that date is the order says we will do it on the 10th, and we generally did what they said, so I am certain that it was on the 10th of May.

Mr. MITCHELL. 1943?

Colonel STEWART. 1943.

When we reached Kassel, we looked around the railroad station and were surprised to find it had not been bombed.

Mr. MADDEN. When you reached where?

Colonel STEWART. Kassel, Germany, about 25 or 30 miles north of our prison camp at Rotenberg on the Fulda, just a short trip. I was in this prison camp at Rotenberg on the Fulda River. On Sunday night, the 10th of May 1943, we went by train from Rotenberg to Kassel.

Mr. MADDEN. A distance of how far?

Colonel STEWART. Approximately 25 to 30 miles. We were supposed to meet General Fortune, a British officer from another prison camp, at Kassel. He was not there. The Germans put Colonel Van Vliet, Colonel Stevenson, and myself on the train, and we made an overnight trip by train to Berlin.

Mr. MADDEN. How far is that, approximately?

Colonel STEWART. About 200 miles. We arrived at Berlin during the daylight hours of Monday the 11th.

Upon our arrival there we were taken to what the Germans called an arbeits commando, a work camp, an apartment house prison on the Spree River. It was in one of the suburbs of Berlin.

We stayed there that night and found that at this prison camp there were already some men gathered who were all supposed to make the trip. There were several American soldiers. One of them was from Colonel Van Vliet's unit, Taussig. I did not know Corporal Taussig personally, but I had a number of my men captured at the same time. When I talked with him I found that he knew one of my corporals, Corporal Denoid, and that these American prisoners had come from a POW camp in the vicinity [pointing to map]. They had been brought to Berlin to the same camp where we were. There were also British enlisted men present that had come from some camps in Germany that I do not know. There was a British civilian who was an internee, a prisoner of war. This British internee had lived on one of the Channel islands, either the Isle of Guernsey or the Isle of Man. I do not recall which one. All these people had been ordered here to go to Katyn.

The fourth officer, Capt. Stanley Gilder, a Scottish officer in the British Medical Corps, came in from a camp down at Rottweil. We were a little suspicious of Captain Gilder. It turned out that he could speak German and also he could speak a little Russian. As we checked on him we had our confidence established, and we felt that he was really a British officer—as he turned out to be. In a prison camp you are always suspicious of everybody. We do not believe anyone is who he says he is until we can find positive proof that he is. We wanted to make sure nobody was planted on us to listen to what we might say.

Tuesday afternoon, so far as I can recall—and that would be the 12th of May 1943—the Germans held interviews with us in one of the downstairs rooms of the commando. Colonel Stevenson was the senior officer. The Germans usually dealt with a senior officer, and we felt that he should speak for all of us. We had agreed that we would tell the Germans exactly how we felt, that we would not participate in a propaganda effort. However, the Germans wanted to speak to each one of us, and from our conversations with each other later, we found that the Germans had about the same routine.

I was a junior and the last to go down. As I walked into the room there was a mixture of German officers and civilians sitting around a table about the size of the one in this room in a room twice this large. I gave my name and my prisoner-of-war number, KGF 1581. One of the Germans that spoke English very well said, "Captain Stewart, since you have volunteered to go to Katyn and investigate the massacre of those Polish officers, I am glad to see you."

I told him that I had not volunteered; that I was there under orders; that I felt the matter was a propaganda effort and, in any event, it was a political effort. He said it was not propaganda. "We just want to show you the facts." I repeated that I considered it to be a political affair, a political matter. I was in the Army and I had no desire to get mixed up in any international political complications.

Then the next thing he said was, "You are an officer of the Regular Army. Surely you must have an interest in what has happened to officers of the Polish Army."

I told him that I had no desire to have anything to do with a propaganda effort or a political matter. They stopped talking and I saluted and went back to the room. Back in the room the people asked me what I had been asked and what I had said, and it jibed with what had happened to them.

The Germans apparently had asked Colonel Stevenson would he give our parole for the trip, not to escape, from Berlin to Katyn.

Mr. MADDEN. How far is that?

Colonel STEWART. That must be around 700 miles. It is a daylight flight. The exact distance is 600 to 700 miles, so that the total distance from Rotenberg to Katyn is probably 900 miles. Since Colonel Stevenson convinced the Germans we would not give our parole, the Germans said that they would have to send some guards along; therefore, they sent the two American prisoners back to their prison. I do not know why they sent the Americans back instead of the British enlisted men, but they did.

The party, as we finally left for the plane, and the party that visited the graves at Katyn, consisted of four officers: Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson of the British South African Forces; Lieutenant Colonel Van Vliet of our Army; Capt. Stanley Gilder of the British Medical

Corps, and myself. The names of the three British enlisted men and the British civilian I do not remember. So, the total visiting party consisted of eight of us.

In addition to that there were the German enlisted guards, German civilians from the Propaganda Ministry, and some German interpreters, plus a German officer or two. The total crew in the plane was about 20 men.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know the name of the interpreter?

Colonel STEWART. He said that his name was Von Johnson.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know anything about his background?

Colonel STEWART. He was very pleasant, quiet spoken, and spoke American, not English. He said that he had lived in that part of Germany that after World War I became Poland, and when Poland was established he and his mother left and came to America. He said he spent 19 years in Texas and that he came back to Germany in the late 1930's. I do not remember the reason he gave for saying he came back, but he spoke the American idiomatic language.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was he with you all during the trip?

Colonel STEWART. All the way through. When we left the Arbeits Commando, we got into a bus and drove out to the airport. We stopped at the Ministry of Propaganda and Public Information. That is where the officials of that organization got on. One of them brought a little carton of cigarettes with him. We drove to the Templehof airfield, got on the plane, and we flew, making a stop at Breslau, which is roughly in this vicinity [indicating on map]—apparently just a refueling stop—flew on and made a lunch stop in Poland at a town called Biela-Podlaska. Lunch consisted of a hard-boiled egg, a bowl of soup, and a slice of bread. Then we continued on the flight following the railroad tracks and came into Smolensk—so our flight generally went in this direction [indicating on map]. We got into Smolensk in the late afternoon.

Mr. MITCHELL. Could you see out of the airplane?

Colonel STEWART. Yes. The Germans did not blackout the airplane. For instance, we flew by Warsaw from some miles distant so we could not identify any particular building, but we could see the built-up section of the town and see smoke rising from the chimneys.

As we got further along the old Polish-Russian border, flying along the railroad, every so often on each side we could see entrenchments, shell holes and craters which had been put there apparently when the Germans drove in on their attack on Russia.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you follow the railroad tracks all the way?

Colonel STEWART. Practically all the way. The plane did not seem to get more than two or three hundred feet above the ground. We were always very low. This country is flat. There were no hills over the area we went through and the plane was always low.

When we landed at the airfield at Smolensk the Germans loaded us into the equivalent of one of our command cars and took us to an apartment building which was still in fairly good shape. Apparently they were using it for barracks, and they put us four officers in one room and the civilian and the British enlisted men in another room with the guard in the hall. While we were in that room we of course could not talk because we felt it might be wired so that anything we would say would be overheard. As a matter of fact, we never talked to each other inside of any room about any matter except the weather.

Mr. MADDEN. Are you referring now to Colonel Van Vliet?

Colonel STEWART. The four officers. We did not talk with the enlisted men except to tell them they were in a tight spot and they must never say anything among themselves or to the Germans that would get them into trouble.

Shortly after we had arrived there, we were put in the room where there was some singing taking place outside. I looked out the window and there seemed to be a company of German soldiers. Captain Gilder, the Scottish doctor, said they were Russians. He had been at a prisoner-of-war hospital, and among his patients were some Russians, so he learned some Russian.

The Germans came over and invited us to go to the officers' mess. As we left our room and went to the other room that was the officers' mess, they asked us if we would like to talk to the Russian soldiers. Nobody did particularly, but Colonel Stevenson asked them a question, so Captain Gilder asked the Russians, "What will happen to you if you are captured by the Russians?", and he was told that they would be executed. We went on to the officers' mess. There the room was about twice the size of this one. It had a couple of tables and a few chairs in it. It appeared to be the dining room of a service unit, or supply unit. At that time the east front was about 40 miles beyond Smolensk. There were no combat troops to speak of in the Smolensk area that we could see. At first the Germans did not talk about Katyn at all. They were just passing the time of day, making themselves interesting and telling us about the Battle of Smolensk and how Smolensk was captured.

Supper was very meager—a piece of cheese and a slice of rye bread and tea. That was it. They gave us the supper they themselves ate. Then after supper they brought out a couple of bottles of some sort of liquor, but we did not dare drink any for fear we might say something.

We returned to our room as soon as we could.

The next morning they loaded us into another command car and took us out to the woods of Katyn. That is about 12 miles from Smolensk itself. I did not see any built-up area around it although there was a village there. All there was, was a small knoll covered with pine woods. The pine woods were not very thick. There were some trees possibly 6 to 8 inches in diameter and a number of smaller trees. It was more like a park land than a forest of woods.

We drove into the area and got out of the vehicles. They took us over to the graves. All this time each one of us was trying to give absolutely no indication by expression that we were interested in what we were seeing.

The Germans were taking movies; they were taking still pictures, and if we looked at anything with too much interest we felt they might make some propaganda out of it. If we indicated too much interest, we felt we would be playing into their hands. We felt this was a German propaganda effort and we did not want to be involved in it any more than they could force us to be.

Mr. MADDEN. The committee will recess for 15 minutes while the Members go to the House to answer a roll call.

(Short recess.)

Mr. MADDEN. Colonel, we will now proceed from where you were testifying when we were interrupted by the roll call, which, I believe, is that you are about to go out to the forest, out to Katyn Forest.

Colonel STEWART. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. The burial place.

Colonel STEWART. We arrived at this Katyn woods, this pine knoll, got out of our command cars and the Germans escorted us over to the graves.

We passed a couple of soldiers in what appeared to be Polish uniforms, guarding the area, apparently, as a guard of honor; went up to the graves. The smell was pretty bad.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I interrupt for a moment? Were all of you transported together?

Colonel STEWART. I cannot remember; the four of us were in one vehicle. Whether the civilian and the other men with us were in the following vehicle, I do not remember, but I assume they were in two vehicles because those vehicles had only three seats.

Many of the exact details I cannot remember because this occurrence took place so long ago that I have to depend on what my impressions were, and only the strongest, most important impressions stayed with me; details that were not important at the time slipped.

We approached the grave site. This area was sand, a light yellow colored sand, like we find on the beaches of Lake Michigan, and South Carolina; the ground was rather high but just slightly rolling.

We walked over to the graves. There were three main graves open. The largest one was shaped like an L. We estimated individually the sizes of the graves—I have forgotten the exact dimensions now—but I know that they were approximately the size of a swimming pool. There were just three of them, and one was L-shaped, the size of a swimming pool.

As we walked along the edge of the graves, the Germans were giving us a certain amount of explanation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Pardon me, Colonel, I would like to ask you a question so that we could have an estimate of the size of the grave. It has been estimated by someone that this L-shaped grave was about 30 by 50 yards. Could you tell us whether, to your recollection, that would be close to what you thought the size of the grave was?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir; that would be about as close as I could judge on it.

The Germans walked us along, and showing us the various graves, giving us an explanation of their theories on the murders.

Then, they took us down into one of the graves for a closer examination. We went down the side of the bank and walked across the bodies to see more closely what they were trying to make us look at.

Now, in general, in all the graves the bodies were laid out in rows across the narrow dimension of the grave. Practically all bodies were face down. There were layer after layer; they were practically all headed the same way.

It was obvious that they had not been tossed into the graves from the banks; they had been apparently thrown down in there after they were killed, and then packed in very tightly.

The grave in which we walked, the officers were mostly dressed in overcoats, overcoats of heavy material, a little darker and a little longer than our own. I distinctly remember the overcoats because I stepped on one Polish officer's head, and his scalp came off, and I cleaned my foot on the overcoat of the man next to him.

There were a few men in that grave dressed in the black robes of a Catholic priest.

Individually, we tried to form an estimate as to how many bodies were in those graves. From the surface of the ground to the top layer of the bodies exposed is roughly about my height, which would be 5 to six feet.

Mr. MADDEN. The depth of the grave?

Colonel STEWART. To the layer that was exposed.

Mr. MADDEN. I see.

Colonel STEWART. Then, since one of the graves had been dug all the way down in the ground to the bottom layer of the bodies, we were able to get an estimate as to how many layers there were, so we counted the number of men in each row, we counted the number of layers, and we counted the number of rows individually. Later, when we confirmed, when we checked with each other, we found that we arrived at an estimate of about 10,000 bodies. That may or may not be correct, but our individual estimates were running about nine or ten thousand, based on the calculation of how many bodies in a row, how many rows in a grave, how many layers in a grave.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to ask you this question: Did you come to any opinion as to how many layers there were?

Colonel STEWART. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of bodies?

Colonel STEWART. I counted them exactly then, but I cannot remember the exact number closely. I would say there were five, six, or seven layers, and I could not say how many there were across now or how many rows there were. All I can remember is at the end of my figuring that there must be about nine or ten thousand men in those graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And these layers, were they tightly packed or was there ground between one layer and another?

Colonel STEWART. No ground between them that I could observe. They were just tightly packed. The only dirt that was in between layers or between individuals appeared to be sand that had sifted down.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There was one body on another?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, packed very, very tightly, like cigars.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Stewart, did these men wear boots or did they wear shoes?

Colonel STEWART. In the grave that I walked on, I do not remember. Their overcoats stick in my mind because of standing on it.

After we left that grave, I walked over toward the autopsy table. We went up to a little path where the Germans had already removed several hundred bodies for their examination and reburial. Very few of those bodies had overcoats on, and all of them were tied. Their hands were tied behind their backs with strings, the equivalent of binder cord, sunk into the flesh so that it was obvious that it had been put on when they were alive; it was not a recent addition.

As we walked up to that grave it was not pointed out to us by the Germans, but each of the four officers noted that these men were very well dressed. They had boots on, black boots, of very good leather.

You can look at a piece of leather and you can tell whether it is good or not. Those boots were good. They had leather heels on their

boots, and the leather heels were not worn down; the heels were in good shape.

Most of them were in breeches of elastic material similar to our prewar Army officer breeches. That material was of very good quality and showed practically no wear.

The blouses were darker. Now, when I say that they showed no wear, the material did not look new, but it was not frayed or worn. They were dirty and stained from the graves and from the bodies themselves, but the material was not worn, and the boots were not worn. The clothing fitted; they looked like they were tailor-made clothes. That group of bodies did not have overcoats on, the others did.

We passed those to go to the autopsy table. Now, the Germans had insisted that we point out a body at random in the grave, so Colonel Stevenson pointed to one. They pulled that body out of the grave and brought it to the autopsy table.

They performed the autopsy on it so that we could see what had caused the death, and to show us how they searched each body for purposes—in order to identify it. The surgeon made a circular incision around the head and pulled the scalp off.

The body had in the back of the head—in the back of the head was a smaller bullet hole, and in the front of the head was a larger bullet hole.

The Germans said that practically all the corpses had that same small bullet hole in the back, and larger bullet hole in the front.

Mr. MADDEN. By the front of the head, you mean the forehead?

Colonel STEWART. The forehead on that particular corpse—about right in here [illustrating on own head]. The Germans said some of it was up in here [further illustrating], and various places in the forehead, and the entry was always in the back.

Mr. MADDEN. Right at the base of the skull?

Colonel STEWART. I have a little bump back here, and that was the approximate place of that hole. So that on that particular corpse, the bullet hole probably went in here and probably came up in a slight up path from the rear to the exit. The exit hole was easily identifiable it was a little larger.

The German doctor then gave us a theory that there was some way to determine the length of time a man had been dead by what happened to his bones. He had some theory about the thickening of the bone around the exit hole.

We were not doctors and we could not tell whether there was anything to the theory or not. Dr. Gilder had never heard of it, so he did not know whether there was any truth to it.

Mr. MADDEN. Do you know the name of that doctor?

Colonel STEWART. That would be Dr. Budz.

Mr. MADDEN. How do you spell that?

Colonel STEWART. I am not sure—it is either B-u-d-z or B-u-h-t-h. I never had the spelling to recall. It was just Dr. Budz of forensic medicine, professor of forensic medicine.

Mr. MADDEN. From what university?

Colonel STEWART. Vienna, I believe; I do not know for sure.

After he got through with his explanation and theory, then they performed the examination of the body for identification. The body was in blouse, breeches, and boots, so they cut open the pockets to see

whether there was anything in the contents—any contents in the pockets—and they cut open the side pockets. All they could find on that body was a piece of paper, that I could not have read, anyway, but I don't believe anybody could have read because of the long time in the grave which had made the writing illegible.

They started to remove the boots. They said they always removed the boots and cut them open because the prisoners often had things concealed in them.

They pulled off one boot, and the foot came with it from the ankle on down, leaving the bone sticking out. They pulled off the other boot and it came off, and when they cut it open they did not find anything.

They removed the rest of the clothing from the corpse. The body looked as if it were mummified. The flesh was black and hard, pressed into the bone. It looked as though it had been under pressure for some time, and when they removed the clothing, the body, the chest area, was covered with a liquid that looked like melted butter or light yellowish grease.

Then the Germans said that they took every identification from the body and filed it. Later on they would take us to the place where they kept the records.

Now, the Germans would give us a theory about this or a theory about that. We did not accept them because it would appear to me that we could not prove it. We could not prove anything.

If the Germans would say that, as they told us, no papers or documents had been found on these prisoners dated later than April or May of 1940; there was no way we could check it. We felt that if they did find a document such as that it would be very easy for them just to destroy it.

There were a considerable number of newspapers lying around that they said had come from the grave, a lot of the prewar Polish money lying around. They asked us if we wanted some for souvenirs, and we told them "No."

The Germans said that practically all the bodies were killed by being shot, but that there were a few that they had found bayonet wounds in, and they showed us some material, overcoat material, that had a sort of triangular hole in it, as if it had been made by one of our muzzle-loading rifles with that old-fashioned bayonet, sort of a triangular hole in it, not a straight cut as our present bayonet makes, not a knife cut.

There was a tree there that had possibly a dozen bullets embedded in it. The German officer went over and put his head against the tree and put his hand up behind it to indicate that very probably the persons that had done the killing had made a man lean his head against the tree and then shot him. One of the officers said it could very well have been just somebody doing target practice. However, it appeared to us that the men were shot by a small-caliber weapon.

Mr. MADDEN. Pardon me, do you know the name of that doctor that mentioned—did you say that a German doctor told you that or—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. An officer.

Colonel STEWART. What was that, sir? There was a British doctor with us, who was Dr. Gilder.

Mr. MADDEN. Who was it that called your attention to the fact that—

Colonel STEWART. There were bullet holes in the tree?

Mr. MADDEN (continuing). There were bullet holes in the tree?

Colonel STEWART. That was just one of the Germans; I do not remember which one.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Colonel STEWART. What had happened, apparently the bullet holes were in the tree, and they had peeled the bark away so that you could see the bullets.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Colonel STEWART. They were larger than .22 caliber, but they were not .30 caliber. I do not know the exact caliber, but they were not as big as the .30-caliber bullet.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, if the record shows this, he need not answer it, but if it does not show it, when and in what year and at what time of the year did you actually examine the graves, you and your party?

Colonel STEWART. On Thursday, the 13th of May 1943. It was certainly the second week in May.

At that time the Germans said the graves had been opened a month or more, and they had done some removal of bodies. The weather at that time was getting warm, and the Germans felt that they—they said that they would have to rush the job up before the odor got too bad.

The day we were there started out a sunshiny, rather cool day, and by 10 o'clock or so, when we were at the grave site, it was getting quite warm. I was wearing a blouse and trousers, and I was warm; so it was about the second week of May we were there, 1943.

After we had been around these three graves, the Germans took us through another area adjacent to the woods and showed us where they were hunting for additional graves. They said they were making soundings; I do not know how they made their soundings, but in some places they dug a narrow trench across a clearing, some places they dug a well, a few places they dug these wells down, and they showed us down at the bottom or around the top where some bleached bones and some black rubber overshoes were there.

We looked at those, and they did not mean anything to us because we knew the Germans could have put them there, just as well as anybody else. They might have been real or might not have been.

The graves themselves were in a clearing. The Germans told us that there had been small trees on the top, and they attempted to establish the date by the size of the tree. That did not mean anything to us because you can transplant trees, and besides we did not see the original trees there.

The Germans kept bringing up a number of different points, many of them logical, but there was no one point that they could not have duplicated themselves. Everything they said, "Now, this shows it is so and so"; it could have been very well that they planted that particular bit of evidence.

They brought up a Russian peasant—Dr. Gilder could speak a little Russian, so the Germans asked him to talk to them. The Russian claimed that he had lived in the vicinity a long time, and that this was an area used by the Russian secret police for executions even before the war started. He claimed that frequently truck loads—Dr. Gilder, being British, said "vans"—truckloads of prisoners or people would come from the railroad station into the woods, and they would hear shots and then hear nothing more.

We asked Dr. Gilder what he thought of his testimony, what the Russian said, and Dr. Gilder said that he was untrustworthy; that if you would give him a pound note he would say the opposite thing.

MR. MADDEN. Who was Dr. Gilder?

Colonel STEWART. Dr. Gilder was the British medical officer, sir. So possibly it could be that the Russian was telling the truth and it could be that he was not. In other words, most of the stuff we saw there—most individual items—could be discounted. But the things that struck us, other than the fact that a large number of Polish officers had been killed, was the fact that many of those bodies, those in the larger grave, were in overcoats and in good condition; Polish overcoats.

We saw several hundred bodies of the Polish officers in uniforms of very good quality that had not been worn.

I was a prisoner myself, and my clothes got worn. Each one of us noted that individually, and the conclusion that we drew from our examination of those uniforms was that those officers could not have been prisoners very long at the time of their deaths.

MR. MADDEN. Did that same thing apply to the boots, the shoes, too?

Colonel STEWART. The boots; yes, sir. The boots were not worn at all; very little wear on them. They could not have been worn, those boots, very long without showing more wear than they did. They were less worn than the heels on my shoes right now, and those things made a very strong impression on us.

When we left the grave site, the Germans——

MR. MADDEN. That circumstance or fact regarding the newness of the uniforms and the boots and shoes was not called to your attention by the Germans?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir; we noticed it individually. You see, we did not talk as long as there were any Germans near us, and we tried to keep any expression from being shown on our faces.

For instance, in spite of the stench, we tried to keep from wrinkling up our faces so that they could not take a picture of us and show us expressing disapproval or distaste or something like that.

MR. MADDEN. Were there any pictures taken?

Colonel STEWART. Yes. The Germans took still pictures and movies, both. They had told us that no propaganda use would be made of these pictures, and so far as I know they did not. However, they did give us a set of pictures to be, as they said, souvenirs; they believed the Americans are very souvenir hungry, and they gave us pictures as souvenirs. I have those pictures.

MR. MADDEN. Have you those pictures here?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

MR. MADDEN. Would you mind presenting them to the committee counsel and have them used as exhibits?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir. I have seven pictures, of which——

MR. MADDEN. If you will identify each picture.

Colonel STEWART (continuing). Two are unimportant.

One shows a picture of a typical Russian village, according to the Germans, near Smolensk, and has nothing to do with this.

MR. MADDEN. That picture will be marked "Exhibit 1."

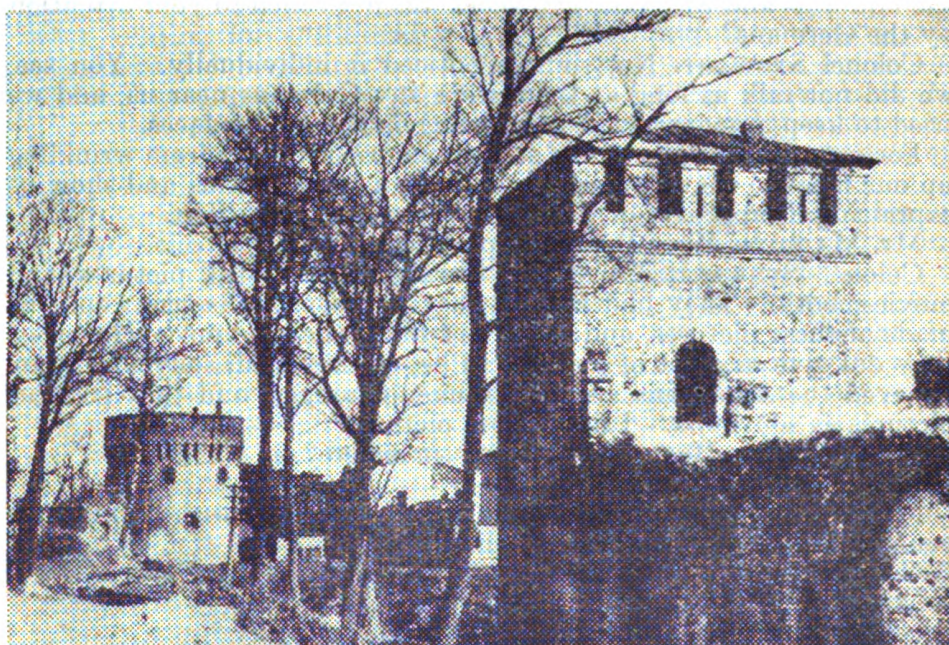
(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 1," and is shown below:)



Colonel STEWART. Another one shows the picture of the old city wall at Smolensk, which I saw. That has nothing to do with this.

Mr. MADDEN. That picture will be marked "Exhibit 2."

(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 2," and is shown below:)



Colonel STEWART. There is one picture here which shows our party standing on the edge of one of the graves, and it has been taken from the opposite side of the grave. You can see the layers of bodies, and you can see the Germans giving us their explanation or their theory. On the cover I have put down numbers to indicate each person, and on the sheet in front of that, the names of the individuals, so far as I can recall them.

Mr. MADDEN. We will proceed now, and I will ask you if you can give us the names of the persons in that picture there.

Colonel STEWART. In this picture it shows the partially empty grave; a German officer whose name I do not remember, a German interpreter whose name I do not remember; Captain Gilder, British medical officer; Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson, South African Army; Lieutenant Colonel Van Vliet, myself, and in the background you can see some of the British enlisted men, whose names I do not recall.

In the picture itself you can see the bodies in the overcoats, and from the picture you can determine the nature of the soil, which, as I said, is sandy.

Mr. MADDEN. We will mark that picture "Exhibit 3."

Mr. FURCOLO. Might I interrupt for one question? With reference to the writing, that, I take it, is in your own hand?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

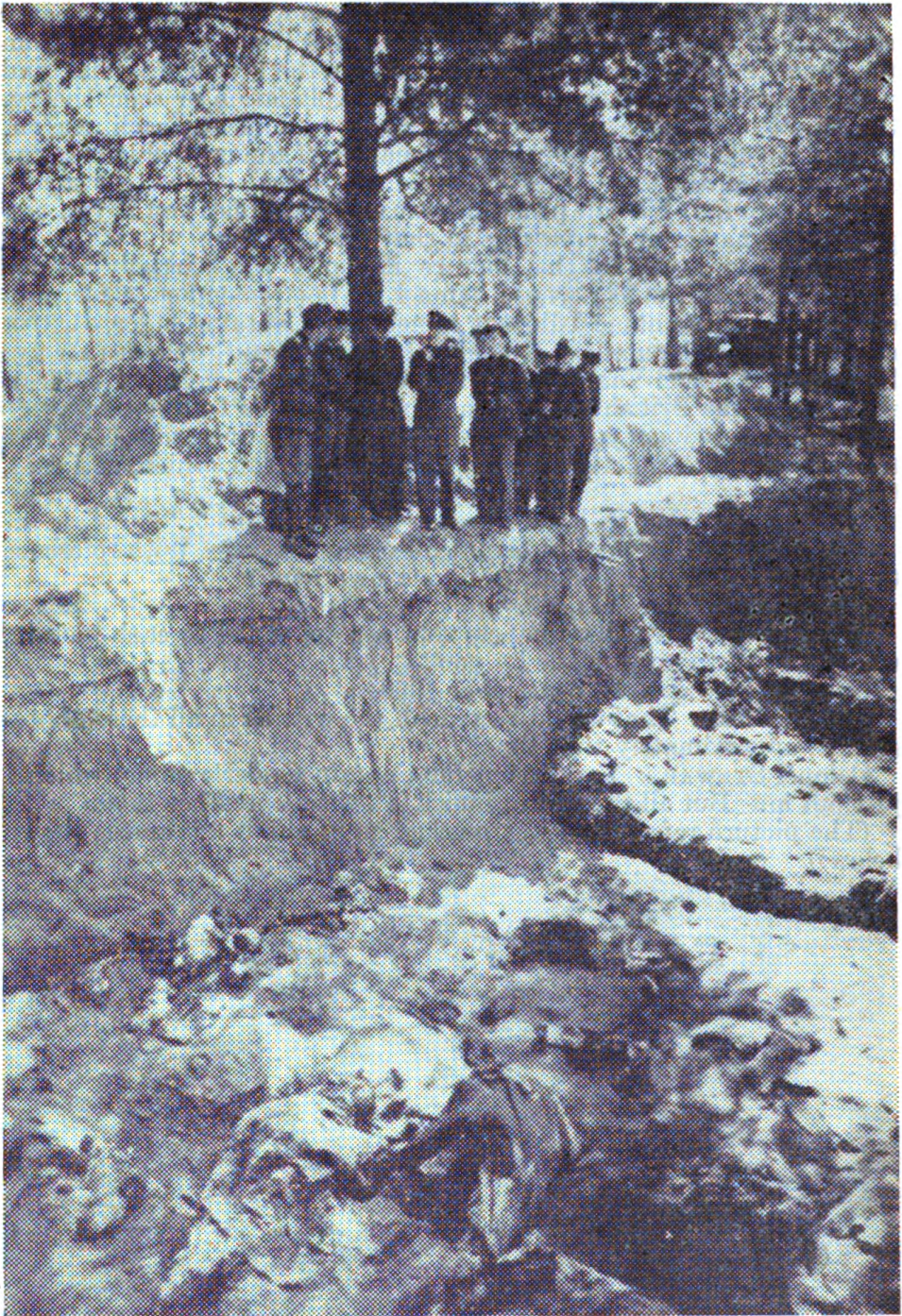
Mr. FURCOLO. On these papers that are appended to each picture, when were those notes made by you?

Colonel STEWART. In September 1950.

Mr. FURCOLO. That would be true of the writing in all these photographs, approximately that time?

Colonel STEWART. Yes; except for Captain Gilder's name, which I just put in. But all the sort of bluish ink was September 1950.

(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 3," and is shown below:)



Colonel STEWART. The next picture shows a part of our party down in the grave, and you can see the corpses in their overcoats.

There is the German interpreter from Texas, Von Johnson; a German civilian from the Ministry of Information in Berlin; Captain Gilder, of the British Army; Colonel Stevenson; and the German

officer who was in charge of the excavation, whose name I cannot recall.

Mr. MADDEN. We will mark that picture "Exhibit 4."

(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 4," and is shown below:)



Colonel STEWART. The next picture shows an autopsy being performed by a German doctor. The people I can identify in it are Colonel Stevenson, Dr. Gilder, Colonel Van Vliet, and in the background you can see a British civilian internee, and a British sergeant, whose names I do not remember.

The corpse on the table is the one that was pointed out at random by Colonel Stevenson. You can get a little idea of the mummification of the body from the picture.

Mr. MADDEN. Mark that picture "Exhibit 5."

(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 5," and is shown below:)



Mr. MITCHELL. Was that the same doctor that you had referred to previously in your testimony—Dr. Budz?

Colonel STEWART. That I do not recall. My impression is that the man performing the autopsy is not Dr. Budz, but he was the one who was put there—this particular one was put there—by the Germans to do the work.

The next picture is a group of us surrounding the table next to the autopsy table, when the Germans were giving us an explanation of their theories as to how the deaths took place.

In the picture are Colonel Van Vliet, Captain Gilder, Colonel Stevenson, myself, two British enlisted men, and the British civilian attorney.

Mr. MADDEN. Mark that picture "Exhibit 6."

(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 6," and is shown below:)

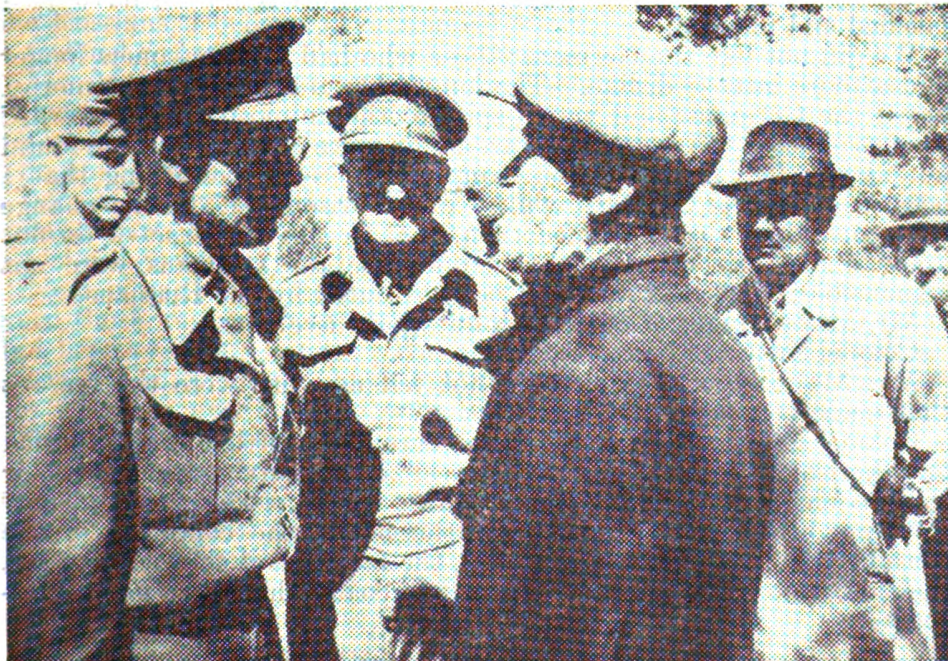


Colonel STEWART. The last picture I have shows Captain Gilder talking to the old Russian peasant who claimed to have known about the closed vans being taken to the Katyn Woods, and hearing the shots.

It shows Colonel Van Vliet, Captain Gilder, Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson, the peasant, a German from the Ministry of Information, and another German whose name I have forgotten.

Mr. MADDEN. I will mark that picture "Exhibit 7."

(The picture referred to was marked as "Exhibit 7," and is shown below:)



Colonel STEWART. You will find me in very few of those pictures, because I was convinced this was a propaganda effort, and every time I saw someone pointing a camera in my direction, I moved out of range or got around on the other side, where possibly my back would show.

I was in only those pictures that I could not avoid, because I did not want to be used for propaganda purposes. The other people were not quite so fortunate.

Mr. MADDEN. When did you get those pictures?

Colonel STEWART. Late that afternoon at Smolensk—either that afternoon in Smolensk or shortly after I returned to Berlin, I do not remember.

Mr. MADDEN. In connection with your statement a minute ago regarding propaganda, after you and the other officers saw these things, did you still think that it was a German propaganda effort or did you change your opinion as to your thoughts when you first went to Katyn after you saw what took place there?

Colonel STEWART. I can best answer that in this way: I was still convinced that the Germans were going to get the utmost publicity and propaganda effect out of these murders. I had formed an opinion as to who had killed these officers. I was convinced they were Polish officers. I thought there were about 10,000. My opinion was exactly the same as the other three officers in the party.

We arrived at those opinions independently because there were too many Germans around for us to talk, and we had to arrive at our conclusions by ourselves because we could not compare notes to talk it over and argue one another into it.

I left Katyn Forest convinced that the Russians had executed those men. I cannot base my decision on any particular fact that would stand up in a court of law, because there were so many things that I knew the Germans could have introduced, or they said this or they said that, and that we had no way of checking, but that massacre, in my opinion, and in the opinion of others, just could not have been falsified and planted.

We did not like the Germans; those who had been prisoners longer had a more intense dislike. The longer I was a prisoner, the more I hated the Germans; and yet in spite of the animosity I had toward the Germans at the end of the war, and in spite of what we have found out about their concentration camps, in spite of everything that I learned about the Germans while I was a prisoner, it did not change that conviction that I formed then, that in this one case—I do not know about any others—in this one case the Germans were not responsible; that these men had been executed by the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can I ask a question there?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you not tell us what were the reasons that made you come to this conclusion?

Colonel STEWART. After all these years it is a little difficult to pick out the exact reasons. You must realize that any particular minor thing could be discounted, but probably the chief thing that formed my opinion was the condition of the boots, the condition of the clothing, the quality of the material, the fact that it showed no wear, the fact that these officers were in overcoats, that were good overcoats—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, Colonel, for the benefit of those who are not familiar with the significance of that item, will you explain why that item led you to believe that the Russians were responsible?

Colonel STEWART. When my unit was in North Africa, I had a considerable number of uniforms along. When we moved up to Sebeitla, before going into position, I put on a pair of old trousers, older clothes, the first time up in action, because I did not want to ruin my better clothes. I was captured in those, and they wore out.

Now, the Polish Army was hit by the Germans in 1939, and the Russians moved in from the east the same month. The Polish officers had a very distinctive uniform.

At that time I had not seen any Polish officers; later on I ran into some and recognized the uniform as being the same as those at Katyn.

The material was good, and if they had been mobilized, they would go into combat wearing the uniform in which they were dressed. Now, it would be possible for some men to have gone into combat in old clothes; but a prisoner does not have much luggage. Those men were wearing the uniforms in which they were captured. The uniforms did not show the wear that would have been necessary if they had been prisoners from September of 1940 until after the Germans took Smolensk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean September 1939, do you not?

Colonel STEWART. September 1939; sorry.

The Germans started their eastern fighting against Russia in June of 1941. They had their campaign against the British in May 1940, and it was not until the next year that they went against the Russians.

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, could you give us the approximate time that this Smolensk area was occupied by the Russians?

Colonel STEWART. The Russians were driven out of Smolensk in the fall of 1941, and the Germans were holding it in May 1943, when I was there. The Germans lost it that summer, and the Russians were able to retake it in their late summer and fall offensives of 1943.

Mr. MITCHELL. You stated that this territory was occupied by the Russians, I believe, in September 1939?

Colonel STEWART. It was part of Russia.

Mr. MITCHELL. That was the time that the Russians moved into Poland.

Colonel STEWART. The exact date would be in the history books; I do not remember, but the war started about Labor Day of 1939.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a matter of record, Colonel, the attack on Poland started September 1, 1939.

Colonel STEWART. And the British entered on the 3d.

Now, it was just those men who were in those graves could not have worn those uniforms more than—without showing more wear if they had been prisoners longer. The uniforms were in too good a shape.

Mr. MADDEN. Do you have any knowledge personally as to whether the Germans ever did use your visit or your associates' visits for propaganda purposes?

Colonel STEWART. When I returned to the prison camp, naturally we kept watching the German papers, and I never heard of any such use, never heard of any newspaper report, magazine article, or radio broadcast in which there was any mention made of our party being up there at Katyn. They did have articles about other people being there, but not us.

Mr. MADDEN. Did you ever make any official report to your superiors on this trip to Katyn?

Colonel STEWART. When I returned to the prison camp we, of course, had written nothing down that the Germans might use, and we told nothing to our other prisoners. It was agreed that at the end of the war, reports would be made to our own governments, and this was in May of 1943.

Colonel Van Vliet and I stayed in the same camps. When the Russians took Warsaw in January 1945, our prison camp of about just under 1,200 officers started out on foot westward. It was quite cold and a number of the people could not make it, so as they could, the Germans loaded them in boxcars and sent them off.

Colonel Van Vliet did not complete the march, and he wound up in a prison camp in Luckenwalde, south of Berlin. I completed the march and I wound up in Hammelberg down east of Frankfurt.

My notes on the Katyn trip had been censored by the Germans and marked "Geprüft," but when I entered that camp and was searched there they took away my notebook. They left me with the pictures, because each individual picture was stamped, and they left me with my orders because that said, "Do not take it." But the notebook they took. I believe they took the notebook because they thought I might have written something else in it, and they wanted to check it.

The Fourth Armored Division sent a company of tanks and infantry in there and liberated the camp overnight, but we were prisoners again the next day. The Germans yanked us out of the camp suddenly, and I never got the notebook back. The pictures and the orders had never left my possession.

Having lost my notes of the detailed names and individuals and times, I would have to rely on my memory. I was liberated in April down near Munich, taken to Lucky Strike near Le Havre, and there I found that Colonel Van Vliet had already checked in. He had gone to Paris, so I did not say anything about this. I knew that he would make the report.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Stewart, how long were you a prisoner of the Germans?

Colonel STEWART. Two years, two months, and two weeks.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And too long.

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

When I returned to the States, I did not make a report to the War Department on it because all I could do was confirm what Colonel Van Vliet reported. I knew if they wanted the confirmation they could get in touch with me, and, therefore, I made no formal written report.

Mr. MADDEN. Did you have any knowledge about any report that Colonel Van Vliet made?

Colonel STEWART. I knew that he would make it, and since the matter had international implications, when I ran into him at Fort Benning in April of 1947, I found out that he had made the report.

Mr. MADDEN. Did you know anything about what was in his report?

Colonel STEWART. I do not know any of the details that were in it, but I am sure—I am sure that his conclusions would be the same as mine because they were the same at the prison camp.

Mr. MADDEN. I see.

Colonel STEWART. We did not discuss his report.

Mr. MADDEN. When you were at Katyn, did you notice any other investigating groups around there?

Colonel STEWART. No large group that I would know of. There was a Polish Red Cross doctor, I guess. I never talked to him. I cannot speak Polish. There was no other group there at the time I was there that I recall.

Mr. MADDEN. Some of the records regarding the Katyn massacre state that there were a dozen or more doctors who made investigations there. Would you be familiar with any proceedings along that line?

Colonel STEWART. That took place and was reported in a German newspaper. That would be the only knowledge I would have of it. Now, as to whether it was before we went or after, I cannot recall. I believe it was probably before we went.

Mr. MADDEN. From your conclusions which you have already testified to, you would state—and on what you observed there, you would state—that these bodies were placed in there, considering their clothing and what not, during the colder part of the season rather than the summer months?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir, We were there in May, and it was getting warm. Now, we would not have worn overcoats that day.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Colonel STEWART. They had certain days when it was chilly, but it was beginning to get hot.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Stewart, did you have any information that the Russians claimed that these men were buried or killed in the summertime, in August?

Colonel STEWART. I have not done any reading on this—

Mr. DONDERO. You did not hear anything about it there?

Colonel STEWART. I had heard that the Russians refused to participate in any investigation, and later on they made an investigation, but I do not know anything about the details of theirs.

Mr. DONDERO. Was there any evidence while you were looking at the graves that the Germans were reburying these men?

Colonel STEWART. These men were being reburied after they had been exhumed, and the Germans were putting up a wooden cross, a general wooden cross, over the graves. But they were not reburials in that original grave. They had been there a long, long time. The bodies were hard.

Mr. DONDERO. The bodies were hard?

Colonel STEWART. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Colonel, I might inform you that the claim of the Russians, so far as I know it, is that these officers were murdered sometime about August 1941, while they were working on the road camps. Now, is there anything about what you found that would indicate that this claim is true or false?

Colonel STEWART. Murdered by the Germans on the road camps?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes.

Colonel STEWART. The Germans—I do not know of any cases where the Germans worked officers. It was impossible for me, for instance, to go on a work detail, but I know nothing about that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, wouldn't the fact that they were in winter uniform indicate that that claim had no actual foundation in fact?

Colonel STEWART. The fact that they wore the heavy woolen uniform indicated to us that they had been shot in the winter, or at least

in the cold months of the spring. They would not have been in overcoats in the summer months, not there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes; and I believe it was your conclusion that they must have been killed sometime in 1940?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you know, do you not, from what you have since heard and read that in 1940 the Russians were in possession of that part of Poland; is that not right?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir; they were; and the Germans, for instance, told us where the prison camps were located where these men came from—I have forgotten—they told us they found railroad cards with these men's names written on them, and were going home, but I never saw them, and anybody could have written it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You actually saw only three graves?

Colonel STEWART. Three graves. Plus these——

Mr. MADDEN. Three mass graves.

Colonel STEWART. Three mass graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Three mass graves.

Colonel STEWART. Plus the old circular excavations where they dug up old bones, or said they did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you informed that there were actually found by the Germans seven mass graves there?

Colonel STEWART. I saw a chart the other day; that was the first time I knew of it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you informed by the Germans then that they did find remains of Russian officers from back in 1929 or 1930?

Colonel STEWART. I do not recall being told that. Where these old bones were found, they indicated that those were probably Russians, but they did not put any name or label on them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One other question: You did not volunteer to testify here today, did you?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were ordered to testify?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you instructed by anyone as to how you should testify?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir; to this extent, that I was told to tell what I knew.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you told to tell whatever conclusions you arrived at, and whatever facts——

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir; on what I could remember.

Mr. MACHROWICZ (continuing). You saw?

Colonel STEWART. From the time that has gone by. The restriction was not placed on me as to this or that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that these facts that you tell us now are your own conclusions?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are they at all biased because of any instructions given to you by anyone?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One other matter: I believe you said that when you left for Katyn you had a preconceived prejudice toward the Germans.

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was because before you started out you had the suspicion that the Germans were the ones responsible for this crime, and that they were using this as a propaganda effort.

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir; I was sure of that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At that time Russia was our ally?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you feel this was just an effort of the Germans to cause disruption among us and our allies?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. However, as I understand it, after your trip was concluded you did come to a different conclusion?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir; I reversed it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that your independent conclusion?

Colonel STEWART. It was the conclusion I arrived at by myself.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you, before you arrived at that conclusion, discuss the findings with any of your fellow officers?

Colonel STEWART. We had no real opportunity to discuss it with each other, as a jury might. We tried to avoid anyway all semblance of a jury. There were always Germans around. We did not want them to know what we were thinking; therefore, each of us had to form his own individual opinion. The first opportunity that we had to talk to each other outside of a building, as soon as we began to talk, we found that all four of us had formed the same opinion.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But the opinion that you arrived at was your individual opinion, not based upon conclusions of anyone else?

Colonel STEWART. Before I found out what the others thought, I had that conclusion.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One further question: I believe you testified there were some bodies in clerical uniforms?

Colonel STEWART. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were those in the garb of Roman Catholic priests, would you say?

Colonel STEWART. They were face down, and were in long black robes. Now, whether they were Roman Catholic priests or another kind of priests, I could not say. I did not see an insignia, only the long black robe, but obviously clerical.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you give us any idea as to how many of such bodies you found there?

Colonel STEWART. My recollection is just two or three black-robed-clad bodies scattered around the grave; very possibly they were chaplains.

Mr. MADDEN. Did Colonel Van Vliet keep any notes that you know of?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir. We all kept our own individual notes in a little notebook we had. We were careful to put in there nothing but dates and times and the identification of some Poles who were medical men, and, therefore, registered with Geneva; nothing about opinions or conclusions.

Colonel Van Vliet had the same notes that I had; maybe some of the names were different. I do not recall—I did not read his notes. We checked on the spelling of a name, but that was about all.

Mr. MADDEN. You do not know whether the colonel, Colonel Van Vliet, has those notes now or whether they were taken from him; do you?

Colonel STEWART. I do not know what happened to them, but he would have had them when he returned.

Mr. MADDEN. Is there anything further?

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Stewart, did you ever see the report of Colonel Van Vliet?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Of the supplemental report that he made after the original was found?

Colonel STEWART. The only thing I have seen is the press release of last year.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Has the reading of that report influenced your testimony here to any extent?

Colonel STEWART. It has not influenced the testimony. All it has done is been a refresher as to a few names. You see, it still goes back to this: The decision I reached, I can never forget. My decision was that those men were killed by the Russians while they were prisoners of the Russians. The exact facts that piled up to give me that decision, the details may be a little bit blurry—I remember my decision. I do not remember the details.

Colonel Van Vliet's report helped refresh my mind on a few details, nothing on the decision. Colonel Van Vliet, may I say, is a young officer who is rather brilliant, has a sharp mind, a very quick intellect. He thinks much faster than I do, and he was the one who was always suspecting possible tricks on the part of the Germans.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Stewart, then you state for the record that you and Colonel Van Vliet were the only two American officers who actually were on the ground and saw these graves and these bodies?

Colonel STEWART. The only two of whom I have ever heard.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Van Vliet is not now in this country?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir; he is in——

Mr. DONDERO. You are the only person in the United States who knows about this personally?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. FURCOLO. If he has completed his formal statement—if you have completed your formal statement, I would like to ask a couple of questions. Did you finish your statement?

Colonel STEWART. So far as I know.

Mr. FURCOLO. Well, now, during the 2 years or more that you were there, can you tell us as best you can recall when the weather would be cold enough during each year so that you might want to wear an overcoat or heavy clothing in the event that you had any such clothing?

Colonel STEWART. My prison camp from June 6, 1943, to January 20, 1945, was up in Poland, about a hundred miles south of Danzig.

Mr. FURCOLO. Maybe I can expedite this a little bit by asking how far your camp was from the location of the forest itself.

Colonel STEWART. You can see this on the little map.

Mr. MADDEN. I think he covered that in his original statement.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did he?

Colonel STEWART. I spent from June 6, 1943, to January 20, 1945, in a prison camp south of Danzig in Poland. It was near the Polish town of Bydgosser—the Germans called it Romburg.

Now, in this area it is roughly as far north as the Hudson Bay, and very cold in winter. Overcoats were desirable from October to April or May.

This area up here, Katyn, I was in just that one time there in May.

Mr. FURCOLO. To the best of your knowledge and recollection, was anything said about any letters or other papers that were on these bodies that bore any dates?

Colonel STEWART. Yes; but that is another one of those things that the Germans could have taken care of. The Germans said all these newspapers had such and such a date. They said they had letters and diaries all ending in a certain date. All their talks, all their figures, all their dates jibed with the dates that they were trying to show that the executions took place. There was no conflict there, but that is one of those things that they could have said without it being so.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did they at any time show you any of those diaries or any of the letters or any of the other papers?

Colonel STEWART. Yes, sir. They took us to a house between Katyn Woods and Smolensk, and the porch of that house and the front room had showcases in them full of newspapers, letters, diaries, rank insignia, Red Cross cards, exhibits, they said were taken from the grave, and from the odor it appeared as though they had.

The back rooms of that house were the filing—the system in which they took the identification from his body and put it in a file. They told us we could look through any of the files, but I was not particularly anxious at that time.

Mr. FURCOLO. I think that is all I have.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One question: Do you know what happened with the German movies that were taken there?

Colonel STEWART. No, sir; and they took some from several views around the graves, but I do not know; I never heard of them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You never saw them?

Colonel STEWART. Never saw them.

Mr. MADDEN. Colonel, have you anything further that you would like to add to what you have said?

Colonel STEWART. Nothing in particular.

Mr. MADDEN. Well, speaking in behalf of the committee, we want to thank you for your testimony here today, and I believe and hope that the future and the further hearings that this committee is going to have regarding all the essential aspects of this massacre that took place during World War II will show that your testimony is very highly valued.

I would like to have the record show that Congressman Sieminski, of New Jersey, was present at the hearing, and also Congressman Sadlak, of Connecticut.

If there are no other questions, the hearing will now adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the special committee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

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THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

HEARINGS

U.S. Congress, House,
= BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE (TO CONDUCT AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS, EVIDENCE
AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF) THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER OF THOUSANDS OF
POLISH OFFICERS IN THE KATYN FOREST NEAR
SMOLENSK, RUSSIA

PART 2

FEBRUARY 4, 5, 6, AND 7, 1952

Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation
of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre



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**SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
FACTS, EVIDENCE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE KATYN FOREST
MASSACRE**

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THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met at 1:45 p. m., pursuant to call, in room 445 of the House Office Building, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden, Flood, Furcolo, Machrowicz, O'Konski, and Sheehan.

Also present: John J. Mitchell, chief counsel to the select committee.

Chairman MADDEN. The select committee will come to order.

This special committee to investigate the Katyn Forest massacre was unanimously authorized by the Congress September 18, 1951. This is in reality the second meeting of this committee. Before Congress adjourned in October, Lt. Col. Donald Stewart, one of the two American prisoners of war who were taken by the Nazis to view the Katyn Forest, testified here. Today we have as a witness Colonel Van Vliet, who was a companion of Colonel Stewart, and who was a prisoner of war and taken in 1943 by the Nazis to view the Katyn site.

I might announce that tomorrow morning at 10:30 the youngest Polish prisoner of war which the Soviets had held as a prisoner will testify.

The purpose of this committee is to record evidence, data and facts which will officially establish the guilt of the nation that perpetrated the greatest crime of genocide in all recorded history. It is the hope that the testimony, data, and facts recorded at this hearing and future hearings will some day serve as evidence in an international court which will bring just punishment to the murderers and their accomplices who committed the Katyn Forest massacre.

Former Nazi dictators and their henchmen who were found guilty of similar mass murders have already received just punishment. We know now that the Communist dictators by the rule of fear, through slave labor camps, murder, and mass genocide, now are trying to keep under subjection millions of people, and spread their influence throughout the world.

Since this committee has been organized, information as to its purposes has spread to the underground behind the iron curtain, and it has given them great encouragement to know that the Congress of the United States has taken steps to uncover this international crime, although it happened at the beginning of World War II.

All members of our committee have agreed that every scintilla of evidence, facts and data leading up to and pertaining to the Katyn massacre must be presented to this series of hearings. Two weeks

ago, the full committee visited President Truman and told him about the purposes of this committee, and he heartily endorsed the purposes of these hearings and stated that he had issued instructions to all departments of the Government to cooperate 100 percent in presenting evidence and files to this committee. I want to say further that all members of the committee ask and invite testimony, data or facts from anybody, anywhere, any place, to testify before this committee.

I might present the members of the committee. On my left is Congressman Flood, of Pennsylvania; Congressman Furcolo, of Massachusetts, and Congressman Machrowicz, of Michigan; and on my right, Congressman O'Konski, of Wisconsin, and Congress Sheehan, of Illinois, in Chicago. Congressman Dondero is a member of this committee, but is unavoidably detained this afternoon, but he will be here during the progress of the hearings.

I want to thank Colonel Van Vliet, our witness who has come here from Tokyo; Colonel Van Vliet is a former Nazi prisoner of war. He is today contributing patriotic services to his country by serving his country in the Far East in order to overcome Communist aggression.

Mr. John J. Mitchell, who is counsel to the committee, will conduct the hearings. I ask our witness, Colonel Van Vliet, to state his name and his military location.

Colonel VAN VLIET. My name is John H. Van Vliet, Jr., colonel, United States Infantry, presently stationed in the Far East Command.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing now in trial will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I do.

TESTIMONY OF COL. JOHN H. VAN VLIET, JR., UNITED STATES INFANTRY, FAR EAST COMMAND, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY; ACCOMPANIED BY FRANCIS SHACKELFORD, DEPARTMENT COUNSELOR, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Chairman MADDEN. Now, Colonel, do you have any prepared statement, or would you want to proceed in a general way as to the situation that led up to your being taken by the Nazis over to view the Katyn Forest, or would you rather have the testimony revealed through a series of questions?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I am prepared to do it either way you desire, sir, and the only prepared statement I have is the statement that I submitted to the Public Information Office of the Department of the Army, four copies of which are in the possession of the committee. I am prepared to repeat that from memory and add to it as desired by the committee, or give it in narrative form, as you suggest.

Chairman MADDEN. I would suggest that you proceed, and if counsel wants to interrupt you at any time, or any member of the committee wishes to interrupt you at any time, they are at liberty to do so. You will proceed, giving your own verbatim remembrance of the circumstances leading up to your imprisonment, and go on in your own way with your narrative.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Very good, sir.

I was taken prisoner by the Germans in Tunisia——

Mr. MITCHELL. May I interrupt one minute? When you reach the stage where this question of the Katyn Forest was first brought to your attention—will you stop when you get to that phase of it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes.

I was taken a prisoner of war by the Germans in Tunisia, and taken from Tunisia through staging camps until I reached Rotenburg, in Germany, at a prisoner of war camp primarily British. It was known as Oflag, IX A/Z.

Mr. MITCHELL. When were you taken prisoner?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I was taken prisoner in February of 1943, and reached Rotenburg in the middle of March 1943.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did you say you were taken prisoner?

Colonel VAN VLIET. In Tunisia, North Africa.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did you get from Tunisia to Germany?

Colonel VAN VLIET. From Tunisia to Italy by air, and from Italy to Germany by train.

While in Oflag, IX A/Z, I was the senior American officer of a group of approximately 125 American officers, and in the camp were many British officers under Brigadier Nicholson.

Mr. MITCHELL. Approximately how many British officers were there?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Approximately 300 to 350.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was the subject of Katyn mentioned to you as the first individual, or to the British?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was announced to the camp initially through the German press, in the last weeks of April 1943.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you mind repeating that statement, please?

Colonel VAN VLIET. During the last weeks of April 1943, the German press had a very large splurge on the Katyn atrocities, complete with photographs. This was the first news that reached the prison camp. Thereafter, the German security officer, Hauptmann Heyl, announced that British and American officers would be required to go to Katyn as part of a committee to investigate the circumstances of the alleged murder of many thousand Polish officers. He expressly stated that an American or two, and one or two British officers would go and that the selection would be made by Brigadier Nicholson and myself.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he make that statement in general to all of the occupants of the German camp?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. He made that to Brigadier Nicholson and myself through the front office of the prison camp. Brigadier Nicholson and I protested that no member of that camp would go as an individual, as a representative of the prison camp or as a representative of his own particular army or country, except under duress, and then only as an individual under guard, under protest, unwilling, and would express no opinion and act in no way as any member of an investigating group.

This protest by Brigadier Nicholson and myself was reduced to writing and copies were furnished the Germans and to the Swiss protecting power, to no avail.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did they accept that statement in writing from you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The statement in writing was presented them by Brigadier Nicholson. I read it after it had been typed; but I did not present it to the Germans. Brigadier Nicholson did.

They took it and they read it, and they shrugged it off and said that I, specifically, would go; that Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson would go, and that I would select one other American officer to go.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would the Swiss protecting power have a copy of that today?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't know whether they maintained files this long or not, sir. It is my belief that they did receive that protest, because they received other communications from Brigadier Nicholson.

Mr. MITCHELL. You believe they actually received it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is my belief, based, as I say, on the fact that they had received other communications. I do not know that they received that one.

As the other American officer, I selected then Capt. Donald B. Stewart to accompany me, and we were taken under guard.

Mr. MITCHELL. Why did you select Captain Stewart?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I selected Captain Stewart for several reasons. First, because I knew him and he had been with my battalion supporting it with field artillery in Africa. I knew him to be in the Regular Army, and I knew him to be a graduate of West Point. I felt that anything that came of this later would perhaps better be in the knowledge of someone who was in the Regular Army rather than someone who might return to his civilian occupation after the war and who might be criticized by his fellow civilians for having taken part in a political or propaganda move. I felt that a Regular Army officer could stand that criticism better than a member of a community, if such criticism should develop.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were there any other Regular Army officers in that camp that you know of, American Army officers?

Colonel VAN VLIET. There were three or four others. Captain Stewart, as I recall, was the senior of them, and the one known best to me.

Mr. MITCHELL. That was your primary reason for selecting him?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. He was a man that I knew; I knew him to be intelligent and I knew him to be observant, and he was a man of unquestioned integrity.

Mr. MITCHELL. May we pause here for a moment until I identify some maps that we have procured?

Mr. Chairman, credit for these maps should go to the Army Map Service through the kind offices of the Army Department counselor's office, Mr. Shackelford.

This strip of pictures that you see up here are captured German film. This top strip up here are pictures taken in 1944.

This group of three that you see down here were taken in 1942 by the Germans.

These maps that you see here in the middle were first charted out in 1924, and they were brought up to date in August of 1943 by the German Army.

The map and the pictures show the territory from the city of Smolensk to Katyn City, or rather, I should call it village, because Katyn itself is a small village. There are two main highways, and I am going to ask the colonel to identify his route.

Colonel VAN VLIET. My route [indicating on map] was from Rotenburg to Berlin by train, and from Berlin to Smolensk by air. Here is Smolensk [pointing]. And from Smolensk by road to Katyn.

Now, changing to this map——

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, will the committee look at this other map.

Colonel VAN VLIET. This [indicating on map] is the location of the prison camp at Rotenburg; then to Kassel; then by train to Berlin; and from Tempelhof Airport at Berlin to Smolensk was an air flight. From Smolensk to Katyn was a car ride.'

Chairman MADDEN. Pardon me. What is the distance from Rotenburg to Katyn?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The way I traveled, sir, I would estimate it was about 200 miles from here to Berlin, the way we went by train.

Chairman MADDEN. How far to Katyn?

Colonel VAN VLIET. By air, it is about 650 or 700 miles to Smolensk. The route that we followed was a little south of a straight line, passing within sight of Warsaw and Breslau and Minsk and Pinsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. When was that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That was in the first week of May 1943. I remember the date, because after we had visited the graves at Katyn and before our departure from Smolensk, the German press carried the announcement of the final fall of Tunis, in the north African campaign, which came about the 13th of May 1943. So I am within plus or minus 2 days on that date, sir.

The route followed from the airfield at——

Mr. MITCHELL. May I interrupt a moment? Was the airplane blacked out?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, the airplane was a German trimotor job, arranged to carry passengers, and it was not blacked out. In other words, we had free access to the windows.

Mr. MITCHELL. You could see the terrain you were flying over?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes. We flew rather low, and probably never more than a thousand feet, usually much closer to 300 or 400 feet. The pilot seemed to delight in going close to the ground and laughing when he chased the plowing horses below.

Mr. MITCHELL. Can you identify, for the benefit of the committee, the individuals who were on that plane with you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Some of them aboard the plane with me were then Captain Stewart, United States Army; then Lt. Col. Frank Stevenson, British; and Capt. Stanley Gilder, British; and three British enlisted men, of other ranks, as they were called; and one British civilian internee. Their names were once known to me and I have since forgotten them. There were, in addition, Captain Bentmann of the German Army——

Mr. MITCHELL. How do you spell that name?

Colonel VAN VLIET. B-e-n-t-m-a-n-n. And Sonderfuhrer Von Johnson. Those were the names given me; I cannot say that those were their actual names.

Chairman MADDEN. You may sit down, Colonel.

Mr. MITCHELL. Could you identify the route of the airplane in relation to Warsaw?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Only that we passed within sight of Warsaw, and not over it, but whether it was to the north or south, at this time

I can't recall. We could see the shape of the city, some smokestacks, and just an outline but not enough to identify streets or buildings.

Mr. MITCHELL. I take it the plane never stopped after you left Germany until you got to Smolensk?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The plane made two stops, one at Breslau and one at Biala. Those were for fuel and food, and we didn't leave the airstrip at all.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you proceed with the story from the time you reached Smolensk, using the second map?

Colonel VAN VLIET. From the airfield at Smolensk, we were taken in German military vehicles to Smolensk, itself—

Mr. MITCHELL. How far is that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. About 5 miles, sir—and were billeted in what appeared to be the remains of an apartment house. There were not many entire buildings left in Smolensk at that time, although the fighting front was about 60 or 70 miles, I was told, further toward Moscow. There appeared to be few troops in Smolensk, mostly of a service type. The service-type troops had a mess, and billeting arrangements, and we were billeted by them in a former apartment house in Smolensk for one night.

From Smolensk, the next day, we traveled to Katyn, which could be better shown on this map, on a road that leads from Katyn to Witebsk. This is the road [indicating].

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you point that out on the photograph?

Colonel VAN VLIET. This is Smolensk, and this is the road. We followed it out to about here [indicating] and turned into the woods at Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is that river?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is the Dnieper River.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you, on that road on the way to the graves, at any time see a railroad?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I didn't pay any attention to a railroad on the way to the graves. On the way back, a railroad was specifically pointed out to me by the Germans, and it was pointed out at this crossing and at this station [indicating]. They made the statement that there was a place that boxcars had been stopped, and that Polish prisoners of war had been unloaded from the boxcars and taken by van to the woods at Katyn. That was the German statement.

Mr. MITCHELL. In proceeding from Smolensk to the forest, you traveled in what type of vehicles?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Very similar to the United States Army command reconnaissance car, three-quarter ton.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was in the particular vehicle that you were in?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Captain Stewart, Colonel Stevenson, Captain Gilder, myself, a driver, and I don't recall the name of the German.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were the enlisted men of the British?

Colonel VAN VLIET. They followed in different transportation.

Mr. MITCHELL. But they were close behind?

Colonel VAN VLIET. There were several vehicles; yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you tell us what happened at the graves, then, please?

Chairman MADDEN. We will recess for a minute.
(Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will resume.

I might mention that Congressman Sadlak, of Connecticut is present at the hearing, and former United States Ambassador Grew, and former Polish Ambassador Romer is also present.

If you will proceed, Mr. Witness.

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe that you were testifying that you were about to be taken into the forest; is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is correct.

We dismounted and proceeded on foot from the main road up a small dirt road, a country-type road, through a small gate. At the gate there were guards, young armed soldiers in what was said to be Polish uniforms.

Mr. MITCHELL. How far did you proceed on that road from the main road?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I would say not over 500 yards.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, from the gate to the main road, you would estimate it at about 500 yards?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Less than that, probably. At the gate we were told that these young soldiers, in what was stated to be Polish uniforms, were an honor guard, and that the flag flying there was a Polish flag, and that it was the German intention to make this a national Polish shrine.

It was very difficult to stand the smell. The graves had been opened, and even before we came within sight of them the smell was almost overpowering. The weather was rather warm, and we did not require overcoats. Together with the warmth of the walk and the smell from the graves, it was rather a difficult proposition.

Continuing to the site of the graves, we noticed that there were several graves opened; that in the vicinity of one of the graves there was what appeared to be a doctor with an autopsy-type table, and seated beside the table a clerk with a typewriter. The doctor was examining individual corpses brought from the grave, and recording the findings by announcing them to the clerk, who typed them up.

Mr. MITCHELL. How deep were these graves?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The graves were only partially dug, so I can only answer for the part that I saw. It appeared that the bodies themselves had been covered with about 5 feet of sandy soil, and that after they dug down to 5 feet and found the first layer of bodies, there were then about seven more layers of bodies to the bottom of the grave. So I would estimate that the grave was somewhere in the vicinity of 12 feet deep.

Mr. MITCHELL. Twelve feet, in all, from the top of the ground?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were there layers of dirt between these bodies?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. The bodies had been stacked in, just like sardines in a can, and the only dirt was the dirt that had been thrown in to cover the last layer. The bodies were stretched out face down.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was there any evidence of anything but dirt around these bodies, as though sawdust or anything like that were present?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I didn't observe anything except the bodies and the normal amount of dirt that would be incident to digging them out and moving them. Some dirt had filtered down among the bodies, but it was plain to see at one time it had been a great hole, and the bodies had been stacked in, and then covered with one thick layer.

Mr. MITCHELL. But they were sandy?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was sandy soil, the bodies were quite well preserved, and they appeared to be mummified.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were there any insects?

Colonel VAN VLIET. None in the grave, and I don't recall any insects outside. There were a few flies. The procedure of digging out, identifying, and reburying the bodies was being rushed because the workers knew that hot weather was coming on, and that both the smell and the insects would soon be unbearable.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you or your party go into the graves at all?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir; we were required to enter the graves, and it was necessary to climb over a number of stacks of bodies to do so, rather awkward walking, because in some cases it was slippery. And we were required to select one body and follow it through the process of identification.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who selected the body?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe it was selected finally by Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson. None of us were eager to do this, but it is rather hard to argue with a man who has a gun. We finally did select, and I believe it was Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson. It didn't make any difference to the group of us which body it was, and he finally pointed to one.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was that body taken from the top of a pile, or did they have to dig down to get it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The body was only partially uncovered, and it had to be dragged out rather forcibly to get it on the home-made litter that was there to carry it out to the doctor.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you describe the body, and what happened from that point on, please?

Colonel VAN VLIET. You have a photograph of that particular body, and the only description I can give of it was that it was a male human corpse with a hole in the back of the head, here [indicating], with an exit hole through the forehead; that the face had fallen back in. It was rather an unpleasant sight, and the description of the body is, I think, better done by the picture itself, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness to identify this exhibit which we took at the testimony of Lt. Col. Donald B. Stewart.

Chairman MADDEN. The witness may identify it if he can.

(The exhibit referred to is as follows:)



Colonel VAN VLIET. I recognize this picture as being one that was taken by a German photographer at the time.

It shows Colonel Stevenson, Captain Gilder, and myself, watching the German doctor, who at this point appears to be removing the scalp of the corpse, the better to show the entrance and exit wound of the bullet.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you mind describing, for the benefit of the committee, exactly how they performed this autopsy?

Colonel VAN VLIET. This particular autopsy—and we watched it from start to finish—was said by the Germans to be the same as the treatment accorded each corpse.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was this body clothed?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, it was clothed in the uniform of a Polish officer whose rank I have forgotten.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did it have a regular uniform, like you have on now, or was it an overcoat, or exactly how was it clothed?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't recall that it had an overcoat. Perhaps the picture will show. For the rest of it, it had on breeches, a blouse and shirt, and I believe it had dog tags.

Mr. MITCHELL. And boots?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Boots to the knee.

The clothing was removed from the corpse. They had sharp instruments and cut the pockets so as to remove the contents of the pockets.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were any documents taken out of the pockets of this particular corpse?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir, there were. They were badly discolored, somewhat moist, and I couldn't have read them in any case, because they were, I believe, in Polish; or at least, in some language that I couldn't read.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would it be possible to put those documents in the pocket of that particular corpse as it was in the grave when it was selected?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir; it would not. That body had not been entirely exhumed. It was plainly evident that it had not been tampered with. The Germans continued with a very thorough search, removing the contents of all pockets. This was of interest to us prisoners, because we had been searched before by the Germans and had made efforts to secrete various things about our persons and in our shoes. They continued to strip the body entirely, and they removed one shoe and had some difficulty removing the other. The leg came off with this boot, and I don't believe they finally searched that particular boot. We had observed this process continuing with a stream of bodies being processed.

The stripped corpse having been identified and searched, was disposed of by being carried a short distance and dumped into a new grave which had been recently dug. It was announced by the Germans that it was their intent, having dug up and identified and documented all of these bodies, to rebury them in this nearby new mass grave, and then later erect a suitable monument.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, there was another area there where they were putting these bodies back in after they exhumed them?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Within 100 yards.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many graves were open when you were there?

Colonel VAN VLIET. As I recall, there were three graves open at that time, and several other so-called test holes that had been dug in search for other graves.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you at any time make any estimate of the number of bodies that might have been in the graves that you saw?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir; I did. By counting the number of bodies in a layer, and the number of layers, and then the dimensions of the grave, I arrived at a figure of approximately 10,000, and thought that this was a conservative figure.

I later had an opportunity to compare my estimate with the estimates made by the other Americans there and the two British officers, and we all had around 10,000. Some of them hit 9,000 and some hit 11,000, but that was our estimate.

Mr. MITCHELL. But was that arrived at independently?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Colonel VAN VLIET. At the grave site.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you verify the number with the other members of your group?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have to disgress a minute there, Mr. Mitchell, because it is necessary to explain that we were not talking to one another at the grave site, and when we returned to our billet, we refrained from discussing the matter because we recognized that this was a matter that could have great political implications. We wanted no part of it, and felt that the Germans were making every effort to implicate us and suspected that they might have the room that we were in wired with microphones to overhear our conversations. It was not until we had an opportunity afterward, outside and away from German guards, out of earshot, to discuss that. We made every

effort to have such discussions, both the next day and later when we were held in Berlin, after our return to Berlin. So it was over a period, sir, of several days, before we had a chance to compare notes fully as a group.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were any moving pictures or still pictures taken of your group?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. German photographers took still pictures and motion pictures of the party climbing in and out of the graves and observing the autopsy, and we were later each given copies of the still pictures.

Mr. MITCHELL. When was that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. In Berlin.

Mr. MITCHELL. After you returned?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir; within a few days. We never saw or heard anything more of the motion pictures. We were perturbed for fear that the Germans would make propaganda use of those pictures, but to our knowledge they did not. We never saw or heard anything more about those pictures, although we had access to some German daily newspapers.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were telling us about the documents taken from the bodies of these men in the graves. What happened to those documents?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The clerk recording the findings of the doctor took the documents and placed them in an ordinary manila envelope, such as this, marked on the outside with the identification of the corpse. The manila envelopes were then taken and kept in a filing room in a field museum established by the Germans about a mile from the graves. We observed this autopsy and had an opportunity to see a number of other bodies that had been laid out, apparently for display purposes, and they had been selected, I believe, because in each case the hands were tied like this behind the body [indicating], and knotted with cord which was deeply embedded in the flesh.

Mr. FLOOD. Suppose the witness designates on counsel how the hands were tied, and I would like to see that more clearly. Would you show that on Mr. Mitchell here?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The hands were behind in each case, crossed, and bound with a rather intricate knot around the wrists, and evidently very tightly because the cords were embedded in the flesh.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you show each member of the committee exactly how those hands were tied, and where the bullet was in the back of the head?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The entry point of the bullet was here at the back of the head like this [indicating]. Mr. Mitchell, may I turn you around?

Mr. FLOOD. Show us one at a time. This is important.

Colonel VAN VLIET. The hands were crossed like this, and tied this way and this way [indicating], with an intricate knot, and the cords deeply embedded in the flesh. Each body had a small bullet hole, said to be 7 millimeters in diameter, with the exit wounds in the forehead usually having knocked out a much larger piece of bone than the entry. There was a larger hole where the bullet came out.

And may I back you up, now, Mr. Mitchell?

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you say that it was cord that the body was bound with?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was more nearly like a thin clothesline, a woven type. I think parachute risers would be about the best description that I could give at this time. It seemed to be a very stout woven, about like a parachute riser.

The thing that we noticed most, and a point which I felt to be most important, was the condition of the clothing, and particularly the shoes. This was a point which was not pointed out to us by the Germans.

Mr. MITCHELL. Which point is that, that was not pointed out?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The condition of the clothing and the shoes. The Germans only pointed out that it was a fine grade of uniform material, and that these were unquestionably Polish officers.

Our own observations, my own and I confirmed later with the other officers of the group, the observations I considered most important were these: The uniforms, as pointed out by the Germans, were of high quality, and they were tailored; and the footwear, both shoes and boots, usually boots over breeches, was of high quality, and in many cases apparently made to order.

Now, I don't qualify as an expert on footwear, but I have had to wear uniforms for quite a while now, of both sorts, and I know what I should pay for them, and I think I could recognize good boots and breeches when I see them. They were not much worn. The heels were not worn. There was no sign of patching, tatters, or fraying on the uniforms.

Some of the corpses had an overcoats and some did not. We did not have an opportunity to examine many of the corpses in the grave, but we did notice the several layers in the grave. I imagine we probably saw in the vicinity of 100 clearly visible bodies, and then outside many more, the ones that had been dragged out to show.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, to bring out a point, how many bodies would you say you examined; roughly, those that you actually saw yourself?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is hard to make a very accurate estimate on, sir, but I would say that it was somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 bodies that I saw that I could identify as individual bodies.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In noticing the hands tied behind the back, were they all tied with the so-called parachute cord, or did you not notice too closely?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The only ones I saw were tied with that kind of cord, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you.

Colonel VAN VLIET. If I may continue about the shoes, sir, which I think is the most important thing that I have to tell this committee, this was in May of 1943. The Germans' story, which I did not want to believe, and I was understandably against the Germans, was that these bodies had been buried in April and May of 1940. I wanted to believe that the Germans had overrun these Polish prisoners of war and had killed them themselves and tried to plant the blame on the Russians.

Mr. MITCHELL. Why did you particularly want that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Sir, at that time, like many others, I wanted to consider Russia as a friend and an ally. I was where I could work up a very good case of dislike for the Germans.

Mr. MITCHELL. Why?

Colonel VAN VLIET. As a prisoner of war, I had a personal grudge against them, and as an American Army officer I had a professional grudge against them. That doesn't leave much more room for grudge, and I was just about filled up. So the German story was one that I did not want to believe, and yet from my observation of a point which they did not point out to me, I was forced to believe them. That was the point that the shoes and the clothing did not show much wear, and I reasoned this way: If those Polish officers had been alive and in prison camp until the Germans overran the Polish prison camps, and if the Germans had in fact killed these Polish officers, then by the very virtue of the fact that those clothes had been worn and those shoes had been walked in, they would show much more wear.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long a period of time was it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Well, the German story, which I didn't want to believe and which I finally came to believe, was that the Polish officers had been killed at some time prior to May of 1940. An examination of history shows that the war started in the summer of 1939, and that the Russians occupied a portion of Poland that same year, and gained control of a large portion of the Polish Army, including these Polish officers. The Germans did not then again occupy that part of Russia around Smolensk—I think the first German units didn't get in there until July and August of 1941. So had the story been as the Russian press and radio claimed, that this was a German hoax and that those officers had been recently killed, then the shoes and the clothing would have shown much more wear.

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, that would have been a period of almost 2 years, then?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. From the time that these Poles were taken prisoners.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have my own personal experience to draw from; that of a prisoner of war. I had one pair of shoes when I was captured. I was never issued any clothing by the Germans; I was nearly barefoot at one time in prison camp before some more shoes were produced by the International Red Cross. Actually, they were United States military shoes. I wore out two pair of shoes in prison camp in 2 years; and that 2 years is the time, very close to the 2 years' differential in the Russian and German claim as to the length of time these people had been killed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did the Germans at any time in their story try to refute the charges made by the Soviets that these officers were working on a road camp, slave labor?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I never heard that story, sir, until just now, so I don't know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do I understand then, Colonel, that your conclusion or your position is this: that if the Russian story were true, and these prisoners were killed at the time that the Germans occupied that portion of the country, then the uniforms and the shoes would have shown more wear and tear?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir, much more.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that your final conclusion was based among other factors upon the fact that as a result of the condition of this clothing, and these shoes, it was quite obvious that these people could not have been in a prison camp a very long time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In the examination of these bodies, and the evidence that was laid out or taken from these bodies, such as letters and newspapers, did you see any documents on those bodies dated after May 1940?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir; I did not. At the grave site itself we were shown a number of odds and bits of things like torn pages of diaries and Polish bank notes, and such. Later, at this field museum—which itself was permeated with the odor of the mass graves, seeping from the back room where the envelopes were full of belongings removed from corpses—there were glass cases in which were displayed uniform insignia, types of rank, and many diaries, letters, clippings, and so forth, none of which were dated after May of 1940.

Chairman MADDEN. We will recess just a moment.

(Short recess.)

Mr. O'KONSKI. I would like to proceed further with my question.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order, please.

Mr. O'KONSKI. If the contention is true, as the Germans indicated, that the crime was perpetuated in May of 1940 or thereabouts, and the Russians claimed that the Germans did it, it means that the Germans had no other time to do it earlier than August 1941; is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is correct, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And yet all of the evidence, all of the documents and diaries that you saw did not date back later than May of 1940; is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is correct, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. I would like to ask, did I understand you correctly when you stated that you estimated viewing about 10,000 bodies?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, I stated that it was my estimate that the graves contained 10,000 bodies. I did not see that many because there were portions of the graves not yet opened. It was like trying to tell how many eggs are in a crate when you can see only a portion of it.

Chairman MADDEN. But from the graves that were exhumed and the remaining area that contained bodies you would estimate that there was approximately 10,000?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I take for granted my colleagues will develop generally this scene of the alleged offenses. There is another phase of it that interests me very much. This first came to my attention back in the Seventy-ninth Congress, a long time ago. I raised an inquiry at that time and subsequently in the first session of the Eighty-first Congress about your report. Your name has become rather famous as identified with what we refer to here in this committee as the Van Vliet report.

After you left the scene of this offense what did you do that night, that week? Where did they take you? Where did the Germans take you when you left the scene?

Colonel VAN VLIET. We were returned to Smolensk, and spent that afternoon sightseeing, matters that had nothing to do with Katyn. We were shown a monument that marked, I think, one of the furthest advances of Napoleon when he invaded Russia; a model village—

Mr. FLOOD. That is very interesting, but after you left the scene, Smolensk-Katyn, where did you go then?

Colonel VAN VLIET. We were returned to a jail in Berlin——

Mr. FLOOD. By "we" do you mean——

Colonel VAN VLIET. The entire group, sir. The entire group was returned to a jail in Berlin, where we stayed about a week wondering what was to become of us.

Mr. FLOOD. That includes you and the Scotchman, the Australian, and the other Americans?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Substitute South African for Australian.

Mr. FLOOD. South African. What happened to him?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. Colonel Stevenson, the South African, was bundled off on very short notice.

Mr. FLOOD. Was he the ranking officer?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. He was originally from the same prison camp at Rotenberg that I had come from with Captain Stewart. I never saw him again. The Germans took him some place else, and I don't know to this day what became of him. Captain Gilder was returned to the prison hospital where he worked, and Captain Stewart and I were returned to Rotenberg. During the remainder of the time that I was a prisoner of war, and by agreement reached among the eight of us who had made this trip, I never divulged my opinion that the Russians had killed 10,000 Polish officers, or thereabouts.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that your opinion?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir, that is my unshakable opinion, and I reached it very reluctantly.

Mr. FLOOD. It was then and is now?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, how were you relieved as a prisoner of war? When and where and by whom were you liberated?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I was in a different prison camp at Luckenwalde south of Berlin in April of 1945. This prison camp was overrun by the Russian Army, and after some turmoil I made my way back to the American lines.

Mr. FLOOD. When was that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I reached the American lines on the 5th of May 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. Then what happened?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Upon reaching the American lines I had three main interests. The first was food, the second was to get rid of the report that I felt I ought to make, the third was to get home. I went to G-2, intelligence officer.

Mr. FLOOD. What outfit and what was his name, if you remember?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't remember his name. It was the One Hundred and Fourth Infantry Division.

Mr. FLOOD. The One Hundred and Fourth Infantry Division. What Army?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe that was part of the American First Army, sir. I can't say for sure.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were they based at the time you first contacted the G-2?

Colonel VAN VLIET. This was in the vicinity of Duben, on the Mulde River in Germany. I showed the G-2——

Mr. FLOOD. What was his rank?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe he was a colonel, but that is just because G-2's are habitually colonels. I don't know.

Mr. FLOOD. You would make a very good one.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I showed him my copy of the photographs that I had been carrying ever since Berlin. These photographs had been stamped "Gepruft"——

Mr. FLOOD. By the way, what was your rank at that time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I was a lieutenant colonel at that time, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you have any other notes other than just the photographs?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Not at that time. The notes that I had previously taken were very brief and only had names and dates, so that I could relate my travels.

Mr. MITCHELL. You didn't have them when you were reporting in to G-2, then?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, I didn't. I managed to save the photographs, but my notes which were with some other belongings I had abandoned when we were marched from——

Mr. FLOOD. Just at this moment I want to develop what happened to G-2. You reported to this G-2, this colonel. Now what happened?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I told him who I was, what I was, showed him the photographs. I said that I wanted to have words with somebody in either the War Department or the State Department and no one else. He provided transportation from his headquarters to Leipzig, which was the next higher headquarters, Seventh Corps, United States Army. At Leipzig I spent the night, and before night fell I had gone to the headquarters of General Collins.

Mr. FLOOD. General who?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Gen. J. Lawton Collins, commanding general of the Seventh Corps.

Mr. FLOOD. The present Chief of Staff?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. I made my presence known to his assistants and stated that I would like, if it was convenient, to see the general and that I had known the general when I was a youngster and I had something to tell him. They arranged for me to see General Collins the following morning, which I did.

Mr. FLOOD. You talked with General Collins in person?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. At Leipzig.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. When was this, about?

Colonel VAN VLIET. May 6, 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. All right.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I showed General Collins my photographs and told him that it was my opinion that the Russians were guilty. I said that in my opinion it was a matter for the War Department or the State Department and asked his advice. He countered by showing me his recent photographs of some of the German atrocity camps that had just been overrun and agreed that my report should be made higher and provided me with transportation to headquarters, First Army, then at Weimar.

Mr. MITCHELL. You mean to say he didn't ask you to put something in writing at that time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. I believe that it was General Collins' view, as it was mine, that the place to make the report was in Washington. I can't say what was in his mind, but that was the impression that I had at the time and still have. He provided me transportation to headquarters, First Army, told me who to see there to get further transportation, and I did. I arrived back in the United States—

Mr. FLOOD. Did you report to any general officer at First Army?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. I reported to a General Kean, I don't recall how many stars he had up.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you report this story?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Only the fact that I had a story to report, sir. I didn't tell him my conclusions.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in transit then?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were interested in transport there?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You got it and where did you go?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I went to Eisenhower's headquarters at Reims where I didn't report to anyone except the billeting officer and told him I wanted transportation to Paris. They provided me with transportation to Paris. After I had gotten to First Army I switched to air and was flown from First Army to Reims and then was further flown to Paris.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You didn't get to see General Eisenhower himself?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I had no occasion to see anyone there at all, sir. I just passed through.

Mr. MITCHELL. From the questioning that Congressman Flood has asked so far, the only person you ever mentioned this Katyn affair to was General Collins?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The only person to whom I expressed my opinion as to the guilt. I had to mention the affair and show the photographs to the G-2 at the One Hundred and Fourth Infantry Division.

Mr. MITCHELL. To whom there?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I didn't understand.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who at that place? What was the name of the individual?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have already stated, sir, I don't know the name of the G-2 at the One Hundred and Fourth Division. He was the one I first spoke to, then General Collins, then General Kean, and then finally I wound up in Paris. But of them all, Collins is the only one that I expressed my opinion to.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you talk to any general officers in Paris? Did you talk to any G-2's in Paris?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. I talked with a General Barker, who was in the G-1 business in the headquarters of ETOUSA, if I recall correctly. I told him I had a story which I believed should go back to Washington. It was known to me that at that time there were some beginnings being made in Paris, this was just before VE-day, there were beginnings on war crimes investigations and that I didn't want to go to Washington and have to turn around and come back to Paris.

Mr. FLOOD. Did anybody at this time, any place, anywhere in the American service tell you they knew what you were talking about, that they had heard about this offense or add anything to what you knew?

Colonel VAN VLIET. They added nothing to what I knew, but they had heard about it because it did get a world-wide press coverage initially. It appeared to dry up awful fast after the first smear in the German papers. I only know that from looking at back files of United States papers.

Mr. FLOOD. Who ordered you to Washington, by what authority did you leave Paris and how did you get to Washington?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I went to Paris on authority of ETOUSA. I flew to Washington and arrived in Washington the 17th of May 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. Alone?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. I reported to the Pentagon and went to see the office of G-2.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you directed by anybody overseas to report to the office of G-2 or did you from your Army experience decide that was where you should report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is where I decided to go. I went to the office of G-2 and told enough of my story to convince—

Mr. O'KONSKI. To whom?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Sir, I don't remember. It was in one of the outer offices of G-2. I don't know whom I spoke to. It was one or two down from the G-2.

Mr. O'KONSKI. What was his rank, a colonel?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe it was a lieutenant colonel, sir, but I am unable to say who or what. They said I should see General Bissell—

Mr. O'KONSKI. You mean to tell me when you came in there he did not introduce himself to you or who he was? He did not tell you what his position was nor did you inquire?

Colonel VAN VLIET. His position was known to me at the time, sir, but that has been 7 years ago, and it wasn't at the time important to me to remember whom I talked to in that office. I am sorry, I don't remember.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Isn't it customary in military—

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, if my friend does not mind I will pursue this line for a few minutes. I will be glad to yield later.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FLOOD. You went to the Pentagon. You went to G-2. You talked to some lower echelon officer. You don't know his name. They thought you should talk to General Bissell. Was General Bissell the CO in G-2 at that time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. He was G-2 at that time. He was not available to me.

Mr. FLOOD. Could you remember the day at this time, the date?

Colonel VAN VLIET. May 17, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. May 17. All right.

Colonel VAN VLIET. So I waited until General Bissell was available. I do not remember now what his business was at the time except that part of that time until I saw him on the 22d of May he was not in town. When he was available I reported to him.

Mr. FLOOD. Between the 17th and the 22d of May did you report to anybody else or make any statements orally or in writing to anybody else, officially or otherwise, about this mission?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. I kept quiet until I could see General Bissell.

Mr. FLOOD. On the 22d you saw General Bissell?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Where, at the Pentagon?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I told General Bissell substantially the same story that I have told here.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was present when you talked to Bissell?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No one, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in General Bissell's private office?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You and the general?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Colonel VAN VLIET. After I told him the same story, in effect, that I am telling you, he said that it was of importance and that he wanted it reduced to writing. He provided me with a female stenographer, and the stenographer and I closeted ourselves in an empty room across the hall where I collected my thoughts and dictated to her. I suppose we were there an hour or so.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know her name?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. She then transcribed her notes and I read the report that I had made and signed it.

Mr. MITCHELL. All on the same day?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask a question at this point, please? You say the notes were transcribed and submitted to you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were they in one or more copies?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I cannot recall, sir. I signed the one copy for sure. Whether there were carbons I don't remember. To clarify your question, Mr. Mitchell, at this time I can't say for sure that it was the same day or the next morning that the notes were typed. It is my opinion that it was the same day. It may be that you could find other evidence.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you recall what time of day you started dictating, in the morning or the afternoon?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was in the morning, sir, and as I recall, I was through, because I left Washington that day to return to Kansas.

Mr. FLOOD. Let's get back again. You talked to Bissell. Bissell said, "Go in there and dictate your story." You took the stenographer into this room across the hall; you dictated the story.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Subsequently that day or the next morning, you are not sure which.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe it was that day.

Mr. FLOOD. That day you were given a transcript of what purported to be your statement to the stenographer.

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was my statement, sir; to the stenographer, and affixed to it were the photographs, copies of which Mr. Mitchell now has.

Mr. FLOOD. Did this stenographer hand this statement to you? This transcribed statement was handed to you by the same stenographer that took your statements?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. And affixed thereto were the exhibits, the pictures you brought with you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You sat there and read it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. It was your statement?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Had it been altered?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. It was an exact reproduction?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You wouldn't change that statement now?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. That is the statement I signed.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was present when you signed it? Where did you sign it and who was present?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I signed it in General Bissell's office and as I recall, sir, the stenographer and General Bissell were both present at the time.

Mr. FLOOD. Nobody else?

Colonel VAN VLIET. None that I can recall.

Mr. FLOOD. As far as you know, General Bissell, the same stenographer, and you signed it in his office?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. There was one document with the exhibits, as far as you know?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. If there were copies you don't remember copies?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't remember whether there were or not.

Mr. FLOOD. As far as you know, there were not. You won't say one way or the other.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I can't remember.

Mr. FLOOD. You signed them all?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you do when you signed it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I cannot state whether I turned them over to General Bissell or whether the stenographer——

Mr. FLOOD. Turned "them" or "it"?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Turned it, the document.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, over to General Bissell.

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was turned over to someone there in the office and that office has a double door. Whether it was the stenographer, General Bissell, or one of the other office assistants I don't know, sir. I had signed it and I was through with it.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you do immediately upon signing the document in this office at that time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I was directed at that time by General Bissell to remain silent on this matter.

Mr. FLOOD. What did he say?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have the paper that he gave me at that time, which is its own best evidence. I think I can produce it, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Will the clerk mark this as an exhibit and let me have it back, please.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. FLOOD. I have been shown by the witness what is now marked as "Exhibit No. 1," a letter on War Department heading dated May 22, 1945, signed by Clayton Bissell. I will ask counsel to read this for the record and show it to the members of the committee when it is read.

Mr. MITCHELL. This letter is on official War Department stationery:

WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2,
WASHINGTON

Up in the left-hand corner the initials "MIL 907", the date May 22, 1945.

Memorandum for Lt. Col. John H. Van Vliet, Jr.
Subject: Special report to War Department.

1. You have furnished to the War Department a special report covering a certain part of your experiences. These have been recorded exactly as dictated by you and will be held available for such use as is considered appropriate by United States Government activities. Due to the nature of your report and the possible political implications, it is directed that you neither mention nor discuss this matter with anyone in or out of the service without specific approval in writing from the War Department.

2. This confirms verbal orders given to you by the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, in Washington, on 22 May 1945. Your signature on a copy of these instructions left with the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, indicates that you understand these instructions.

By direction of the Chief of Staff:

CLAYTON BISSELL,
Major General, GSC, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you given those instructions orally, as this letter indicates?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. I was, and I might add that it was rather at my request, for this reason: There were a number of prisoners of war that knew that I had been forced to go to Katyn, that knew that I had flatly refused to discuss the matter after my return to prison camp, and I did feel that sooner or later someone would approach me and ask for my opinion. It might be a newspaper reporter or anyone. I felt that having rendered this report to proper authorities, it would then be a mistake for me to go around the country talking about the matter or answering questions. I specifically asked General Bissell what should I do in the event that I am later questioned about this, since it appears to be a matter that should only be handled at top levels. It was at that point that he gave me at my request these instructions, and they have been very handy since.

Mr. FLOOD. I should imagine. He gave you this oral command at your request? Did you request that it be reduced to writing, too?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. I asked for his instructions, and he confirmed them in writing.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you sign the copy indicated in that communication subsequently?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You have kept this in your possession ever since—

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Until you produced it from your brief case here today?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Then what did you do at that point? After you had received this memorandum and after you had signed the copy thereof, what did you do?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I returned to my home with father and mother in Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Mr. FLOOD. You are a Regular Army officer?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You are now a full colonel?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you in your Regular Army experience up until this time encounter an incident of that sort before where you were told by a general officer to stand silent and have it confirmed in writing on any such matter?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Did it strike you at that time and—well, strike that out. In fairness to you I will not ask that.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I will answer that question, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You know what I am going to ask you, of course. Did it strike you that that was rather unusual and extraordinary for a general officer to a lieutenant colonel of the line, to give such instruction to stand silent on a matter that you felt was loaded with such potential or propaganda results?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I felt it was appropriate and I welcomed it, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You asked for it.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I asked for it. I have since been glad that I had it. I have had——

Mr. FLOOD. As far as you are concerned personally.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. So far as whether that is a usual or unusual thing I can't say because I have only made one visit to one set of mass graves and have been involved in only one thing like this before.

Mr. FLOOD. We hope nobody else has had the same experience. Have you ever seen the original document that you signed that day since that time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you ever been interrogated by anybody in connection with it since?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. By whom and where?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I received a telephone call from an officer who stated that he was a Captain Semple while I was stationed at Fort Lewis in 1949. He said that the report that I had rendered to the War Department was not available and would I write another report. I told him on the long-distance phone that I didn't know who he was and if it was official he could write me and I hung up on him. I later received a letter signed "Maj. Gen. Floyd L. Parks, Chief of Information," confirming that it was Captain Semple who had telephoned and authorizing me in writing to make one exception, and one exception only, to General Bissell's written directive and to reproduce from memory as near as I could another report to be used until they could find my original report.

Chairman MADDEN. We will take a brief recess.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will now proceed.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, at the moment of recess I was about to ask you did you have here for us today a copy or the original letter that you had received from the—General Parks, was it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have it.

Mr. FLOOD. Instructing you to disregard in part General Bissell's written order to you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have a copy here, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You have a copy.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Where is the original, if you know?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe, sir, that I destroyed that, together with my carbon copy when I left with the Second Division to go to Korea. I didn't want to leave any personal effects behind that would be embarrassing to anyone. I think probably the original letter from General Parks has been destroyed. However, I will certify that this is a copy.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you get what purports to be the copy?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is from a news release which in turn was made from my own report to the War Department.

Mr. FLOOD. I will ask counsel, Mr. Mitchell, if and when the situation arises that it is necessary to produce the original I can take for granted that you will ask the Department to produce the original of this document to the colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They couldn't have the original.

Mr. FLOOD. Their file copy or whatever they have, that they sent to the colonel. Anyhow, for reasons that you state you don't have the original, and you have now what you will certify is the letter you got from General Parks?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I will ask counsel to identify this as exhibit 2 and to read it for the record and exhibit it to the members of the committee.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. MITCHELL. This is exhibit No. 2, taken at the testimony. It is dated April 26, 1950.

Subject: Request for Intelligence Report.

To: Lt. Col. John H. Van Vliet, Executive Officer, 23rd Infantry Regiment, 2nd Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, Washington.

1. Reference is made to telephonic conversation of 24 April 1950 with Captain Malcolm M. Semple, Public Information Division, and Mr. Thomas F. Connor, Consultant to the Chief of Information.

2. A thorough search has been made in the files of G-2, and the report which you made to General Bissell on 22 May 1945 has not yet been found. A search is being continued with the various intelligence agencies; however, until such time as the report is located, it is requested that another report be rendered on your experience with the Katyn case.

3. The memorandum addressed to you on 22 May 1945 by the then Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, General Bissell, directing you to silence regarding the Katyn case, is rescinded for the purpose of rendering the above-requested report. However, it must be pointed out that the exception to silence is valid only for this particular report, and, until further notice, the order directing you to silence will again become effective.

4. Request the report be classified "Secret" and returned to me personally.

F. L. PARKS,
Major General, USA,
Chief of Information.

In the lower left-hand corner is "Incl #1."

On the reverse side of this exhibit in the upper left-hand corner is:

AMBAG-O201 Van Vliet, John H. (O), 1st Ind., JJM/f.

Subject: Request Made of Lt. Col. Van Vliet for Summary of Certain War Observations.

Hq., 2d Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, Washington, 20 September 1949.

Thru: Commanding Officer, 23d Infantry, Fort Lewis, Washington.

To: Lt. Col. John H. Van Vliet, Jr.

For compliance with paragraph 3, basic communication.

By Command of Major General Collins:

(signed) J. J. Maloney, J. J. Maloney, 1st Lt. AGD, Asst. Adj. Gen.

Incl. n/c.

Incl #2, "Montgomery Green and related papers."

Mr. FLOOD. Would you show that, Counsel, to members of the committee.

After you received this communication from the general, what did you do?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I typed out a letter to General Parks.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that letter?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you show that to counsel, please, and have it marked as "Exhibit No. 3"?

How many pages comprise this third exhibit?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Eight pages, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Instead of having counsel read it for the record at this time, we will have submitted to members of the committee and made part of the record this reply. For the purpose of my examination now I just want to ask you two or three other questions.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 3" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT 3

Quarters 165
Ft Lewis, Washington
11 May, 1950

Subject: THE KATYN CASE

To : F. L. PARKS,
Major General, USA
Chief of Information

1. Pursuant to your letter of 26 Apr 1950 (incl # 1) I am personally typing this report of my recollections concerning the KATYN Case. I am retaining one carbon copy for my personal file.

2. Since five years have elapsed since I made the first report to Maj Gen Bissell, this report will have to omit some details such as names which I have forgotten. In order to assist in locating my original report here are the circumstances under which it was made:

On 22 May 1945 Gen Bissell discussed the case with me alone in his private office in the Pentagon for about 20 minutes. He decided that it was important and directed his civilian female assistant (secretary ? stenographer ?) to go with me to closed room across the hall and take dictation. I dictated my report, she typed it up and we added the photographs as inclosures. The General read the finished report, directed that it be marked "Top Secret" and filed. He then dictated the letter directing me to silence, and had me sign a copy of it in his presence. He explained the importance of my remaining silent, gave me my copy of the letter and thanked me.

3. Narrative: I was a prisoner of war at Oflag IX/AZ in Rotenburg, Germany in April, 1943. It was primarily a British Officers prison camp headed by Brigadier Nicholson (who had been the defender of CALAIS). I was the senior of the 125 (approx) American officers in the camp. At this time the German press began a big splurge on the KATYN case. So also did the German radio.

(note: mention of this radio violates the certificate I had to sign upon being processed as a returned POW)

Hauptman HEYL, the German camp commander, told Brig Nicholson and me that he had orders to send two American officers and 1 Brit. officer to the RR station at KASSELL, Germany where they would be met by British Maj Gen FORTUNE (from another nearby POW camp. He had commanded the Brit 1st Div in France).

Hauptman Heyl stated that I would be one of the two U. S. officers; that I would select the other one; that together with other Allied prisoners we would be a

"Board of Inquiry" to investigate the Katyn Massacre. I flatly refused to have any part of it. Brig. Nicholson backed me up on this and together we wrote a letter to the Swiss Protecting Power which stated that no officers from the camp would make any visit to Katyn or make any investigation, or express any opinion. That if we were forced to go it would be only as individual prisoners under guard and against our protest. That we could not be considered as representatives of the prison camp, our army, or our nation, and that we protested violently this apparent attempt to use us for German Propaganda Purposes.

Our protest did no good. Using armed guards, the Germans took me and Capt Donald Stewart, FA (regular army) to the Kassel RR station where they expected to meet Maj Gen Fortune. He did not arrive, to the surprise of the German guards. We were then taken to Berlin and jailed in an Arbeits Kommando (sp?)—a building overlooking the Spree River, housing PWs of several nationalities who were performing labor in Berlin.

In this Jail we met several U. S. soldiers who had been brought from a nearby PW camp for the same reason that we had. One of these¹ was a CPL TAUSSIG who had been in the same regiment with me for the invasion of ALGIERS by the 168th Inf. There were also several british soldiers and a british civilian (internee) as well as² LT COL STEVENSON (british, South African, Sig corps) and a british captain, medical corps, whose name I cannot now remember. In my opinion these men were actually what they appeared to be and did not include any "plants". We prisoners of war were very careful in our efforts to make certain identification.

Soon we were taken, one by one, to the jail office where we were interviewed by several German staff officers and some civilian officials who appeared to be from both the foreign office and the propaganda ministry. The procedure appeared about the same for all of us: "Since you have volunteered to investigate this terrible Katyn atrocity, we are taking you to the scene. You will of course sign a parole not to escape."

"The hell we did volunteer. We dont want to go. Send us back to our camps." Great surprise and much chatter among the Germans. Then the same thing over again.

Finally they announced that since we wouldnt give our paroles they would have to place guards on the airplane with us. This meant that some prisoners would not make the trip, to make room for the guards. The American soldiers were left back.

Lt Col Stevenson was the senior in the group. We cautioned the entire group to do no talking, to give no indications of opinion, and not to cooperate in any way with the Germans. All agreed. It was evident to all of us that we were involved in an international mess with terrific political implications.

An english-speaking german captain was placed in charge of the group together with an english speaking Sonderfuhrer (sp?) who gave the name of Von Johnson, spoke idiomatic American, and said he had attended school at Rice in the USA.

We were flown from Templehof to Smolensk about the 6th of May, 1943. At that time Smolensk was about 60 miles from the front and appeared to contain only garrison troops. We were billeted in some of the remaining intact buildings, of which there were only a few. Some sort of a German service unit maintained an officers mess where we all ate. While in Smolensk we were taken on a sight-seeing tour by the local service unit commander and a major who appeared to be an agricultural expert and enthusiast who was trying to re-habilitate the land with the remnants of the Russian peasant population. His efforts included a model village. In my opinion this "hospitality" was spontaneous and was prompted partly by his own enthusiasm for his work and partly because he hadnt had many visitors. It didnt appear to be organized on orders from Berlin.

A German Lt (spoke no English) appeared from the group that was in charge of operations at the scene of the Mass Graves in KATYN Forest. He acted as our guide. We were driven to the site where there was a gate, guarded by young soldiers in Polish uniforms. A sickly-sweet odor of decaying bodies was everywhere. At the graves it was nearly overpowering. There were several graves. Professor Herr Doktor BUTZ (BOOTZ ?) a German expert in forsenic medecin was present together with other technicians. Several Polish Red Cross workers were present. Civilian labor was being used to remove bodies from the graves. Each body was searched very carefully, examined, identified, and re-buried in a nearby mass grave which was to become a national shrine with suitable monu-

¹ I knew Taussig personally.

² Lt Col Stevenson was from the same camp as Capt Stewart and myself. He had come to Berlin with us. We knew him.

ments. The articles removed from each body were placed in a large manilla envelope for safekeeping. The search of the bodies was very thorough, including removal of shoes or boots where it was possible. (sometimes the whole leg from the knee down came off with the boot) The examiners wore rubber aprons and rubber gloves. A typist was present recording the findings on each body.

We followed our guide right into each of the graves—stepping on bodies that were piled like cord wood, face down usually, to a depth of about 5 to 7 bodies covered with about 5 feet of earth. About 300 bodies were laid out beside one of the graves. These all had their hands tied behind them with cord. The rest appeared not to have been tied. All bodies had a bullet hole in the back of head near the neck with the exit wound of the bullet being in the forehead or front upper part of the skull.

The graves on the down-hill part of the slope were more moist than the others. One end of one grave had standing water in it. German photographers were present and took both still and motion pictures of our party while we inspected the graves. Copies of the still pictures were later given to us. We never saw or heard anything of the movies.

After we inspected the graves we were shown several other test holes which had been dug in the vicinity, together with very old human bones, ie, no meat left on them, which were said to have been dug up there. I am inclined to believe the story, although there was no proof. The Germans made much of the fact that this wooded knoll was a long-standing burial site used by the Russian secret police. I forget whether they called them the OGPU, NKVD, or MVD. There was a rustic lodge on the low bluff overlooking the small landing on the river (Dneiper river, I believe). This lodge was allegedly the scene of frequent tortures, drinking parties, and various other orgies held by the Russian police as matters of amusement and recreation as well as routine business. The Germans produced an old peasant, Russian, who claimed that this forest of Katyn had an evil reputation—it was forbidden ground—that he had seen big closed vans go from the railroad siding (some miles distant) into the forest and that there were stories of shots being heard very often in the woods. This was supposed to confirm that the Russians had brought the victims to the mass graves by rail and truck some time before the Germans occupied the area.

The British medical captain in the group understood German very well and a little Russian which he had learned while taking care of Russian prisoners.

About a mile down the road the Germans had taken over a house as a field museum and office. The porch and front rooms were filled with glass showcases containing items removed from bodies in the graves. There were sample uniform insignia ranging from General to Lieutenant, there were several Geneva arm bands, many letters, photographs, diaries, news clippings, personal souvenirs etc. These items were just the better samples. In the back rooms of the house there were the individual envelopes containing the items removed from the corpses. This building was also permeated with the smell of the graves, coming from the showcases and the envelopes.

At this point the Germans produced two small drinks for everyone and then we returned to our billets in Smolensk.

We were flown back to the same Jail in Berlin and stayed there about 10 days. During this time the Germans were apparently trying to decide what to do with us. (The British soldiers and the civilian internee were returned to their respective camps before the end of this ten day period—or so we were told—leaving us four officers to wonder what it was all about. An English speaking German soldier or Sonderfuhrer Von Johnson would take us for walk through the Tiergarten every day, along with guards. It was during this walk period that we had a chance to talk without fear of microphones. Our discussion while in the Jail always avoided any mention of what we thought about who had committed the murders at Katyn.

During these walks, Lt Col Stevenson did a lot of talking with the Germans. Told them that he had once published a book and that as soon as he returned home he was going to get permission from his superiors to write a book about this experience. We couldn't get him to shut up about any subject at any time except the big question of "Whodunnit?" He was a windbag. He claimed to be a member of a group of amateur investigators of the supernatural. He even carried a feather in his wallet which he said was from the headdress of the American Indian Chief (spirit) whom he had contacted through a medium in S. Africa.

We gathered from the Germans that the front office didn't know what to do with us. There was some hopeful implication that we might be released, possibly through Spain.

One afternoon Lt Col Stevenson was bundled off by the Germans on about ten minutes notice. He seemed very surprised and quite uneasy as he left the Jail.

We never saw or heard of him again. That night Capt Stewart and I were returned to our original prison camp, where we were met by Hauptman Heyl. We asked him what kind of a story he had told us about going to meet Maj Gen Fortune. He replied that Fortune had been seriously ill with bronchitis.

(I later met Maj Gen Fortune and he had not been sick at all)

[Insert] Prior to leaving Berlin we were told that Germany had not and would not make any propaganda use of our visit to the graves or the pictures taken of the visit. I have never heard of their doing so.

Throughout the rest of our time in prison camps Capt Stewart and I refused to discuss our experiences concerning Katyn and never stated what opinion we had formed.

I reached the American lines in the sector of the 104th Inf Div near Duben, Germany at the MULDE River line on 5 May 1945, still carrying the photographs given me at KATYN.

I showed the photographs to G-2 of the 104th Div. (I had previously showed these to only one other person apart from the German prison camp security personnel who conducted periodic searches, but always allowed me to keep the photographs because they had been stamped "Gepuft". This other person was Col Thomas D. Drake, Senior officer in Oflag 64 who was repatriated for stomach ulcers. Before he left the prison camp to be repatriated Capt Stewart and I talked with him, showed him the pictures and asked that he report the matter to the War Dept. He laughed at me and said that I had been taken in completely by the German Propaganda Experts. I don't know if he ever mentioned the matter when he reached the States.)

G-2 of the 104th Div recognized that my report was one of interest to both the State and War Depts and provided transportation to Hq VII Corps in Leipzig. General J. Lawton Collins then commanded the VII Corps.

Gen Collins (who has known me since I was a child) discussed the matter with me and set the necessary wheels in motion to get me back to the Pentagon with all haste.

In Paris I stayed with Gen Barker and at his suggestion discussed the matter with a full colonel (whose name I have forgotten) connected with War Crimes Investigations. He decided it was a matter for the War Dept and the State Dept and took no action.

COL DRAKE, GEN COLLINS, GEN BISSELL, AND GEN GISSELLS STENOGRAPHER ARE THE ONLY PERSONS I HAVE EVER TOLD OF MY CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING WHO MURDERED THE POLISH OFFICERS AT KATYN. (except, of course, the other members of the party who visited the site with me)

4. CONCLUSIONS: I believe that the Russians did it. The rest of the group that visited the site stated to me that they believed that the Russians did it. (Capt, now Major, Donald Stewart, FA, can be asked to verify this. I don't know his present address. He is regular army.)

5. Discussion: At the beginning of the newspaper publicity concerning KATYN I believed the whole thing to be one huge, well managed, desperate lie by the Germans to split the Western Allies from Russia.

I hated the Germans. I didn't want to believe them. At that time, like many others, I more or less believed that Russia could get along with us.

When I became involved in the visit to KATYN I realized that the Germans would do their best to convince me that Russia was guilty. I made up my mind not to be convinced by what must be a propaganda effort.

The apparent weak spot in the German story was the fact that Germany had occupied the ground around Smolensk for a long time before announcing the discovery of the graves. (The exact dates are a matter of record. I don't have the facilities to look them up for entry in this report.)

I wanted to believe that whole thing was a frame-up. Could these be bodies from an extermination camp, dressed as Polish officers and "planted"?

Could the letters, diaries, identification tags, news clippings—all be forgeries? What about the state of decomposition of the bodies? Did it appear to agree with the German story of when they must have been buried? After all, I'm no expert on body-decomposition. What about the temperature, moisture, soil bacteria? What about the German statements that Polish families had been trying to locate their relatives, known to have been imprisoned when Russia occupied part of Poland? Was it true that these Polish relatives ceased to get answers from their imprisoned relatives—that a cloak of mystery descended all at once? Where is PROOF of who killed these men? Who saw it done?

And so on and so on—I tried every way I knew how to avoid believing that Russia had done it. I tried every way to convince myself that the Germans had done it. I wanted to believe that the Germans had done it.

Since the graves were already opened when we were there, it was not possible to see for ourselves what sort of growth had existed on top of the graves, in order to see how long the graves had existed. And if we had been present, how could we know that the Germans hadn't cleverly transplanted older bushes to give the appearance of age to the graves?

So you see that we pursued every line of attack to weaken the German story and avoid the conclusion that the Russians had done the killing. It was only with great reluctance that I decided finally that it must be true; that for once the Germans weren't lying, that the facts were as claimed by the Germans. I have thought about this a lot in the past seven years, and freely admit that there never was presented to me any single piece of evidence that could be taken as an absolute proof. But the sum of circumstantial evidence, impressions formed at the time of looking at the graves, what I saw in peoples faces—all forces the conclusion that Russia did it.

The uniforms on the bodies were obviously of the best material and tailor made. The footwear appeared to be of the best and included many pairs that were obviously made to order. The uniforms and footwear all were obviously well-fitted. This convinced me that the bodies were truly those of Polish officers. The degree of wear on the clothing and particularly the wear on the shoes led me to believe that these officers had been dead a long time, otherwise the shoes and clothing would show much more wear. This was a point that was not called to our attention by the Germans. It is one of the strongest arguments by which to fix the date of the killing.

6. Last summer I received some letters from Mr MONTGOMERY M. GREEN. I wrote the Dept of the Army for instructions on how to reply to Mr Green. In order to clear my files and possibly to be of assistance to Captain Semple, I am enclosing some papers marked: "MONTGOMERY GREEN and related papers"

(signed) John H. Van Vliet Jr
JOHN H VAN VLIET JR
LT COL., 23d Infantry.

Incl # 1: Ltr, Request for Intel. Rpt. Gen Parks to Lt Col V. V.

Incl # 2: "MONTGOMERY GREEN and related papers"

Incl # 3: Cert. true cpy, Directive from Gen Bissell to Lt Col V. V.

Mr. FLOOD. You wrote this letter, then, to the general in reply to his letter, is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you at the time you got the general's letter?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Fort Lewis, Wash.

Mr. FLOOD. Fort Lewis, Wash.?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You were stationed on duty there with the Second Division?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you mail the letter from the division?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What date, if you recall, was this letter mailed in reply to the general's letter?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I believe I have my registered mail receipt here, sir. It may take a minute to find it.

Mr. FLOOD. Don't bother. We will get to that.

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was mailed the day I wrote it or the day after. It is dated May 11, 1950.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. If you have a registered receipt for that communication of yours to the general, will you have it marked by the clerk as an exhibit and made part of the record at this point.

Colonel VAN VLIET. If I have it, yes, sir.

(The documents were received, marked "Exhibit No. 4," and are as follows:)

Form 3806-S (Rev. 11-46)

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Mr. FLOOD. Was this letter that you wrote to the general in reply to his letter to you what now has become known as the second Van Vliet report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You mailed that to the general at the Pentagon?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Did anybody in the armed services or anybody identified with any civilian arm of the United States Government or anybody else at any time, any place, anywhere, order or ask you or suggest or imply that you change any part one way or the other of your original or copied or subsequent report, known as the second report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I ask a question at this point?

Colonel, could you tell me when you went to General Bissell in the first place and the other general, is there anything in the Army regulations which states a certain amount of reports should be made out, in duplicate or triplicate, or is it just as many copies as they ask you to make out? Aren't there Army regulations on reports of this nature?

Colonel VAN VLIET. There are regulations on correspondence, sir, but whether or not there is a regulation that applies in this particular case I am not prepared to state. I don't know of it, and I didn't of course know of it at the time. I can't say whether it was habitual to make it in one, two, or six copies.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, as far as you know, there is no general Army regulation stating they should be made in duplicate or triplicate or anything like that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I cannot answer the question either way, sir. I do not know.

Mr. FURCOLO. I have just one question, Mr. Chairman, which I should like to put in at this point.

Colonel, we are trying to locate or to trace your original report. Do I understand correctly that the last you saw that original report

was when you left it apparently in the office of General Bissell, the head of G-2, and that from that time right up to the present time that is the last you have seen of your report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is correct, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Can you be of any help whatever to us in any way as to what might have happened to that report from the time you left it with General Bissell? Or does your testimony leave it, as you have, that the last you saw that report it was with General Bissell and if we want to trace the chain of where it may be now you can't help us any further than that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I can't help you any more than that, sir. I can't say that it was physically in his hands. It was in his office.

Mr. FURCOLO. It was in the office of General Bissell?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. To bring you right up to the minute, Colonel, what was the next communication you had, written or oral, from anybody after you mailed that letter at Fort Lewis to General Parks on the date upon which you mailed it? What was the next communication? Who got in touch with you next and when, as best you recall?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Unofficially, sir, I had been contacted prior to the letter to General Parks, by Mr. Montgomery Green, and had referred his questions to the Department of the Army, cited my directive from General Bissell and requested that they handle Mr. Montgomery Green's question, answer it or direct me how to answer it. They replied and told me that I could tell Mr. Green that he should address his questions to the Public Information Office and that I could not discuss such matters informally, which I did.

Mr. FLOOD. After you mailed the letter to General Parks, which is my question.

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir, the letter from Green preceded my letter to General Parks.

Mr. FLOOD. What is that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That had happened before I mailed this letter to General Parks. Since that time——

Mr. FLOOD. Since you mailed the letter to General Parks who has been in touch with you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't recall their names, sir. Two newspaper correspondents in Japan tried to contact me in September of 1950, and I told them the same that I had told Mr. Montgomery Green.

Mr. FLOOD. That was subsequent to your letter to General Parks?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Anybody in the armed services?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the first time that you heard anything about your report, your second report; when is the first time after the Fort Lewis incident?

Colonel VAN VLIET. In late September 1950 I received some personal mail from friends and relatives in the States that enclosed clippings from newspapers which appeared to be from a press release of about September 18 from the Department of the Army.

Mr. FLOOD. That is the first you heard about it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you do anything as a result of those newspaper clippings?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the next step you heard?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Later, from reading the newspaper clippings I learned that this committee had been formed and that it had questioned Lt. Col. Donald B. Stewart.

Mr. FLOOD. Between the mailing of the letter to General Parks and between the day you picked up a paper and saw that this committee had been formed by the House of Representatives that Colonel Stewart had been examined, you had been approached by no one except newspaper reporters in one instance?

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is correct, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. By telephone or in person or anything else, is that right?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. After I learned that this committee had been formed and that it had interrogated then Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, it became apparent to me that the committee might want to interrogate me. My own particular position at the time was I was stationed in Japan and my family was about to sail from the United States to Japan. I wanted if possible to avoid having them sail in one direction and me fly the other way. So I sent a radiogram addressed to Representative Madden asking whether my testimony was desired. I received a reply from Mr. Mitchell which stated that it was and that I would be notified.

Mr. FLOOD. I take for granted we have such communication, Mr. Mitchell, and that will be made part of the record at this point.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; we have them in the file.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit 5" and are as follows:)

[Radiogram]

TOKYO, November 19, 1951.

Congressman RAY J. MADDEN,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.:

Will I be called to testify concerning Katyn Investigation?

COL. VAN VLIET,
CAS General Headquarters, Tokyo.

[Cablegram]

WASHINGTON, November 20, 1951.

Col. JOHN H. VAN VLIET, Jr.
CAS, General Headquarters, Tokyo, Japan:

Committee desires your testimony after Congress reconvenes late January. You will be notified.

JOHN J. MITCHELL,
Committee Counsel, Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre.

Mr. FLOOD. That is how you came in touch with us, is that right?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. When did you arrive in Washington for this hearing?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The 1st of February, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. To whom did you report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The Office of Legislative Liaison in the Pentagon.

Mr. FLOOD. I show you exhibit No. 2, and for the record I direct your attention to the back thereof and that line which is marked at the bottom thereof "Enclosure No. 2," and in quotation is "Montgomery Green and related papers."

Mr. FLOOD. Who is Montgomery Green, if you know?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Sir, I can answer that this way, A Mr. Epstein was trying to write a report of some sort and had evidently published some newspaper articles. As a result, a former prisoner of war named Harry Schultz whom I knew and who knew I had been to Katyn had apparently written to Mr. Epstein or Mr. Montgomery Green, who in turn wrote me and said, are you the Colonel Van Vliet that Mr. Schultz mentioned, and if so, what is the story.

Mr. FLOOD. I developed that only because of what is on the back of the enclosure. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FURCOLO. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Flood asked you one question which brings to my attention this next one. Did I understand correctly that from the time you last filed your report with General Bissell, your original report, from that time up until the present time you at no time heard either directly or indirectly that there were some broadcasts of one kind or another pertaining to the Katyn massacre that might be in conflict with the report that you had filed? Had you at any time heard anything about that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The only radio broadcasts that I heard about, sir, were in letters from friends and relatives that mentioned the press and radio reaction in September of 1950, the press and radio reaction to the press release from the Department of the Army, which included my second report.

Mr. FURCOLO. No; I am referring now to whether or not you had ever heard, either directly or indirectly, of any radio broadcast that might have been made either by private broadcasters or by some agency of the United States Government, the Office of War Information, or some other department, referring to the Katyn Forest massacre.

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, from the time you filed your report up until the present time you have not heard of any such broadcasts emanating from this country?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I have never heard of any such broadcast, nor did I know whether or not this Government or any of its agencies had an official view on the matter, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, from the time you filed your report up until the present time you were not aware of any statements made by any one in authority in this country that might be in conflict with your version on the Katyn Forest massacre, up to the present time? Is that true?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I still don't know of any such.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have one question. Can you state now, Colonel, whether the second report dated May 11, 1950, a copy of which you have presented to the committee, contains substantially the same information that was contained in your first report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything that you know of your own knowledge that was in the first report that has not been included in this report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Nothing material, sir. I think there were perhaps some more names in the first report.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In this report you also include your conclusions, do you not?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Those conclusions are the same as those which were included in your original report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Colonel, just so that some people may not misunderstand your position, when you viewed those bodies at Katyn and came to your own conclusion that it was the Russians who did it, what impelled you most to immediately seek G-2 so you could tell your story? Was it in protection to yourself because you knew you were sitting on a keg of dynamite from the standpoint of international politics, or was it because you felt so strongly that that was the case and the freedom-loving people of the world would not be living under a lie? Which of the two was uppermost in having you to seek out G-2 to give them your report immediately when you got contact with the American Army again?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Sir, I don't believe that personal protection was a factor at all.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is why I asked that question because I believe it wasn't and that ought to be brought out.

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. It was just a matter that I had been there and felt that I should render a report on what I had seen and state my conclusions for what they were worth.

Mr. O'KONSKI. As a good American soldier you felt that the freedom-loving people of the world were entitled to know the truth as you saw it; is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I felt that I should render a report to my military superiors, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Under the circumstances that is the only thing you could do, Colonel. I admire you for it. I think you are a great American. I do not want any misunderstanding on that.

Major General Bissell is still with G-2?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I cannot answer that question, sir. He is not still the G-2 and I don't know his present assignment.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You do not know if he is with the military set-up at all, then, do you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir; I don't know.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The secretary that you dictated this note to, or your report to G-2, could you give us a brief description of her? I believe we have her name here; do we not, Counsel?

Mr. MITCHELL. Is her name Mrs. Mildred Meeres?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't remember her name, sir. I don't believe that I could describe her. I don't think I could identify her now if you produced her.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you ever hear of a Lieutenant Colonel Holloman when you were giving the report to Major General Bissell?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It is possible that that is the name of the assistant to General Bissell, who had the adjoining office. I cannot state so under oath.

Mr. O'KONSKI. After you gave your report, did General Bissell show any concern about the report? Did he indicate in any way that he was going to follow through to get additional information from the other witnesses, or did he create the impression that as far as he was concerned your report was a dead issue? What impression did he create with you? Was he eager to get the additional information and get at the truth of the matter, or did he seem more eager to label it top secret and just forget about it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Sir, that calls for an opinion, and I don't believe I have enough information even to form an opinion. I have the impression that General Bissell agreed with me that it was a matter as much for the State Department as a matter for the War Department, but that is just what I think these many years later. Because I thought so at the time I may be just wishing that he had agreed with me. I really don't know what was in his mind, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is all I have, except to say I think you are a great American and a credit to the United States Army.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, I have a couple of questions I would like to ask you, please.

No. 1, I think when a top secret document is made out ordinarily, and I am not sure of the Army procedure, is it not the procedure to give it a document number or something? Do you know anything about that? To identify it in some way.

Colonel VAN VLIET. It is registered, I believe, sir. The handling of top secret material, sir, is covered in detail in Army Regulations 380-5, and to try and give you a specific answer on that I think would be a mistake on my part.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, we should consult the regulations. Let's put the question in this way: Do you remember any particular document number given to the report when you gave it to the General Bissell you mentioned?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You would not hazard a guess, would you, as to why General Bissell thought such top secrecy should be given to the report? Did he make any reports to you about top secrecy?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't believe we discussed it, sir. I can tell you why I thought so, and if General Bissell saw it as I did—

Mr. SHEEHAN. We would like to have your opinion on it.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I thought it was of top-secret value. I later had this confirmed by reading Dr. Goebbels' diaries, that this was a matter that the Germans exploited to the hilt in attempting to separate the Western Allies from Russia. That immediately puts it in my mind into State Department business and therefore top secret.

Mr. SHEEHAN. This was in 1945 after the war was all over and maybe that same opinion didn't hold.

Colonel VAN VLIET. No comment, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. One other question: When you visited the graves at Katyn did the Germans bring any newspapermen along with you whose names you might remember?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I can't say what anyone's name was at the grave other than those I have already identified, none of whom were newspapermen. There were people there, I believe, from the German Press Relations Bureau; but I don't know their names, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Were there any there from the International Red Cross?

Colonel VAN VLIET. There was a man there in a Red Cross arm band. Whether he was strictly International Red Cross or not I can't state. It was reported by the Germans that the Red Cross was supposed to have been invited to inspect this scene. I don't believe they had.

Mr. SHEEHAN. My last question, Colonel. You stated that in the interim between your original report in 1945 and the report in 1950, to the best of your knowledge you put in all you did know. Has your memory been refreshed or have any new names been presented now that you might think of that wasn't in the 1950 report, or new facts?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. We will recess for a minute.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will now resume.

Congressman Dondero.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel Van Vliet, did you read the testimony of Colonel Stewart, who was with you at the Katyn graves?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Is it your recollection that that report corresponds pretty squarely with your own?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Exactly, sir. I would sign Colonel Stewart's statement as my own.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you come to your conclusion as to the guilt or innocence of the government responsible for this act, alone or in concert with the others who were at the grave with you?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I reached my opinion alone and reluctantly, then discussed it with the others, and we jointly tried our best to discredit our opinion. We tried not to believe that the Russians had done this thing. We didn't want to believe it. We wanted to believe that the Germans had done it and were trying to hoax us.

Mr. DONDERO. At the time you were prisoners of the Germans.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Naturally you would not be feeling very kindly or friendly toward them.

Colonel VAN VLIET. That is correct, sir, and having reached that conclusion independently, having confirmed it in discussion with the others, we then spent a lot of time trying to break down our own conviction because we were so reluctant to believe that the Russians had done it.

Mr. DONDERO. How long had you been a prisoner of the Germans at the time you visited the graves?

Colonel VAN VLIET. About 2½ months.

Mr. DONDERO. How long in all were you a prisoner of the Germans?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Two years, two and a half months.

Mr. DONDERO. Both you and Colonel Stewart were prisoners about the same length of time?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. When you say that you tried to break down your own conclusions I want to ask you whether or not you were basing your reasoning upon the things that you saw at the graves.

Colonel VAN VLIET. The things that I saw at the graves, sir, were the unshakable thing that made me continue believing that the Russians had done it.

Mr. DONDERO. At the time the Russians were allies of the United States?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. But from what you saw you came to the conviction and conclusion that it was the Russian Government and not the German Government responsible for what had happened?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. At the time you filed your report with our Government did you file any other reports?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you personally know—and this may be an unfair question—do you personally know of any other reports either marked “top secret” or “secret” that were lost at the time that you filed your report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. You do not?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you file it in duplicate or a single copy?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I tried to answer that question before, sir. I am sorry.

Mr. DONDERO. I did not hear all of your testimony or I would not have asked you that.

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't recall whether there was one or more than one copy made. I signed one and do not recall if there were carbons.

Mr. DONDERO. You do not recall whether carbon copies were made by the stenographer?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir; I do not recall.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you sign the report?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you sign more than one?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I only remember signing one.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, at any time were you questioned by the State Department on this matter, or any official from the State Department?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, at the time that General Bissell was listening to your story did he ever ask you to look at any other report on Katyn?

Colonel VAN VLIET. None that I remember, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. On the statement which you were taking the copies from here, which is an official release of the War Department, “For immediate release on September 18, 1950,” the statement is made, and I will read it for the record:

The Department of State has no record of having received the memorandum of Lieutenant Colonel Van Vliet on May 25, 1945, and the Department of the Army has so far found no receipt for it and no covering letter of transmittal. The only letter sent on May 25, 1945, from General Bissell to General Holmes was on another phase of this subject, and it contains no reference to transmitting the Van Vliet memorandum. General Holmes has been reached with reference to the matter and does not recall ever having seen Lieutenant Colonel Van Vliet's memorandum, though General Bissell remembers having sent it to him.

What is the other phase of this subject? Do you know anything else pertaining to that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. That is the first I have heard of it, when I read that same paper that you are reading. I didn't know and I still don't.

Mr. MITCHELL. Have you ever heard of a Lieutenant Colonel Szymanski, Regular Army?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. In yesterday's newspaper I think was the first time I had seen his name.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know what his official duty was during the war?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. I would like to come back, Colonel, to your findings at the time you were at Katyn. I would like to ask you whether you found that all the bodies were in military uniforms.

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. There were a few, perhaps two or three in what appeared to be priests' robes, black robes.

Mr. MITCHELL. In civilian clerical uniform, is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. You say two or three of those that you inspected, is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. In the field museum established by the Germans there were Geneva arm bands and priests' insignia and military insignia. They had a representative sample displayed in their showcase, but of course I don't know for sure that they came from the graves. They looked and smelled like they came from the graves, but in the grave I only saw a couple of the corpses which appeared to have on long black robes like a monk would wear.

Mr. MITCHELL. You at least saw two or three corpses with what appeared to be civilian clerical uniforms, and these corpses had the same bullets as you have described previously?

Colonel VAN VLIET. As to the bullets, I can't say, sir. I didn't inspect them that closely.

Mr. MITCHELL. But they were in the graves with the military?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you find on any of the corpses any bayonet wounds?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. The Germans reported that they had discovered bayonet wounds. They showed us pieces of cloth that had triangular holes allegedly made by a bayonet. I have no way of knowing what made that tear and couldn't identify a bayonet wound from any other kind of puncture wound in that kind of corpse.

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe you testified in answer to Mr. Dondero's question that you read Colonel Stewart's report and subscribed to it completely.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do you remember a reference in that report to the finding of the remains of some Russian officers killed back in 1929 or 1930?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't recall that Colonel Stewart's report said that those were Russian officers, but of by own knowledge, sir, we were shown several other holes in the vicinity, test holes that had been dug apparently in a search for more graves. In the bottom of

these test holes there were bones that appeared to be very old. They had no meat left on them. They were scattered human bones.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you see those bones yourself?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I saw those bones. I had no way of knowing whether the hole had been dug and the bones thrown in just to impress us or not. We were told that they were the bones of Russians who had been executed over a period of years by the Russian secret police who used the woods for a disposal ground.

Mr. FURCOLO. Would the fact that in that same location there were bodies found of Russian officers or of some persons killed back in 1929 or 1930 tend to indicate that it must have been the Russians who did the other murders?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It would if that were the fact. I cannot testify that that was the fact.

Mr. FURCOLO. You do know however that bones were found which seemed to be of longer duration than those than you described previously?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I was shown bones in the test holes, and they appeared to be much older because there was no meat left on them. However, I wasn't there when they were dug up.

Mr. DONDERO. Will my colleague yield for a brief question?

Were there any women found among the bodies?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I saw none.

Mr. DONDERO. Or did you see any?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I saw nothing that I could identify as a woman. I don't recall if any were reported.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did the Germans tell you there had been?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't remember that, Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one other question, and that is to clear the record: I believe you testified that you received a letter from General Parks on May 26, 1950. The letter is actually dated April 26, 1950. Did you mean May 26, 1950, or April 26?

Colonel VAN VLIET. The date should be 1950. I believe for the record, I made a mistake and said 1949 earlier.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It was on the 11th of May that you prepared the new report on the basis of that letter, isn't that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Please let the record show that I made a mistake and that it is correctly April 26, 1950, for the date of General Parks' letter to Colonel Van Vliet.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, may I ask a question regarding these bones that you think or were told were the old Russians from 1929. Was there any indication that they were massacred in a similar fashion? Were their arms tied behind them or anything, or was it just a bunch of bones scattered together?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Just a few scattered arm and leg bones lying in the bottom of a hole is all that I saw, and how the owner met death was not evident, nor was it explained by the Germans.

Mr. FURCOLO. At the beginning of the testimony, the question was asked whether or not some corpse was selected as the Germans requested. You answered saying "We did. We could not argue with a man who has a gun." I assume that you used that figuratively rather than literally? I think you ought to clear it up for the record so there won't be any question at all about it.

Colonel VAN VLIET. We were on a conducted tour under armed German guard. I didn't mean to imply that anyone drew a weapon on us and menaced us with a weapon, but when insistence is made that you do something with a man who is armed it is pointless to argue too long.

Mr. FURCOLO. Then you selected the corpse that you wanted to. They didn't tell you to select any particular one?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Free choice. They would have dug anyone out of the grave.

Mr. FURCOLO. You have answered this, I believe, with reference to whether or not you found or saw any books or papers purporting to be diaries of the Polish officers. You didn't actually see any of those yourself, but were told about them?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I saw diaries in the German field museum.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you see any that bore a date later than 1940?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir; I did not. I think had there been any, the Germans would have been sure that I didn't see them.

Mr. FURCOLO. Yes; they could have done that. At any rate, you didn't see any that bore a date later than 1940?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. With reference to the bindings on the hands of these Polish officers, at any time did you see anything that looked at all like barbed wire? Were the bindings that you saw simply of the rope or parachute binding that you mentioned, or at any place did you see anything that looked like wire or barbed wire?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't remember seeing anything but cord used to tie their hands with.

Mr. MITCHELL. How deep in the flesh was the cord?

Colonel VAN VLIET. In places the cord had penetrated its own diameter and was flush with the flesh.

Mr. FURCOLO. At any time or place did you see any bodies that were shot other than in the head?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. You didn't see any bullet holes any place in the back other than in the base of the skull, that you recall?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. In his testimony Colonel Stewart said that he had kept a notebook and he made some notes as he made his observations, that he kept that notebook until finally it was taken away from him. Did you at any time yourself take any notes on the scene or did you keep any sort of notebook as you went along?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir. Neither did Colonel Stewart. The notes that we had, which we later compared, merely had the names of the party, the address in Berlin, and the dates of departure and arrival, no comments as to what we saw or our conclusions.

Mr. FURCOLO. I have just one final question, Colonel: You covered in your testimony your observations at the scene of this massacre in Katyn Forest. I want to quote briefly for you from the testimony of Colonel Stewart. I read as follows:

We did not like the Germans; those who had been prisoners longer had a more intense dislike. The longer I was a prisoner, the more I hated the Germans; and yet in spite of the animosity I had for the Germans at the end of the war, and in spite of what we have found out about their concentration camps, in spite of everything that I learned about the Germans while I was a prisoner, it did not change that conviction that I formed then, that in this one case—I do not know

about any others—in this one case the Germans were not responsible; that these men had been executed by the Russians.

That is the end of Colonel Stewart's testimony.

As I understand it, you subscribe completely to that statement and that more or less represented your own frame of mind, too?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Absolutely, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Just to make it absolutely clear, I think that perhaps it should also be pointed out that when you yourself were freed from prison camp, it was more or less as a result of the Russian advance that you were freed, is that correct?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. So in spite of that fact, which perhaps might make the ordinary person feel a little kindness toward them, your statement and your belief is still as I have just quoted it?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Colonel, in conclusion I want to join with the sentiments expressed by Congressman O'Konski in his commendation of you for the way in which you handled yourself not only here as a witness but for the observations you have made and I too subscribe to the theory that you have acted in all ways as a patriotic citizen in whom not only the armed services but also this country can have great pride.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Thank you, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Just one more question, Colonel: Would you describe to us the attempt that was made by the Russians to cover up those graves and plant trees on them, I understand, so that nobody would ever find them? Would you give us a description of the terrain. Wouldn't the type of tree that was found on it more or less testify to the fact that they must have been planted when the Russians were there rather than the Germans? Do you have any knowledge of that?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I can testify as to the condition of the ground as I saw it, sir, but I didn't see the trees that were on the graves. The graves had already been opened.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I ask one question, please, Colonel. On the examination you made of the bones, we have been talking continuously about the shot in the back of the head coming out of the forehead. Were there any bodies that didn't show those particular marks, that may have been killed or died some other way or thrown in there alive?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Not that I saw, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. They all had the bullet hole?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Without exception.

Mr. FLOOD. We may have some other testimony along this line, and just for the record, if we can protect it. Does your report indicate the names of the members of the post mortem teams?

Colonel VAN VLIET. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you at this point recall the names of any of the members of the German post mortem teams that might have been of other nationality, if you know or recall?

Colonel VAN VLIET. This is the first I ever heard of the German post mortem teams. I can't answer that question.

Mr. FLOOD. They didn't discuss that with you at any time? You were present when the Germans conducted post mortem teams on the bodies?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I see what you mean. I was present while they examined in detail one body and was at the grave site while they were continuing the process of body after body. I do not know the names of anyone who was present other than a Dr. Butz. I believe that is spelled B-u-t-z.

Mr. FLOOD. I just wanted to know if you did.

Secondly, were you briefed at any time by the Germans at your base prisoner of war camp at Katyn or Smolensk, or were comments made by Germans to you officially subsequent thereto?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Prior to inspecting the graves we were given a continual bombardment of what amounted to briefing or propaganda, if you will. It was just at that time we thought one more phase of the anti-Russian propaganda that we were constantly exposed to. We were very definitely briefed. They told us what we were going to see, where we would see it, who had done it. We tried to shrug it off. They failed to point out that the shoes and clothing weren't very worn. That was the thing that we observed ourselves and which we think was the most important single observation.

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, just so we won't have to call you back again, I would like to point out that on exhibit No. 3, which you have given to the committee, page 6, the statement is made by you, I believe. I will quote it for the purpose of the record:

In Paris I stayed with General Barker, and at his suggestion discussed the matter with a full colonel (whose name I have forgotten)—

You have already given that testimony—

in connection with war crimes investigations. He decided it was a matter for the War Department and the State Department and took no action.

I would like to put this on the record and have it certified. Who was Colonel Drake? We didn't discuss him during the testimony.

Colonel VAN VLIET. Colonel Drake, Thomas D. Drake, was the senior American prisoner of war in Oflag 64. He was repatriated on the Gripsholm, a matter of stomach ulcers.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Colonel VAN VLIET. I don't recall the exact year, but he got out about a year before the end of the war. Prior to his departure from Oflag 64 then Captain Stewart and I saw him alone, the three of us and Stewart and I told Colonel Drake of our conclusions about Katyn and requested that he pass that information to the War Department. Colonel Drake shrugged the matter off. He rather acted as though he thought that both Stewart and I had been completely hoaxed by the Germans and brushed it off. Whether or not he made a report upon his return is not known to me.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you say he was senior American officer?

Colonel VAN VLIET. He was the senior American officer in that prison camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he have any way of knowing anything about Katyn other than what you told him?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir. He had opportunity to hear the English language broadcasts that the Germans piped into the prison camp, Lord Law-Haw. The Germans had put posters in the prison camps shortly after the discovery of the mass graves at Katyn, blown-up photographs of the corpses, and had used it as a great blast anti-Russian propaganda. He knew about it.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know where Colonel Drake is today?

Colonel VAN VLIET. He retired and left the service. I don't know his present location, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. But he stated to you that he thought you had been taken in by the German story; is that right?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know any particular reason why a brother officer would make such a comment to you, especially a prisoner of war of the Germans?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Captain Stewart and I were both disappointed in the fact that we were unable to convince Colonel Drake that the two of us had reached a conclusion that was worth passing on to the War Department. I don't know his reason for brushing us off. I don't know of my own knowledge that he did brush us off. He may have made a report upon his return. I don't know. He didn't act as if he thought it was of any importance at that time.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel, about what time was that conversation that you had with Colonel Drake, the year and the month?

Colonel VAN VLIET. It was 1944. I don't recall the month, sir. It was shortly before the Gripsholm returned with a load of American repatriates.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you know Harry Thomas Schultz, of Hanover, N. H.?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Yes, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. Any other questions from the committee?

Colonel, I want to commend you on your straight-forward testimony here this afternoon and thank you for coming across the Pacific to testify at this hearing. Your testimony has been very valuable and the committee appreciates your presence here and the testimony which you have recorded.

Let me ask you one final question. Your testimony has been very emphatic and direct after all the extenuating circumstances that you witnessed while visiting the exhumed graves at Katyn, and you were alike emphatic and convinced that the Russians committed these mass murders. In your original report that was submitted to General Bissell were you as emphatic as to the guilt of the Russians as you were generally speaking in your testimony here today?

Colonel VAN VLIET. Except for a possibly different choice of words. I had the same feeling at the time I wrote it, and in my opinion I was, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all.

I might make this announcement. Tomorrow morning at 10:30 the committee will reconvene, and I will ask the members to be here on time because we have decided not to have an afternoon session. We have two witnesses tomorrow. We will endeavor to complete the testimony of both witnesses even if we have a late lunch.

Mr. MITCHELL. For the purpose of the witnesses for tomorrow and for those present, I would like to say that the first witness tomorrow morning will be Mr. Marion (Mike) Gawiak, who was the youngest Polish prisoner of war of the Soviets. He is an escapee from the camp at Kozelsk, which is where most of these bodies that were identified at Katyn came from. The purpose of his testimony is to show that he knew these people whose bodies were exhumed.

The second witness tomorrow will be Prof. T. Thaddeus Romer, presently a professor at McGill University in Montreal. He was the last Polish Ambassador and the man who was handed the notes by Molotov at the time of the breaking off of the Russian-Polish relations, which was in April 1943. He will be the second witness tomorrow.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:15 p. m., the committee was recessed until 10:30 a. m., Tuesday, February 5, 1952.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met at 10:30 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 445 of the House Office Building, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden (presiding), Flood, Machrowicz, Furcolo, O'Konski, and Sheehan.

Also present: John J. Mitchell, chief counsel to the select committee.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might announce that immediately after the hearings this morning there will be an executive meeting of the committee.

Mr. Counsel, I understand this morning we have one or two witnesses.

Mr. MITCHELL. We have two witnesses this morning, sir. I would like to run one witness with a translator now, and then we can swear the other witness after this witness finishes his testimony.

Chairman MADDEN. Which witness is to be sworn?

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Marion Gawiak.

Chairman MADDEN. Stand up, Mr. Gawiak.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearings now being held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I do.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have you swear in Mr. Roman Pucinski, translator, from Chicago, just in the event we have any difficulty with language this morning.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the interpretation you will give to the testimony of the witness at the hearing this morning will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF MARION (MIKE) GAWIAK, PORT COLBORNE, CANADA

Mr. MITCHELL. What is your full name, please?

Mr. GAWIAK. My name is Marion Gawiak.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. GAWIAK. G-a-w-i-a-k.

Mr. MITCHELL. G-a-w-i-a-k. Where do you live at the present time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Right now I live in Canada.

Mr. MITCHELL. You live in Canada at the present time. Whereabouts in Canada?

Mr. GAWIAK. A small town——

Chairman MADDEN. If you will, speak a little louder. This room is a little difficult to hear in. If you will just raise your voice a little louder.

Mr. GAWIAK. I live in a small town named Port Colborne, which is about 20 miles out of Buffalo.

Mr. MITCHELL. Port Colborne? How do you spell that? P-o-r-t C-o-l-b-o-r-n-e?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many miles out of Buffalo was that?

Mr. GAWIAK. Around 20.

Mr. MITCHELL. About 20 miles from Buffalo.

Mr. GAWIAK. I understand that you were a prisoner of war of the Soviets during World War II, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; I was a prisoner of war for 2 years.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us where you were born in Poland?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was born in Krakow.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you spell that for us?

Mr. GAWIAK. K-r-o-w——

Mr. MITCHELL. K-r-a-k-o-w?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you an officer?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. I was in officers' school, at the time war broke out.

Mr. MITCHELL. How were you referred to while you were in officers' school?

(Witness conferring with interpreter.)

Mr. GAWIAK. In English, a cadet.

Mr. MITCHELL. Cadet. How old were you at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was 19.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did war break out in Poland?

Mr. FLOOD. Let's get the date, Counselor. Set the time.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The 1st of September is what the witness said.

Mr. MITCHELL. The 1st of September 1939. Could you give a statement of what happened at the time war started in Poland on September 1, 1939?

Mr. GAWIAK. On September 1, 1939, I was, like I said before, in cadet school in Voremahoeest. That is in the eastern part of Poland.

Chairman MADDEN. Speak louder, please.

Mr. MITCHELL. In the eastern part of Poland you were in cadet school.

Mr. GAWIAK. Actually we didn't see any action at all.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were not in the action at all?

Mr. GAWIAK. At the beginning of the war?

Mr. MITCHELL. At the beginning of the war.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think probably we can make some arrangements to have these others hear the testimony. Can you turn toward the audience, probably. Maybe that will help.

Chairman MADDEN. Are the mikes arranged properly?

From the floor. Yes sir, but it is not a public-address system. It is only for recording purposes.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me say this for the counsel and the witness both. Try and raise your voice just a little higher because it is hard for the committee to hear.

Mr. FLOOD. May I suggest this, Mr. Mitchell: Will you instruct the young man to talk to that picture on the back wall. If he thinks his voice strikes that picture on the back wall, everybody will hear him.

Mr. MITCHELL. I will do that, sir. I believe he heard it. May I ask a person in the back row to raise his hand, if he is getting it? I am sure you are probably getting mine. It is the witness' you are having difficulty with.

Mr. GAWIAK. When the Germans were moving east of Poland we were preparing in military camp in case they encroached on us further. As everybody knows, the war was too fast for the Polish troops. The divisions weren't there, as everybody knows. On the 15th of September German troops were very near our city.

Mr. MITCHELL. Could you give us on the map approximately where you were located at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; I can.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was it in the eastern or western section of Poland?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was in the center and east.

Mr. MITCHELL. Maybe this other map would be of a little more assistance to you here.

Which is the section where you were located?

Mr. GAWIAK. We were located in this section [indicating].

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, you were located in the section which was about 100 miles from Warsaw?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, around that.

Mr. MITCHELL. South and east, 150.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let's see if we can pick that up on the other map now.

Mr. GAWIAK. I can't see the town, but it is not very far from Lwow.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is spelled L-w-o-w. What happened? Were you captured, or who was with you when you were captured?

Mr. GAWIAK. Actually it was during the fight of Wojemy-Wolynski. We didn't have any chance against the Germans. We kept fighting for 14 to 15 hours without a rest. I was in the artillery.

Mr. MITCHELL. How far from your own personal home was this place, would you estimate?

Mr. GAWIAK. Around 150 miles.

Mr. MITCHELL. West or east?

Mr. GAWIAK. East.

Mr. MITCHELL. East?

Mr. GAWIAK. I lived on the Russian border.

Mr. MITCHELL. You lived on the Russian border?

Mr. GAWIAK. Fifteen miles from——

Mr. MITCHELL. Fifteen miles from the border?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were your own family at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. My own family was home. My father, mother, and sister. Also we had refugees from the western part of Poland.

Mr. MITCHELL. You had refugees from the western part of Poland?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Then I take it in the 14 to 16 hours of fighting which you were engaged in, you were engaged in with the Germans, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you surrender to the Germans or did you surrender to the Russians?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. After our commander, when he realized there was no use fighting against the Germans because their forces were too powerful compared to ours——

Mr. MITCHELL. The German forces?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. We got orders—May I say it in Polish?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). We received orders to demobilize and to return to our homes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who gave those orders?

Mr. GAWIAK. Our commanding officer.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your commanding officer.

Mr. GAWIAK. Really it wasn't demobilization.

Mr. MITCHELL. Demobilization?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. He realized it was no use to fight because we would be captured by the Germans just the same. So he told us to go east.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, to return to your homes temporarily?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you return to your home?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I did.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were your folks still there?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. All my family was there, and there were about 15 old men and children, refugees from western Poland.

Mr. MITCHELL. Fifteen old men and——

Mr. GAWIAK. No; women and children.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mostly women and children and older men?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was your father at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. My father was home.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened when you returned home after this so-called demobilization?

Mr. GAWIAK. To give exactly the picture I would have to tell you that my father was very wealthy before the war.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your father was very well off financially?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. He owned property, around 4,000 acres of forest land near Wlodzimierz Wolynski.

Mr. MITCHELL. Have the records show that Congressman O'Konski asked what his father's business was, to which the reply was just made.

Had the Soviets moved into Polish territory at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. That was on September 17 when we heard Soviets attacking us from behind. At that time I wasn't home yet.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were not home?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was with my troops.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were still with the troops then?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. The date exactly was 18th of September when I started on my way home.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, what you are saying is that when you started home after the so-called demobilization order, it was on September 18.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Had you heard at that time that the Soviets had moved in?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, we knew right away by the radio.

Mr. MITCHELL. By radio.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Chairman MADDEN. September 18, 1939?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you still continue to proceed home, though?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. I got home on September 19.

Mr. MITCHELL. September 19, 1939, to your home, which is 15 miles from the Russian border?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. I rode 45 miles and I walked the rest of the way home. On the way I changed my clothes from military to civilian.

Mr. MITCHELL. On your way home you changed your clothes.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. From military to civilian.

Mr. GAWIAK. I was stopped by Russians and investigated. Fortunately I could speak Russian, not Russian but Ukrainian.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were stopped on your way home? You changed your clothes, and you were stopped by Soviets or Russians?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. You can speak Ukrainian. Is that how you managed to get by the investigation?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did you tell them at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. I didn't tell them much. I just told them where I came from, that I was going on my way home. I managed somehow—I didn't go through big towns or villages, mostly through the country and bush.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your route home, then, was on the country roads, what we would refer to as country roads.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. As I said before, I got home on the 19th of September, in the morning at 5 o'clock.

Mr. MITCHELL. Five o'clock in the morning on the 19th of September you arrived home?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened when you got home?

Mr. GAWIAK. All territory was already occupied by Russia.

Mr. MITCHELL. The territory at that time was occupied by Russia.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. I heard myself on the way home—usually when they occupied a town they had meetings and an officer stood up on a car—

Mr. MITCHELL. NKVD, is that?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. Stand on a truck or car and he was talking to the public, naturally big propaganda. Mostly they were telling us that freedom was from—

Chairman MADDEN. I didn't get that.

Mr. MITCHELL. Go ahead. Will you repeat it. They freed you. In other words, what the witness just said is that the Russians were announcing in the squares and in the various cities and localities that they had freed the local people.

Mr. GAWIAK. At the same time they were arresting all military men, especially officers. Also they arrested all men working for the Government.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, what you are saying is that while they were making these statements that they were freeing the people——

Mr. GAWIAK. At the same time they were arresting the people who were in their opinion——

Mr. MITCHELL. Military people and Government officials.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Who were they freeing them from?

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Sheehan wants to know who they were freeing them from.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Fascists and landowners.

Mr. PUCINSKI. He said they informed the populace, sir, that they were freeing them from the capitalists and Fascists.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you proceed to tell us some of the details of what had happened to your family when you got home since the territory was occupied by the Russians?

Mr. GAWIAK. I will go back a day ahead. On the way home I was about 5 miles—I was working through a small town, the nearest town near our home, name of Mesech.

Mr. MITCHELL. You arrived at about 5 miles from where your home is, at the nearest village to it?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. I met a friend of mine, a young chap, I believe, and I asked him did he ever hear what happened with my family.

Mr. MITCHELL. You met a young fellow you knew on the road?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. He said that all of them are killed.

Mr. MITCHELL. This young chap told you that all your family were killed?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; by the Reds.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By whom?

Mr. GAWIAK. Reds; the Soviets.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By Reds you mean the Russians.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let's clarify that point. How do you refer in your part of the country to what we call Russian Soviets? Do you refer to them as Reds or how are they referred to in your own home town of Poland?

(Interpreter and witness conferring.)

Mr. GAWIAK. Bolsheviks.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do they use the word "Red"?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). Yes; we do.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were telling us that this young fellow had informed you that your family had been killed.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. So I hurried home. That wasn't true, what he told me, because all of them were alive.

Mr. MITCHELL. You found your family to be all alive?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your father was there?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many more members of your family?

Mr. GAWIAK. There was only my mother and sister.

Mr. MITCHELL. Just your mother and sister.

Mr. GAWIAK. And, like I told, around 15 wives of Polish officers evacuated from the western part of Poland.

Chairman MADDEN. I did not get that.

Mr. MITCHELL. Fifteen wives of Polish officers who had emigrated from western Poland, being pushed back by the Germans.

Mr. GAWIAK. Emigrated.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Evacuated.

Mr. MITCHELL. Evacuated from western Poland, at the time, I presume, when the Germans invaded it.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. So I realized I can't live at home because sooner or later we would be captured and taken to Russia. I told my father, "we have to get the women out." At that time we had two cars, but I didn't like the idea of going by car because we would be captured even before well away from our home. So we got four wagons, and I told all the women to get dressed plain, not fancy, to get the children and collect all the valuable things like jewelry, and so on. I packed them and I sent them to Zdobunov, with the intention that they should get to the other side of the front.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you said the other side of the front, what way did you mean then, toward the German side or toward the Russian side?

Mr. GAWIAK. I meant the German side.

Mr. MITCHELL. Toward the German side.

Mr. GAWIAK. Already occupied—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me ask a question there. At that time the Polish Army was fighting the German Army, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. And the Polish Army was not at war at that time with the Soviets?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, they weren't.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yet you were fleeing toward Germany?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Why?

Mr. GAWIAK. It is hard to explain myself, but if you know the Russians like I do you would flee, too.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I happen to know.

Mr. GAWIAK. I didn't talk about myself. I am talking about the women. In the western part of Poland—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, you had more reason to fear the Russians than the Germans.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. The women.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And the women had more reason to fear them?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Even though the Russians were technically our allies at that time.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. At that time we had other family relations in the city of Krakow.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did the women go on these four trucks?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. They all left, and later on when I was a prisoner of Russia I found out they went through.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did you find out that they had got through the lines all right?

Mr. GAWIAK. Through letters.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you when you received the letter?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was in Kozielsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were in Kozielsk? Where is that on the map? (Witness indicating.)

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you get those letters?

Mr. GAWIAK. Could I go back. I will come to that point later.

Mr. MITCHELL. Sure thing. Let's change that. I would like to have the record show that we stopped where he received letters at Kozielsk, and stopped when I questioned him as to when he received the letters. You have told us about your family and that they safely got through. I would like to know what happened to you and your father.

Mr. GAWIAK. As I said, my father decided not to go with the women. It would make the trip too suspicious if there were men around. So we sent the women alone, just with the drivers. Myself and my father, who was walking in the same direction.

Mr. MITCHELL. Which way were you walking, east or west?

Mr. GAWIAK. West. Our home was at that place [indicating], and my destination was the city of Zdobunov.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, he was walking from his home toward the west to get behind the German lines, too.

Mr. GAWIAK. No; my idea was maybe I can get through to Rumania.

Mr. MITCHELL. Oh. The idea of you and your father was to go to Rumania. How far did you get?

Mr. GAWIAK. I didn't get far, about 15 miles, and we were captured by Russian troops.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell the committee exactly what happened at the time you were captured?

Chairman MADDEN. We will have a recess for just a minute. (Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask one question to correct a statement made. I stated before that at the time of this occurrence Russia was technically our ally. Actually the United States was not at war. Russia was technically neutral, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But they were not at war with Poland.

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They were technically neutral.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Before that last question I believe you had just been captured, is that correct, at about a distance of 14 or 15 miles from your home town?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Could you tell us the name of the town that you were picked up in, captured?

Mr. GAWIAK. It wasn't a town, it was a village.

Mr. MITCHELL. A village?

What was the name of that, can you recall?

Mr. GAWIAK. Dorszczuwka.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you kindly spell that one for us, please?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The correct spelling is D-o-r-s-c-c-z-u-w-k-a.

Mr. MITCHELL. For the record, I would like to point out that that is where the witness was captured by the Russians, which is approximately 14 or 15 miles from his own home town in Poland, which is approximately 15 miles from the prewar Russian border.

Chairman MADDEN. What date?

Mr. MITCHELL. What date were you captured?

Mr. GAWIAK. The 19th of September.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were captured on September 19, 1939?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you now tell us what happened to you at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. From Dorszczuwka they shipped us to the city of Ostrow.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. GAWIAK. O-s-t-r-o-w.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to you at that city?

Mr. GAWIAK. We arrived around 5 o'clock in the afternoon, myself and father.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your father was with you at this time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. The NKVD investigated us in a building, a military building which used to be Polish border guard.

Mr. MITCHELL. The NKVD had set up headquarters in this Polish outpost or border guard post?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened at the time of this interrogation?

Mr. GAWIAK. Before they even talked to us they stripped us. They told us to take our clothes off.

Mr. MITCHELL. All clothes off?

Mr. GAWIAK. All clothes off except shorts.

Mr. MITCHELL. You had to take off all your clothes except shorts.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct. They asked us many questions.

Mr. MITCHELL. What type of questions were they asking?

Mr. GAWIAK. Are you a capitalist or not? Do you own property or not? May I speak in Polish?

(Interpreter and witness conferring.)

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). During the interrogation if our answers did not comply with their theory, then they would beat us.

Mr. MITCHELL. What form of beating was it? What I mean by that, was it with sticks or their hands or how?

Mr. GAWIAK. With their fists.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did they hit you?

Mr. GAWIAK. In the face, right in the face. If that didn't work they used sticks, usually they hit you on the back, where your kidneys are.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, they had sticks, too, with which they hit you on the back?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. In the region of the kidneys?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you subjected to that?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Why?

Mr. GAWIAK. I had marks for about a month later still on my back.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, you still have marks on your mouth from that?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No. Hé said he had marks for 1 month later from that.

Mr. MITCHELL. For 1 month later.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, they beat you because your father was a landowner, is that right?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. May I say something in Polish?

Mr. MITCHELL. You can say it in Polish to him, too.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). If my answers didn't conform with the ideas that they were trying to convey, then they would subject us to beatings.

Mr. O'KONSKI. If you had said that you were not a landowner and if you had said that you were a Communist, they wouldn't have beaten you, is that right?

Mr. GAWIAK. I believe so but I never said that.

Mr. O'KONSKI. All right.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many beatings did you have in this particular city?

Mr. GAWIAK. I had practically every week.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you in this city?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was in prison—it used to be before the war a Polish prison—I was there for a month.

Mr. MITCHELL. In this same city, Ostrow?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. I lived by myself in one cell, the same thing my father.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, you were in individual cells, your father had one and you had one?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. In the cell we didn't have anything, just the floor and the walls. Like I told you before, we had only shorts.

Mr. MITCHELL. All this period of time you only had shorts?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. What time of year was this?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was exactly September 22 when I got to the prison.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, you were put in the prison September 22, 1939?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. How were you clothed at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Just shorts, no shoes, no stockings, no trousers, no coats.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is the weather in that particular part of Poland at that time of year?

Mr. GAWIAK. It is cold, getting really cold.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you say getting really cold, you live in Canada, could you compare it for us?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; it is just the same climate in Poland.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, in September and October in Canada it is the same as it was there?

Mr. GAWIAK. I am talking about the part of Canada where I live now.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is 25 miles from Buffalo.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct. The temperature I imagine, as I remember, would be around 60.

Mr. MITCHELL. How old were you at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Nineteen.

Mr. MITCHELL. How old was your father?

Mr. GAWIAK. My father was 67 years old.

Mr. MITCHELL. At that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did you get in the way of food? What was given to you?

Mr. GAWIAK. In the morning we used to get a bowl of boiled water.

Mr. MITCHELL. A bowl of boiled water?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is all. At noon they gave us a small bowl, they called it soup, with 400 grams of bread.

Mr. MITCHELL. At noon you received a small bowl of soup with approximately 400 grams of what kind of bread?

Mr. GAWIAK. Rye, dark bread.

Mr. MITCHELL. A rye, rye dark bread. What else did you receive during the day?

Mr. GAWIAK. At night they gave us water again. That is all.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is all?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is all.

Mr. MITCHELL. At night you received only water again?

Mr. GAWIAK. Just the water.

Mr. MITCHELL. No more food?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you in this prison?

Mr. GAWIAK. In the single cell I was for 3 weeks, and I am telling you it was really cold.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you being interrogated?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. How often?

Mr. GAWIAK. Three or four times during my stay in prison.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was your father interrogated?

Mr. GAWIAK. He was, I found out later. I had no contact with my father during our stay in the prison.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you have contact with any other Polish prisoners at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, I didn't. After 3 weeks—it is hard for me to say what was the reason—they transferred me to a public cell.

Mr. MITCHELL. What do you mean by public cell, being transferred to a public cell?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was a room about one-third the size of this room.

Mr. MITCHELL. One-third the size of this room.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. There were 65 men.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many?

Mr. GAWIAK. Sixty-five.

Mr. MITCHELL. Sixty-five men. How long were you in that room?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was a week.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to you while you were in there in that room?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was called for investigation about 3 days before I left Ostrow Prison. I was told they would give my clothes back and the things I had with me before if I answered the questions.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were told that you would get your clothes back and the things you had before at this time——

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. If you answered the questions correctly?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you do so?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you say correctly, you mean the way they wanted them?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Since you didn't get your clothes back, what happened to you then?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was beaten by two Russian soldiers until I lost consciousness.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were beaten by two Russian soldiers.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Until you lost consciousness.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Regular army soldiers? Who was in charge of this prison that you were in?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was a major or colonel—I don't remember the rank of the man—a high officer, anyway, of the NKVD.

Mr. MITCHELL. A high ranking officer in the NKVD.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is it customary—what is the distinction between the regular Russian Army officer and a NKVD officer?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). The distinction, the actual distinction is the different emblem on their caps.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is that emblem?

Mr. GAWIAK. Red, red color around the hat.

Mr. MITCHELL. Ask him if it is a red band.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is a red band around the cap?

Mr. GAWIAK. With a blue top.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is the identification of the NKVD officer?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. Then they have insignia on the uniforms.

Mr. MITCHELL. These two officers who were beating you—were they dressed like that?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. But he was questioning me. He sat behind a desk just like you do and asked me to sit down. He gave to me a cigarette. I didn't smoke at that time. He was very polite to me.

Mr. MITCHELL. I trust I don't appear quite like he did or ask the same type of questions.

Mr. GAWIAK. I am quite sure of that.

Mr. MITCHELL. We left it where you had lost consciousness. How many times were you beaten like that while you were in this public prison?

Mr. GAWIAK. When I was alone in the cell I was investigated twice a week, mostly at night.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mostly at night.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Why at night?

Mr. GAWIAK. For the simple reason that they figure if they wake you up you are half asleep and you don't know what you are doing. They will scare you and you will tell them what they want.

Mr. MITCHELL. What time of night did they usually wake you up?

Mr. GAWIAK. Between 1 and 2 o'clock.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you ever released from this prison? What happened to you after the prison?

Mr. GAWIAK. They shipped us by trucks to a town that was a military camp in Russia, Szpytowska.

Mr. MITCHELL. This was in Russia proper, and what was the name of that? Could you show us where it is approximately? You were being shipped there in trucks.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. It is between Ostrow and Szpytowska.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is S-z-y-p-y-t-o-w-k-a.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. This may be 40 miles.

Mr. MITCHELL. That would be about 15 miles on the eastern side of the Russian border, the Russian-Polish border, at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. It was a big military camp for Russian troops.

Mr. MITCHELL. For Russian troops?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you were shipped, how many others were shipped with you, Polish?

Mr. GAWIAK. From Ostrow were shipped around 200 men.

Mr. FURCOLO. What was the date of this?

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Furcolo would like to know what date.

Mr. GAWIAK. I got to the prison 20th of September; around 20th of November. No. October.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, you arrived at this main Russian camp approximately October 20, 1939?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. And there were approximately 200 other Polish people with you, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were they officers or civilians or who were they?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. They were all mixed. Practically everyone who owned land in the district was there, police forces, military men, soldiers, and officers.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you say these owners, big landowners, police officials, Government officials were there, what do you mean by there, at this main Russian camp at Szpytowska?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. I am talking about at Ostrow, who were with me.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were these same individuals shipped with you?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. You arrived there on October 20?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened at that camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. We found around 8,000 Polish officers and privates in that camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. 8,000?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Officers and privates?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Any Polish civilians?

Mr. GAWIAK. Not much. There were around two or three hundred.

Mr. MITCHELL. These landowners and property owners that you referred to—were they civilians or were they officers in the Polish Army at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. No; mostly they were civilians. It all depends on how old they were.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was your father still with you at this time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; he was with me. My father and my nearest neighbor, who died in—

Mr. MITCHELL. When you were being interrogated at Ostrow, did they take photographs of you at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, not in Ostrow.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened when you reached this other main Russian camp at Szpytowska? What happened to you there?

Mr. GAWIAK. We were held for about 3 weeks.

Mr. MITCHELL. Held for 3 weeks at this camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What were the accommodations at this camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. The accommodations were very poor. It used to be old barracks of the Red army.

Mr. MITCHELL. Old barracks of the Red army.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. No bed or anything, just the concrete floor and the walls.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did you have for clothing at this time?

Mr. GAWIAK. At that time I did get pants, before I left Ostrow and a jacket.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, when you left that public prison you had received a pair of trousers and a jacket?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct, not mine, somebody else's.

Mr. MITCHELL. Somebody else's.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. I had no shoes.

Mr. MITCHELL. No shoes?

Mr. GAWIAK. No shoes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us what happened in the main Russian camp? You were there for approximately how long did you say?

Mr. GAWIAK. Three weeks.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us what happened? Tell the committee what happened during that period of time.

Mr. GAWIAK. During that period they fed us what you call here a hot meal once a day around noon.

Mr. MITCHELL. A hot meal once a day around noon.

Mr. GAWIAK. By "meal" I mean the soup, with potatoes and barley or something like that. To get the food you have to have your own dish. Like myself and my father, we didn't have that.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, to get any of this so-called hot meal that you received you had to have your own dish, and you and your father didn't have any?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Had you up to this point been identified by anybody else or had you identified yourself as military personnel or a cadet student officer?

Mr. GAWIAK. At that time I told the truth, what I was.

Mr. MITCHELL. They knew you were a cadet officer?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you placed with military personnel, were you placed with other Polish officers at this new camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. They divided the civilians from the military?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. Had they divided the officers from the privates?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. All right, go ahead. Mr. Gawiak, you were telling us about the lack of a dish or a bowl.

Mr. GAWIAK. I could not find anything for a period of a day or two. Then I find a old can that used to be——

Mr. PUCINSKI. He found an old can.

Mr. GAWIAK. Like we have here. It was all rusted. I cleaned it up with sand, polished it.

Mr. MITCHELL. Sand? You mean sand on the ground?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. To get the rust off because you couldn't get it off with your hands. I fixed one bowl for my father, one for myself. Usually we spent time in the lines directed to the kitchen. You go through and they would pour you some soup in the bowl.

Mr. MITCHELL. Then it depends on how large a bowl you had as to how much you got?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, you are mistaken, because they had a spoon.

Mr. PUCINSKI. They had a spoon to dish it out.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You got one, not two?

Mr. GAWIAK. Only one. They had the system, you couldn't go twice to repeat and get some more soup, because usually they divided the children and men on one side, a line of soldiers. You get your food and go to the other side.

Mr. FLOOD. At this point you had been taken into Russian territory and placed in a Russian military camp, and you were being treated as prisoners by the Russians. Russia at this point wasn't at war with anybody, was she?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your stay at this camp was for how long?

Mr. GAWIAK. Like I said before, I was there 3 weeks.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your father was still with you?

Mr. GAWIAK. He was with me.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to you?

Mr. GAWIAK. From this camp we were shipped on train.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Freight train.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you photographed at this camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. Not at this camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were shipped out of this camp approximately what day?

Mr. GAWIAK. Approximately, let me see, November 7.

Mr. MITCHELL. On a freight train. Where did you go from there? Can you show us the route you had from there on the map?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I can. It was along a road. [Witness indicating on map]. We were shipped from Szpytówka through Kiev.

Mr. MITCHELL. To Kiev.

Mr. GAWIAK. To Poltava, to Starobelsk.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask you when you arrived at Starobelsk, what did they do upon your arrival? What did the Russians do?

Mr. GAWIAK. They stopped the train on the tracks across the camp. They didn't tell us to get off the cars. They kept us for 6 to 7 hours, and they moved again.

Mr. FLOOD. How far was Starobelsk from the old camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. About six or seven hundred.

Mr. FLOOD. Six or seven hundred miles further into the interior of Russia?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. Around 600 miles.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were stopped at Starobelsk for from 4 to 6 hours you say on a train?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened? Did you ever get off the train there?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, nobody got off.

Mr. O'KONSKI. How many days were you on the train?

Mr. GAWIAK. When we got to Starobelsk it was around 8 days.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That was in November, and it was cold?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. How many in a boxcar?

Mr. GAWIAK. In my boxcar there were 75 men.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Seventy-five men in one boxcar?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. We couldn't sit down, all of us.

Chairman MADDEN. We will recess now for a minute.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MITCHELL. I think it is time to step up the tempo of the testimony now. I personally know that he and his father and these 75 men who were crowded into these freight trains only paused for 4 to 6 hours at the Starbolesk which is down at the bottom, and then he proceeded up to Kozielsk, which he will show you now on the map. In other words, the most important part of this testimony is the fact that he was taken from within 15 miles on the western side of the Russian-Polish border through down into the Starobelsk, which you can see, which is in the main part of Russia proper. And then later up to Kozielsk. That is where we will pick up the story. He is going into Kozielsk.

Mr. FURCOLO. Ask him if he confirms that statement.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is that your route?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. I want to go here to this other one map. You have Katyn up here. The distance is approximately 35 miles.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Mitchell, may I interrupt for just one second. Could you tell us why they took such an indirect route to get you to your final destination? Why didn't they ship you direct from the camp where you were to Kozielsk instead of taking you the indirect way, giving you a 1,400-mile ride when they could have done it with about 400 miles? Was there any purpose behind that?

Mr. GAWIAK. I believe there was one. Can I say it in Polish?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). We learned late that the reason they took us first to Starobelsk and then subsequently to Kozielsk is because at the time they were taking us to Starobelsk they didn't

know that that camp had been filled. Then they transferred us from Starobelsk to Kozielsk.

Mr. GAWIAK (in English). From the day we started the trip we were 19 days in the car.

Chairman MADDEN. What time did you arrive at Kozielsk, what day?

Mr. GAWIAK. Around—we left the 26th——

Mr. MITCHELL. No, the——

Mr. GAWIAK. Around the 26th of November.

Chairman MADDEN. The 26th of November. What happened when you arrived at Kozielsk? What did the Russians do when you arrived there?

Mr. GAWIAK. They placed us—Kozielsk was a monastery. They had there four churches. They placed us in a church. I was in block No. 5. There were 600 men. May I say it in Polish?

Chairman MADDEN. How many prisoners in total were at Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. A little over 5,000.

Chairman MADDEN. How long were you at Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. At Kozielsk I was through the winter, and I was shipped in the spring next.

Chairman MADDEN. What month in the spring?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). Around May.

Chairman MADDEN. Could you tell us when you arrived——

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I didn't get that answer. Then you were shipped in May where? From Kozielsk where?

Mr. GAWIAK. To Pavlischev Bor.

Chairman MADDEN. When you arrived at Kozielsk were you put under examination or questioning?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, everybody went through an examination. They took everybody's pictures, side, front, and the other side, profile.

Mr. MITCHELL. From the side and the front and the other side?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. They took us all fingerprints, for every man in the camp, and they had all the records of all the men in the camp.

Chairman MADDEN. Did they place you under questioning and did they beat you or punish you or threaten you?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, they did.

Chairman MADDEN. Just tell the committee about that.

Mr. GAWIAK. About 2 weeks later when we arrived at Kozielsk I was called at 1 o'clock to headquarters for investigation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One o'clock in the morning or what?

Mr. GAWIAK. At night. When I got into the room there were two NKVD officers. They were very nice to me in the beginning. They fed me coffee, the first coffee since I left Poland, and cigarettes. They started to work on me telling me I am a young fellow, my whole life is ahead of me, what I think about communism.

Chairman MADDEN. About communism?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. I told them what I think. So I was beaten. I couldn't walk to my barracks.

Chairman MADDEN. After this beating you couldn't walk to your barracks?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. May I say it in Polish, please?

Chairman MADDEN. Yes, go ahead.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). During the interrogation the method was as follows: First, they were very pleasant and friendly,

and they asked me questions and they suggested that I be converted to communism. When I answered them that I had no interest in political matters because I am a soldier, the interrogator's attitude changed considerably. He pounded the desk with his fist and assured me that sooner or later he would get me to make certain admissions. Later he calmed down and tried another method. He knew that I had my family in Poland. He asked me if I loved my family. I told him "Yes." Do I want to improve their welfare? I said "Yes." He then assured me that he would do everything possible to improve their living conditions if I would subscribe to their political views. Naturally I realized that these were lies. They were just tricks that he was using to get me converted.

His behavior again changed radically. He jumped from his chair. He struck me upon the left and right side of the face. I fell to my knees. At the same time I realized there were two other Russian soldiers in back of me, and I was afraid to move. He asked me again if I have decided to give him a definite answer. I said "No," and he waved to the other two soldiers. And the routine beating began.

First they predominantly struck me in the sensitive spots, kidneys, twisting of the arms, and similar tactics. Later I was carried out of this building. They didn't take me to the barracks. They carried me to a special barracks.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Punitive barracks.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Punitive barracks.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). In which barracks I got to know or became acquainted with their modern and new tactics of torture. When I regained consciousness they took me to a cell, to a cell which was lower than I am. The ceiling was lower than I am. I had to remain stooped during my entire stay there. I could not sit because the cell was filled with water up to my knees and the refuse of those who had preceded me to this room.

Chairman MADDEN. What month was this?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). It was 3 weeks after I arrived there.

Mr. O'KONSKI. No heat?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). They kept me in this room 24 hours. When I came out I couldn't either move my legs or my arms. They returned me to my own barracks. And they left me alone. They applied these procedures predominantly to the younger people.

Mr. MITCHELL. How much did you weigh when you were taken prisoner?

Mr. GAWIAK. I weighed 180 pounds.

Mr. MITCHELL. How much were you at this particular time?

Mr. GAWIAK. It is hard to answer, but I lost quite a bit of weight. Later on I was living, as I told you before, with 500 men in a church. We had tiers in ours, nine, one on top of the other, nine high. We called them towers. We climbed that by ladder. I realized my father was getting weak, so I decided to manage to work in the kitchen.

Mr. MITCHELL. You decided to work in the kitchen?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct, to get in somehow.

Mr. MITCHELL. To arrange it.

Mr. GAWIAK. To steal some food. It took me pretty near a week from the time I went to peeling potatoes and so on until I got in the

kitchen and started to be second cook. At the time I was cook we had sanitary inspections made by a Russian doctor. She was a woman, around 25 or 20 years old.

Chairman MADDEN. This Russian doctor was a woman about 25 years old?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Chairman MADDEN. Who made inspections in the kitchen?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Chairman MADDEN. Where you were working?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. At that time I was speaking quite good Russian. During the inspections I had the feeling that that girl wanted to tell me something.

Mr. MITCHELL. The girl wanted to tell you something?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. May I say it in Polish?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). During my contact with this woman doctor I felt that she took a liking toward me, and I wanted to find out what was happening to the people being removed from this camp. It was our opinion that the camp was being subdivided into smaller camps or that the prisoners were being sent to farms.

Chairman MADDEN. Now ask him this: Were these prisoners being taken out of there in small numbers, like 100 or 200 at a time?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. The transports were between 150 men to 200 a day.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did this begin?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). The shipments began in March.

Mr. MITCHELL. 1940?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). Toward the end of March and the beginning of April.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask you this: Were there any prisoners leaving or being taken away from the camp along in, say, midwinter, like in the last part of December or January? Were there any disappearing then or being taken away?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, there were, and among them was my father.

Chairman MADDEN. Your father was one of them?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. About how many would they take each day? You say about 150 or 200?

Mr. GAWIAK. With my father they took only three men.

Mr. MITCHELL. With your father they took only three men? What did they do to your father?

Mr. GAWIAK. I found out later they moved them to another camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know which other camp they moved them to?

Mr. GAWIAK. Ostashkov.

Mr. MITCHELL. Ostashkov. Could you show us where that is on the map, please.

Mr. GAWIAK. It is right here [indicating].

Mr. MITCHELL. They took your father from Kozielsk to Ostashkov. When, approximately, was that?

Chairman MADDEN. What month was that, January, December?

Mr. GAWIAK. That was the beginning of December.

Chairman MADDEN. The beginning of December. About how far, approximately, is Ostashkov—

Mr. GAWIAK. It is approximately around 300 miles.

Chairman MADDEN. Coming back to this woman doctor. You can proceed with your narrative about her. You stated you got acquainted with her. Proceed with your conversation to her. You may speak in Polish.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). One day while she was making her inspection it developed that there was no one else around except she and I. When I asked her why I was not being shipped out she told me that I ought to be happy and satisfied that I was not being removed from this camp in the early transports from Kozielsk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just a moment before you go any further. Did you ask her why you should be happy or not?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; I did, but I didn't get an answer.

Mr. FURCOLO. She didn't say anything else except that?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Chairman MADDEN. She was a Russian doctor?

Mr. GAWIAK. She was a Russian.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was she a regular army doctor of the Russians or one of the NKVD variety?

Mr. GAWIAK. I believe, sir, she belonged to the party.

Mr. MITCHELL. NKVD.

When did your father leave? Do you know what month your father was taken from the camp?

Chairman MADDEN. He said December.

Mr. GAWIAK. I said December.

Mr. MITCHELL. I didn't hear that.

Mr. FURCOLO. If I might interrupt, Mr. Chairman, did you talk with this woman doctor at all as to where these other prisoners were being shipped to?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. When she told you you should be happy that you weren't being shipped, didn't you ask her where the others were being shipped and why you should be happy?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; I did ask, but I didn't get an answer.

Mr. FURCOLO. By that you mean she didn't say a word or that she said, "I can't tell you" or what?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is exactly what she said, "I can't tell you."

Mr. FURCOLO. She said what?

Mr. GAWIAK. "I can't tell you."

Mr. FURCOLO. "I can't tell you."

Did you ask her anything else after that?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. Had you heard anything about where these others were being shipped to?

Mr. GAWIAK. Like I told you before, we had the opinion they shipped them to a farm, and when the Russians found out we were of that opinion—

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you ask that women doctor if that was where they were being shipped to?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. What did she say?

Mr. GAWIAK. She doubted it.

Mr. FURCOLO. She said "I doubt it"?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. I think it would be helpful if you would tell us all the conversations that you had with her about this point that you can remember, even though it might not seem important at this time; anything at all that you said to her or that she said to you. Is there anything else that you remember?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). I can give you almost a verbatim conversation between her and myself.

Mr. FURCOLO. I for one would like to have it, Mr. Chairman, but that is subject to whatever you wish.

Chairman MADDEN. If the witness remembers it verbatim he can give it to the interpreter and say it in Polish.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). When we began our conversations I realized that something was happening as far as we prisoners were concerned. I asked her "Why aren't they removing me?" She answered that she cannot give me the reason. I then asked her if I ought to leave in the early transports, but there was no control as to how you could get on these transports. Her reply was, "You are very lucky; you were born under a lucky star that you are not being removed now."

I asked her why. I received no reply. She replied in circles, giving me no direct answer.

Mr. FLOOD. From the time you arrived at Kozelsk in the latter part of November all during November, December, January, February, and March, the time you are telling us about now, had the Russians divided any of the prisoners, the 5,000 at Kozelsk? Did they separate the military from the civilians, did they separate the officers from the enlisted personnel?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, they didn't, but they separated the two camps, each camp—may I say it in Polish?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). They separated the camp into two subdivisions, and each of the two subdivisions had officers in the range from general down to sergeants. It also had civilians.

Mr. FLOOD. Then there has been no dividing of the personnel between civilian, military officers, enlisted or noncommissioned?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. All kept together no matter where they were. One camp, two camps, three camps, they were still all together?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. When these shipments that you are talking about were being made every day did they select any particular kind of personnel to go in those shipments, officers, noncommissioned officers, enlisted personnel, or civilians, or did they take just a group mixed up?

Mr. GAWIAK. No; they mixed everything, but they usually had a list of the names.

Mr. FLOOD. They had a list of names, but whoever they shipped were still in one batch, all mixed up, no division.

Mr. GAWIAK. All right.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask you this. How far was your camp from the Katyn Forest?

Mr. GAWIAK. This is Kozelsk, and Smolensk is approximately, I would say, 100 or 150 miles.

Chairman MADDEN. 150 miles.

Mr. GAWIAK. Between Smolensk and the Katyn Forest it is 15 miles?

Chairman MADDEN. Was there any talk or any suspicion among the prisoners that these groups that were being taken away in trucks were going to be executed or harmed in any way? Was there any conversation or talk among the prisoners as to what might be happening?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). Definitely. We were very much concerned about what was the reason for removing us from these camps in such small groups. We knew from experience that every transport leaving the camp went through a very rigid inspection.

Chairman MADDEN. Did they search the prisoners at your camp before they took them away in trucks?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). The procedure was as follows: A Bolshevik officer would come along with a list of names. He would go from barrack to barrack and call out the names from this list. In 15 minutes every one was to be ready to respond to the call. When he completed calling out these names the entire group on that list was then assembled in a special building. We had no contact with this group once it went into this building.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me ask you this at that point. You were obviously a Russian prisoner several hundred miles inside of Russia. Did the Russians tell you why you were prisoners of the Russians? Did you Poles wonder or talk about why are we in here? Are we at war with Russia or is Russia at war with the Germans? Who is at war with whom? Did you talk about what this was all about, how you got there, what the Russians said about it? Did you have a chance to talk to any Russians beside that woman doctor? What was the attitude and the state of mind of the Poles there at that time or during all this time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. If you answer that in one sentence you are a good man, but I want the atmosphere. I want to know what was going on, why did you think you were there, what was this all about. Tell us something about that. Just make a statement about what it was all about.

Chairman MADDEN. We will recess for a minute.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. FLOOD. You understand what I want, Mike. Just tell me what the situation was at this camp, what was the attitude, conversation, the point of view, the discussions among the Poles at Kozielsk. Tell us in your own way.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). The main accusation against us by the Bolsheviks was that we are white, that we are in the capitalistic world.

Mr. FLOOD. By "white" you meant that you are Fascist as opposed to Red Communist?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, democratic.

Mr. PUCINSKI. By white he means that they were democratic.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). They accused us of conspiring to start the war of 1920, and they accused each of us, including myself, of spying. They would accuse one of one thing and the other of another thing, but the main point was that we are opposed to communism.

Mr. FLOOD. As far as the officers, the cadet officers, and the civilians, all the Poles at Kozielsk, they were all experiencing this same kind of treatment as far as you know, were they?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The conversations were pretty much like you are telling us now as between you and the Russians, the interrogators, the NKVD, or the Russian military?

Mr. GAWIAK. Right.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there military as well as NKVD at Kozielsk, Russian military, was it all NKVD, all of it?

Mr. GAWIAK. Mostly.

Mr. FLOOD. These interrogations were going on regularly every week?

Mr. GAWIAK. Every week.

Mr. FLOOD. All categories of Poles were getting the same thing?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. The treatment was pretty generally the same.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. How were the Poles resisting, how were the Poles reacting?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). From our side the Russians met with tremendous resistance to their efforts.

Mr. FLOOD. They were not making any converts. In American slang, they weren't "getting any place."

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were there any Polish women in these camps?

Mr. GAWIAK. There was one.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was she?

Mr. GAWIAK. She was a flier, a pilot.

Mr. MITCHELL. A Polish Army flier?

Mr. GAWIAK. I am not sure if she was Army, but she wore an Army uniform.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Of these people who were taken away from that camp during the months of January, February, March, and April, did anybody ever hear of those people again or did they just disappear?

Mr. GAWIAK. Just disappeared, nobody heard of them.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Nobody ever heard from or of those people again?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. O'KONSKI. So it is assumed that they were killed somewhere?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. O'KONSKI. There is no other conclusion.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to your father? He was taken away in February.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Your father finally got back, and so did you, but of all these people who were taken away in these small groups, when they were taken away from there during those months—and this is very important because this is about the time that they were killed, the months of January, February, and March—these groups that were taken away, nobody ever heard of those people again?

Mr. GAWIAK. Nobody.

Chairman MADDEN. He stated that there were groups taken away earlier than January.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. As early as the last part of November and December, groups being taken away?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Of your group there were about 5,000. How many of you got away that were not sent the way of those small groups that disappeared?

Mr. GAWIAK. 172 men.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many?

Mr. GAWIAK. 172 men.

Mr. MITCHELL. 172 men. How do you know that?

Mr. GAWIAK. Because they came for us.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you taken from Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. From Kozielsk they took us through Smolensk. We stopped in Smolensk for about 6 hours, and we arrived at Pavlishev Bor.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The dates are very important here. They started to take them away in December, didn't they, right after you got there?

Mr. GAWIAK. They started about a month later.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In December.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You got there in November.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In November.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. So during the month of November 1939, December 1939, January 1940, February 1940, March 1940, they were taking them away? They started taking them away in February?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is the group that nobody ever heard from again?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Of the 5,000 in the camp only 175 survived?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course they had removed your father and two or three others in December, you told us before.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. But of the groups that were removed from then on in you went to the next camp—what was the name of that camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. Pavlishev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. With how many men from Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. 172.

Mr. FLOOD. So far as you know, only 172 men of the 5,000 that were at Kozielsk ever got to the next camp with you?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You are positive of that?

Mr. GAWIAK. There was left in the camp about 150 men after I left.

Mr. FLOOD. During the time you were at Kozielsk there were about 5,000 Poles there?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Of all categories?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. At the time you left Kozielsk there were only 150 Poles remaining at Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. There went with you 100—and how many?

Mr. GAWIAK. 172.

Mr. FLOOD. 172.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. About when, the month and the year, did you leave Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. I left the first part of May.

Mr. FLOOD. The first part of May 1940 you, with 100 and some others, went to——

Mr. GAWIAK. Pavlischev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. In that month and that year there were about 150 left at Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Between that month in 1940—What was the month?

Mr. GAWIAK. May.

Mr. FLOOD. Between May of 1940 going backward to November of 1939, just short of 5,000 men had been taken from Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Where they went you don't know?

Mr. GAWIAK. I don't know.

Chairman MADDEN. Have you any explanation or any reason why the remaining 170 were not executed?

Mr. GAWIAK. 150.

Chairman MADDEN. Why you, the remaining 150, were not taken away as the others had been, and instead you were taken to another camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. I have no idea.

Chairman MADDEN. You have no idea or no theory? Have you any theory why they might have kept you?

Mr. GAWIAK. Later——

Chairman MADDEN. You can answer that to the interpreter.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). Later in Pavlischev Bor we discussed this matter widely. After we arrived from Pavlischev Bor to Gryazovets after determining and becoming convinced that the others had just disappeared, we had contact through the mails with families in Poland of these men. There were many inquiries from the wives and mothers of these men. From these persistent inquiries we concluded that these men had either been executed or that they had completely disappeared. Now I will answer the question posed by the chairman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. He is asking what was the question.

Chairman MADDEN. What is your theory or what is the theory that you feel you 150 were spared?

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). Later in Gryazovets we concluded, after determining that these other soldiers had disappeared or had been killed, the reason for our survival was that the Russians wanted to have proof by permitting us to survive. We discussed this matter frequently among ourselves, and we came to the conclusion that sooner or later there will be an investigation by the Western Powers or the Red Cross, and it was our theory that anticipating this investigation they decided to preserve at least some of us.

Mr. FLOOD. I just want to straighten the record out on these dates and camps again. About this time, between 1939 and 1941, there were many Polish prisoner of war camps and internees in Russia. They were at Kozielsk, Starobelsk, Ostashkov, is that right?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Three of them. You told us that at Kozielsk between November of 1939 and when you left in May of 1940 there were in round numbers about 5,000.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. At Kozielsk there were three different camps, you told us.

Mr. GAWIAK. Two.

Mr. FLOOD. Two different camps, all right, and in the camp with you there were what, about 4,500, the big camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, the small camp was around 800 men.

Mr. FLOOD. Around 800 men. Then that would leave, say, about 4,500 at camp No. 2.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. In camp No. 2 at Kozielsk, officers and cadet officers, there were about 4,500 men. Of that 4,500 men, in May of 1940 there were left 150 when you got out of there.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. And there was about 170 went with you?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Adding these two figures together I now want to inquire—Mr. Mitchell, can you tell us at this point how many bodies were discovered at Katyn?

Mr. MITCHELL. According to the published data of the Refugee Government in exile in London and the Polish Red Cross figures, the total number of bodies exhumed by the Germans during their investigation from the period April 7, 1943, until June 3, 1943, there were 4,243.

Mr. FLOOD. 4,243.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one moment. I would like to complete that statement so we will have it complete for the record. However, is it not true that that same source gives the total number of Polish officers who had disappeared, about 15,000? Isn't that correct?

Mr. FLOOD. I am aware of that. I am concerned at this moment only with the numbers of persons at the one camp at Kozielsk. The records indicate there were two other camps, as I just mentioned, and as this man confirmed, at Starobelsk and at Ostashkov, but as far as Kozielsk is concerned I repeat—you tell me 4,243 bodies were discovered at Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were exhumed.

Mr. FLOOD. Were exhumed at Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. By the Germans in conjunction with the Polish Red Cross.

Mr. FLOOD. I want the number just now.

Mr. MITCHELL. 4,243 as of June 3, 1943, when the work was interrupted.

Mr. FLOOD. Just at this minute I want to get the record on Kozielsk. One hundred and fifty were left at the camp when this man left in May of 1940, and 150 or 170 went with him. Adding 4,243 to those two figures seems to me to check with the 4,500, approximately—these numbers are all approximate—approximately 4,500 that were at camp No. 2 at Kozielsk between November and when this man left. That certainly ties in as far as figures are concerned.

Mr. SHEEHAN. However, Mr. Chairman, 10,000 bodies, according to Van Vliet's testimony and Stewart's testimony, were in the graves.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes. Of course, Mr. Mitchell just specified the dates on which the bodies were exhumed, and that satisfies me as far as this one figure is concerned.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that matter of the difference of opinion between Colonel Van Vliet's testimony of yesterday, where he said there was between 10,000 and 12,000 and the figure that I have given today, namely 4,243, is what was definitely exhumed from these grades at Katyn for the period April 7, 1943, through June 3, 1943.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And the Russians came in and they couldn't exhume any more.

Mr. MITCHELL. We were going to get to that by virtue of other witnesses at a later date who are not available in this country at this time, namely, German representatives at the graves themselves, when we will extract from them the truth of exactly what they think, how many bodies were actually in those graves, because the matter is something that is still up in the air, and we——

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Mitchell, we will get to that. I still want to tie this record down on Kozielsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. You have tied it down.

Mr. FLOOD. Therefore, only about 245 men got out of Kozielsk of all categories at any time, including your group, into the next camp, Pavlishev Bor. You got there in May 1940. Do you have any idea how many men were at that Pavlishev Bor when you got there in May, about? You have no idea?

Mr. GAWIAK. There was nobody there.

Mr. FLOOD. When you got there there was nobody there. You were the first crowd that got there. All right. How long were you there?

Mr. GAWIAK. We found out they were there before.

Mr. FLOOD. Others had been there before. About how long were you there?

Mr. GAWIAK. About a month or a month and a half.

Mr. FLOOD. Then where did you go from there?

Mr. GAWIAK. From there they shipped us to Gryazovets.

Mr. FLOOD. How many went with you to Gryazovets, approximately, in June of 1940?

Mr. GAWIAK. Three hundred.

Mr. FLOOD. How long did you stay at Gryazovets?

Mr. GAWIAK. In Gryazovets we stayed until war broke out between Russia and Germany.

Mr. FLOOD. Until the Russian-German war broke out. About when was that?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Pardon me. Could I interrupt to ask how he got to the other camp? How did they transport you?

Mr. GAWIAK. From Kozielsk to Pavlishev Bor, you are asking?

Mr. MITCHELL. He wants to know from Pavlishev Bor to Gryazovets.

Mr. GAWIAK. In trains.

Mr. MITCHELL. How? Will you kindly describe to him just exactly how you all were transported? You can do it to Polish if you wish.

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). The freight cars in which we were being transported were very similar to previous freight cars that we had used for transportation, with this difference——

Mr. FLOOD. I don't want to yield to how they were transported. At this point that isn't important. You can follow that up as soon as I finish.

You got to Gryazovets in June 1940 from Pavlischev Bor. How long did you stay at Gryazovets?

Mr. GAWIAK. In Gryazovets we stayed——

Mr. FLOOD. Until the Russian-German war broke out?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. When was that, about?

Mr. GAWIAK. I don't know exactly.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you leave Gryazovets about June of 1941?

Mr. GAWIAK. We went south to, the name of the place——

Mr. FLOOD. For what purpose? You were free then.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You went down and you joined the Polish Army?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. The Polish Army in Russia.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. From your testimony thus far and the figures you have given me and as I have developed, from the time you entered Kozielsk in November 1940 until the time you left in May of 1940, 97 percent of the men who were with you at Kozielsk disappeared.

Mr. GAWIAK. Right.

Mr. O'KONSKI. These Army officers who were in the other camp at Kozielsk——were they dressed in the regular army uniform?

Mr. GAWIAK. All of them.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And boots?

Mr. GAWIAK. Except the civilians.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The army officers had their overcoats.

Mr. GAWIAK. I can describe it exactly.

Mr. O'KONSKI. They had their boots?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Were the boots in good condition?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; very good condition.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Very little worn?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right, because we didn't use them——

Mr. O'KONSKI. Let me ask you this question. You have heard the description of the bodies that they have exhumed describing the overcoats that they wore and the boots that they wore. Does the description of those exhumed bodies fit the description of those soldiers as they were taken away from that camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. Exactly.

Mr. FURCOLO. I wanted to ask him a question about the same thing. Chairman MADDEN. Just a moment. Congressman Sheehan had a question.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, my question was on the basis of trying to find out when they transported him from Pavlischev Bor to Gryazovets, Was that in a train or in vans?

Mr. PUCINSKI. They were in prison cars, by train.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. By train.

Mr. SHEEHAN. This was only the 170 or so left in the camp?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In one car or more than one car?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was a little more than. At Pavlischew Bor we got small transport from Ostrashkov. Among those men was my father. I met him again. There were only about 30 or 35.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, one important point there——

Chairman MADDEN. Is Congressman Sheehan through?

Mr. FURCOLO. I wanted to ask you about back in the camp itself at Kozielsk. I was interested in the same point Congressman O'Konski spoke about, and that is with reference to whether or not you saw what these men were wearing when they were taken from the camp when you saw them for the last time, with particular reference to the overcoats and the boots. As I understood your answer your answer was that——

Mr. GAWIAK. I was answering that.

Mr. FURCOLO. You go ahead and answer that.

Mr. GAWIAK. In the camp we didn't use our boots. We realized that maybe we were stuck there for a long period. I am talking now about precautions. We had something like wooden shoes instead of using our own military shoes. I had them, too. We used to use our wooden shoes or rags or something like that. If we could save our uniforms we were proud. Everybody was proud of his army uniform. We didn't wear them. That is the reason at the time the transport started we had everything in very good condition.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, you wore clothing other than your good uniforms most of the time you were in the camp, but when these men were being taken away for the last time that you saw them, at that time they put on their best uniforms, their only uniforms?

Mr. GAWIAK. You see, we figured we were going out of the camp, and we had to be dressed up like soldiers.

Mr. FURCOLO. I also understand from your answer that the same thing is true about your boots, that you didn't wear your boots most of the time while you were in the camp.

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. But that when these prisoners were being taken away and you were seeing them for the last time, at that time they were wearing their boots.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct. I did the same thing.

Mr. FURCOLO. You did the same thing. Did you see any of the bodies afterward or have you seen pictures of the bodies that were found?

Mr. GAWIAK. I just saw the pictures.

Mr. FURCOLO. You have seen the pictures. I would like to get your best opinion as to whether or not the bodies that you saw had the same clothing and boots of the same type that the men were wearing when they left and you saw them for the last time.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right, they had exactly the same clothes.

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to find out this: You testified something about the identification that was made of the prisoners when they were brought into camp.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. You are probably familiar with the fact that the Russians claimed for a long, long time that they didn't know about

these prisoners. Tell us whether or not anything else was done in addition to pictures that were taken of each prisoner, and a card that was made out with his name on it. Was that done?

Mr. GAWIAK. They had all the records of each man who was in the camp. I saw my records. It was a file that high [indicating]. They had all the details, where I came from, what I was doing, what my father did, and so on.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, your own card had your name, your identification, your picture, your fingerprints, where you came from?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. What you were doing?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you see any other cards there that were like yours?

Mr. GAWIAK. Certainly, I saw a pile of them.

Mr. FURCOLO. So your evidence is that there were files for all of the men?

Mr. GAWIAK. All of them.

Mr. FURCOLO. You saw piles of cards like that?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. At any time did you have any talk with anyone in the camp there other than that woman doctor that you have already told us about, any other Russian in the camp there, about either records or what was happening to these persons?

Mr. GAWIAK. No; I didn't ask.

Mr. FURCOLO. The only other thing that I want to ask you is this: As I understand it, after you were free you and others who were in the camp had inquiries from families of these men who had been with you, and you learned that they hadn't heard anything of your former buddies or comrades who had been with you. What I want to get is this: Did you have any talk with any of them from which you could give us any idea at all how frequently their husbands and sons and brothers had been writing to them? How often were you folks allowed to write from the camp that you were in? In other words, what I am trying to get at is this: If they had been accustomed to receiving letters fairly regularly and all of a sudden they stopped in April of 1940, that might or might not mean something.

Mr. GAWIAK. It was exactly what you say. It took them around 2 weeks by the time we could write letters home, exactly the time. We knew the place, the address in Kozielsk, the Province of Smolensk. On the letters sent home we never could put that address. I remember right now the address was Moscow, box 1, and that is all.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, you learned that they had been in communication with their families up until a certain time, probably March or April of 1940, fairly regularly?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. Then after that date all communication with the families apparently stopped?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; until we got to Gryazovets. We had some kind of boycott; we stopped eating for 3 or 4 days.

Mr. FURCOLO. I am not talking about the families of you men who went to this other camp. I am talking about the families of the men who left Kozielsk and who were never seen again and who subsequent

events have proven were killed. Those families had heard regularly from their men up until about April or May of 1940?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. And then it stopped?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you have any letters or post cards of your own that you received while you were in these various camps?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I have.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you have them with you?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you be willing to surrender those at this date to the committee at least for photostating purposes?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I would.

Mr. MITCHELL. Then you will send them to the chairman of the committee at a later date?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Mitchell, I want to get this. When you were at Pavlischev Bor, secondly when you were at Gryazovets, did you meet any Poles who had been at any other camps in Soviet Russia other than Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. I met them in Pavlischev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. At Pavlischev Bor, the first camp you went to after you left Kozielsk, in May of 1940, you met other Poles?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Who had been prisoners of the Russians at other camps in Russia?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. What other camps?

Mr. GAWIAK. Ostashkov and Starobelsk.

Mr. FLOOD. Both?

Mr. GAWIAK. Both.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many?

Mr. GAWIAK. From Ostashkov we got about 30 men.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever hear how many men, how many Poles had ever been prisoner at Ostashkov? Did the Ostashkov men tell you how many had been there?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. GAWIAK. Over 6,000.

Mr. FLOOD. Over 6,000 had been at Ostashkov, 6,000 Poles. That was a different camp from the one you were at?

Mr. GAWIAK. Oh, yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Thirty got to Pavlischev Bor with you, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they tell you what had happened to the 6,000 who had been at Ostashkov? Did they ever say to you that they had been taken off the same way your friends had been taken away from Kozielsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. The same way, the same story again.

Mr. FLOOD. The same identical story.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. How many men from Starobelsk got to Pavlischev Bor at the time you were there, about?

Mr. GAWIAK. Between 120 and 130.

Mr. FLOOD. About 120 to 130. About how many, if they mentioned it at all—did they mention how many Poles had been at Starobelsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was between three to four thousand.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I interrupt here for 1 minute. We are going to have to cut off for the recorder anyway. I would like to ask the chairman to recess for 1 hour and bring the witness back at that time.

Mr. FLOOD. I don't want to recess for 1 hour; I don't mind a few minutes, until I tie these camps up. It will take only a couple of minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. FLOOD. At the time we recessed I asked you how many Poles came from Starobelsk to Pavlischev Bor, and you told me about 130.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they have any conversations with you or did they say anything about how many Poles had been at Starobelsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. Like I told you, the top figure of around 4,000.

Mr. FLOOD. About 4,000 top. Did they say anything about what happened to the 4,000 who had been at Starobelsk?

Mr. GAWIAK. The same story.

Mr. FLOOD. The same story at Kozielsk, the same story as happened at Ostashkov, as those men who came from Ostashkov, taking away groups and they disappeared.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct, during the same time.

Mr. FLOOD. During the same period of time. Then you men went to Gryazovets and you joined General Anders forming the Polish Army in Russia?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. At the risk of being redundant, I want you to follow me now as I recite these figures myself, and you just interrupt me and say no if I am wrong.

Mr. GAWIAK. Very well.

Mr. FLOOD. Now listen. In November of 1939 you got to Kozielsk.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. During the period of time that you were at Kozielsk between November of 1939 and May of 1940 when you left Kozielsk there were about 5,000 Polish citizens there, officers, cadet officers, police officers, and civilians.

Mr. GAWIAK. No; police.

Mr. FLOOD. No police, all right. Officers, cadet officers, and some civilians. About 4,500 were in the one camp and several hundred in another camp.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. About 175 left Kozielsk and went to Pavlischev Bor in May of 1940 with you.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. In May of 1940 when you and the other one-hundred-and-seventy-some Poles left Kozielsk there were about 150 left in Kozielsk.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard me say, as I was advised by the counsel for the committee, that about 4,243 Polish bodies were found at Katyn.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. When you got to Pavlischev Bor in May of 1940 and you stayed there until June of 1940, during that month there were about 130 Poles who came to Pavlischev Bor from a second camp in Soviet Russia at Starobelsk.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You had conversations with these Poles who came to Pavlischev Bor from Starobelsk and they told you there were about 4,000 top Poles at Starobelsk during the same period of time, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. I am not sure about how many men there were from Starobelsk.

Mr. FLOOD. In round numbers between three and four thousand?

Mr. GAWIAK. No; 4,000.

Mr. FLOOD. You also had conversations with about 30 Poles who came to Pavlischev Bor during the months you were at Pavlischev Bor from a third camp in Russia of Poles, Ostashkov, is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard in these conversations that there were about 7,000 Poles at Ostashkov?

Mr. GAWIAK. My father told me that.

Mr. FLOOD. He was one of the men who had been taken from Kozielsk in December to Ostashkov?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. He came to Pavlishchev Bor in June of 1940, when you were there?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask a question. You spoke at the beginning of your mother and your sister fleeing to Germany. Since that time, am I correct in saying you learned that the Germans killed your mother and your sister. Is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Later on.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Later on you learned that.

Mr. GAWIAK. Later on.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You and your father went the Russian way, and you were both freed?

Mr. GAWIAK. My mother and sister were killed round 1944.

Mr. O'KONSKI. By the Germans, though.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, in your heart, with the experience that you and your father had in Russia, tough as it was, and with what you know happened to your mother and to your sister, you would have every reason to hate the Germans far worse than you hate the Russians, wouldn't you?

Mr. GAWIAK. I hate them just the same, both.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, your opinion here is not prejudiced. You are telling us just what you saw, because you have an equal right to hate the Germans as you do to hate the Russians.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. I have two questions.

I don't know whether you remember names or not, but do you know a man who was a prisoner at Kozielsk, and who apparently was one of the last to leave. His name was W. Jan Fertik.

Mr. GAWIAK. Fertik.

Mr. FURCOLO. I probably say it wrong.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is my friend.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is your friend?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is my friend.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is he today?

Mr. GAWIAK. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do you know such a man?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I do.

Mr. FURCOLO. This man has a book published in the library which you have probably read, Mr. Mitchell.

Was there such a man there at the camp when you were there?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. He was one of the last to leave, the same as you were?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right. He was a cadet, too.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do you remember the name of a lieutenant colonel also at the camp, named Prokop?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I do.

Mr. FURCOLO. That man was also there at the same time you were?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. To the best of your knowledge they were men of good character and in whose word truth could be placed?

Mr. GAWIAK. Good patriots.

Mr. FURCOLO. The only other question I have is this: Whether or not in February, March, and April of 1940 from your observations did the Russians have either a scarcity or a plentiful amount of overcoats and boots for their own soldiers?

Mr. GAWIAK. Could you translate that, please.

(Interpreter translating the question.)

Mr. GAWIAK (through interpreter). No, they were lacking.

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to be sure I get this correctly now. In other words, in January, February, and March of 1940 at Kozelsk you saw many Russian soldiers and officers.

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do I understand your testimony to be that they had plenty of overcoats and boots for those Russian officers, or that they were lacking in the overcoats and boots for those Russian officers?

Mr. GAWIAK. I know. Like I said before, they were short of clothing.

Mr. MITCHELL. The Russians were short of clothing?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Probably the reason they didn't take them was because they didn't want to wear any capitalist boots, is that right?

Mr. GAWIAK. That could be.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In your experience in these camps and subsequent experience later did you come across any names of Poles who became traitors to the Communist cause, who are now in high position in the Polish Government?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; I did.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Could you give us those names? Did these people know that their fellow Polish soldiers were killed at Katyn Forest?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, they are accomplices to the crime.

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Could you give us the names of some of those officers in the Polish Government at the present time who would be accomplices in this crime and helped cover up? Could you give us the names?

Mr. GAWIAK. Sure. I knew one who was a pilot, navigator. His name is W-i-c-h-e-r-k-i-e-w-i-c-z. I don't remember his first name.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Where did you meet him and under what circumstances?

Mr. GAWIAK. I met him in Szyptowka.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did you know then that he was in with the Communists?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. I didn't have that idea. Gradually during the investigations he switched.

Mr. O'KONSKI. When you talked to him in this camp was he of the opinion, as you were, that the Russians murdered these Polish officers?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yet he turned to them?

Mr. GAWIAK. Later on.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Later on. He is now with the Government?

Mr. GAWIAK. General of aviation.

Mr. O'KONSKI. He is general of aviation in Poland.

Chairman MADDEN. Anything further?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to recess for about an hour, and to call the witness back. We still haven't finished with this witness as yet.

Chairman MADDEN. I think we ought to have lunch. We will be back at 2 o'clock.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, you had better make it 2:30 if you can.

Chairman MADDEN. No, 2 o'clock because I told the others to be back at 2.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m. the committee recessed until 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might make this announcement: Tomorrow morning's hearing will be in the caucus room in this building, the large caucus room, at 10:30.

Proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Witness, I believe that you were identifying for Congressman Flood the names of prisoners of the Soviets who are today high ranking members of the Polish Government in Poland. Will you repeat for the record the name of the general of the air force, and then carry on with the answer to the question for Congressman Flood?

Mr. GAWIAK. Fider Kiecz.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you spell that once more?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The spelling is F-i-d-e-r K-i-e-c-z.

Mr. FLOOD. That question was originally asked by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. O'Konski. What I wanted to ask was: Do you know of any other personalities now prominent in the Polish Government, in the civil or military arm, whom you knew at the same period of time? Are there any others?

Mr. GAWIAK. Colonel Berling.

Mr. FLOOD. And what is the status of Colonel Berling in the Polish Government today?

■ Mr. GAWIAK. I don't know exactly.

Mr. FLOOD. But he is active and prominent in the Polish Government; is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What camp was he in?

Mr. GAWIAK. I am not sure, but I think he was in Starobelsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. Are there any other individuals you know who are in the present Polish Government, who were in these various camps that you have been telling us about this morning? Are there any others outside of these people, just these two?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. Or, yes. But they don't have any high position.

Mr. MITCHELL. But there are others?

Mr. GAWIAK. Oh, yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I interrupt for a couple of questions, here? I would like to have you pursue the line of thought that I tried to go into this morning. In the conveyance in which you were taken from one camp to the other camp, and you said it was quite crowded, and that that was the residue of prisoners who were left at the camp, roughly 150 or 170, who were crowded into this particular bus or van. Would you give me a little description before I proceed with some more questions, on how you were put in there? Was it crowded?

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Sheehan, I would like to clarify for the benefit of the witness that at that point it was the transportation that was provided from Pavlischev Bor to Gryazovets that is referred to.

Will you pick it up and explain to the Congressman what happened from the time you left Pavlischev Bor until you got to Gryazovets?

Mr. GAWIAK. We were shipped usually in prison cars. That was from Pavlischev Bor to Gryazovets. But before we got to Pavlischev Bor from the station, we were transported by trucks.

Mr. SHEEHAN. By a truck?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct. That was to Pavlischev Bor. And I remember clear, when we get off of train, we were packed in to stand very close to each other just like sardines in the cars.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you prefer to say it in Polish?

Mr. GAWIAK. I would rather.

Mr. MITCHELL. Go ahead.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). They ordered us to mount these trucks, the platforms of these trucks, in an upright position, standing, very close, one to the other, and we were standing in the trucks, one right next to the other, so that you couldn't even put a pin in between the men, they were packed in that tight in the truck. Then they closed the gate, the back gate, of the truck. Two of the

Russian guards stood on top of the cab of the truck, and we were given an order to sit down.

It is easy to see how packed we were when this order came. We virtually were sitting on each other's laps in the truck. This trip in this condition took 4 to 5 hours.

When we arrived at Pavlischew Bor, they ordered us to dismount from the truck. They opened the back gate of the truck and ordered us to dismount. It was impossible to do. We were all stiff. We couldn't move our legs or our hands after this trip.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was sitting on you?

Mr. GAWIAK. On my legs was sitting particularly a Polish pianist. His name is Jrzybowski.

Mr. MITCHELL. That would be J-r-z-y-b-o-w-s-k-i.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Is he still alive?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. He is in Poland now.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know what he is in Poland now?

Mr. GAWIAK. Where? Or what he is doing?

Mr. MITCHELL. Where and what he is doing.

Mr. GAWIAK. I don't know where he is, but I know he continues there.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is he a Communist sympathizer today?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's what I hear; yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I ask you this question: It seems to me from Congressman Flood's questioning before and from your statements, with the small number of gentlemen left from the original 5,000 prisoners, they must have kept you fellows apart for a certain purpose, or we could assume a purpose.

Would you go on and amplify on that, or may I guess and say that maybe they thought they might make good converts out of you to communism? Was that a possibility?

Mr. GAWIAK. No; I would rather say they would save us for proof in case is any investigation from outside.

Mr. SHEEHAN. But you also say that this pianist who was with you is now, would you say, favorable to the party?

Mr. GAWIAK. I am not sure, but I heard later.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You just heard it?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. That is all.

Mr. DONDERO. Just one question. How did you escape being shot?

Mr. GAWIAK. Like I told you.

Mr. DONDERO. Was that your answer, just a minute ago?

They thought they would make a convert out of you?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you arrive in Gryazovets? What month, if you can recall?

Mr. GAWIAK. Let me see. We came out in July.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you at Pavlischew Bor?

Mr. GAWIAK. Wasn't long. Was between a month and a month and a half, 6 weeks at the most.

Mr. MITCHELL. At Pavlischew Bor?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let's see. You told us this morning that you had left Kozelsk the early part of May, so we can assume, say, the 10th

of May. Six weeks. That would mean that you left Pavlischev Bor and were in Gryazovets the latter part of June 1940. How long were you there from that time on?

Mr. GAWIAK. I was there till the war started between Russia and Germany.

Mr. MITCHELL. You remained at Gryazovets from the time you got there, in June of 1940, until war started between Germany and Russia?

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did the war start between Germany and Russia? Do you know?

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). The summer of 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you develop that line, Mr. Mitchell, I am still not satisfied with the answer given me this morning. That is, I do not quite understand the answer.

Why do you think the Russians permitted you to survive? Why do you think the Russians took you and 169 others out of the 5,000 Poles who were in this camp? Why do you think, if you have any idea, they permitted you and the friends they took with you to Pavlischev Bor to escape whatever happened, this killing at Katyn? Do you have any idea? What did you fellows talk about? Why do you think you got out of it?

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you want that translated?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

(The question is translated to Mr. Gawiak.)

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). That is a very difficult answer.

Chairman MADDEN. I think he went into that this morning.

Did you not? The decision that you and your friends arrived at was that the Communists thought there might be an investigation, and they did not want a complete wiping out of everybody.

Mr. FLOOD. I understood that, Mr. Chairman, but that does not make sense to me. If they were going to wipe them out, in my opinion they would wipe them out, and they would not worry about 150 people.

Now, you were there from about November of 1939 to about May of 1940?

Mr. GAWIAK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. And there were, in round numbers, 5,000 Poles there with you. And you and your friends saw these Poles being taken away in small groups day after day, month after month, until finally there was only about three or four hundred of you left. And then in May of 1940, they took you and 170 others to Pavlischev Bor, leaving 150 at the camp. Now, in view of that, do you have any other reason than the one you have just indicated, and that Mr. Madden has repeated? What did you men talk about? Why did you think you were left? What did you say? Is that the only reason you have? Tell it in Polish.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). Naturally, there was a great deal of debate amongst us as to why we were being retained, and there were many of us who felt that the Russians had planned to send us through a schooling, a training course, in order to convert us to communism.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, that is beginning to make sense.

Was such a course or schooling ever given to you or the rest of you men who survived, as far as you know or recall?

Mr. GAWIAK. Not to me, but, like I told the men before, Fider Kiecz and General Berling and a few others went to Moscow directly. And they came back to our camp in Gryazovets about 5 or 6 months later altogether changed.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, after you left Pavlischev Bor, you went to Gryazovets.

While you were at Gryazovets, then the Russians took several of your colleagues, several of your friends, and took them to Moscow; is that it?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Mr. FLOOD. For some kind of a training course?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Mr. FLOOD. And that was consistent with your idea and the idea of your friends, in the conversations you had had at all of the camps, as to why you survived. They were trying to break you down. They were trying to train these survivors. They did take some to Moscow. How many, about?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's hard to say, because they were taken not only from one camp, but from all of them.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me ask you this, then. During the time you were at Gryazovets, about how many men were at Gryazovets during the time you were there?

Mr. GAWIAK. Only four or five.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they come back while you were still at Gryazovets?

Mr. GAWIAK. All of them.

Mr. FLOOD. What was their point of view, their attitude, as far as you recall, when they left Gryazovets to go to Moscow?

Mr. GAWIAK. In my opinion, they were strictly patriots.

Mr. FLOOD. Loyal democratic Poles. How long were they gone, about, if you remember?

Mr. GAWIAK. Five or six months.

Mr. FLOOD. They were gone 5 or 6 months. When they came back, what was their attitude? What was their conversation?

Mr. GAWIAK. I remember very good——

Mr. FLOOD. First of all, had they changed?

Mr. GAWIAK. Completely.

Mr. FLOOD. Had they become Communists?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they talk communism?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they try to convert you to communism?

Mr. GAWIAK. (through the interpreter). They started forming Communist clubs or cells in the camp.

Mr. FLOOD. They went away loyal, patriotic Poles. They came back Communist agents?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

(Short recess.)

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to make a point. Congressman Flood has questioned the witness somewhat on the reasons why a small group was saved from the eventual fate of the others. Now, of course, this witness cannot answer that question except as to his supposition. But I want to say that he gave two reasons, as I under-

stand it. One was that the Russians wanted to maintain some sort of an alibi and some sort of a semblance of the continued existence of these prisoners. And secondly, they wanted to create cells and probably educate, using their own term, some of them into communism.

I want to say that I don't discount the first version at all, because subsequent historic events have shown that that first version might be the real reason why they were kept; because I think the next witness will bring out the fact that the Polish Government was frequently given various numbers, various figures, of witnesses in various camps, and it is quite logical to assume that the Russians probably maintained 150, 300, or 500 and exaggerated the amount in those camps and thereby created a series of confusions among the Poles.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Machrowicz, anything is possible. I will agree with you.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is one point I wanted to bring out. The witness has testified that for a while his clothes were taken away. Correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where those clothes returned to you?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. I am talking just for myself.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your own clothes. All right. Now, can you tell me what was done by the Russians with the Polish officers as far as their clothes were concerned? Were they taken away from them?

Mr. GAWIAK. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So the Polish officers kept their clothes and their boots?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So you did not mean to infer, did you, in your previous testimony, that the clothes and the boots of the Polish soldiers and the Polish officers were taken away from them?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. I was just speaking about myself.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I did not want there to be any question about that.

Mr. GAWIAK. You see, they captured me in civilian clothes, so they treated me like a civilian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But the Polish officers who left the camps for fate unknown left with their full uniforms and shoes?

Mr. GAWIAK. Full uniforms and shoes.

Mr. DONDERO. What kind of clothes did they give you in place of them?

Mr. GAWIAK. Well, I got a pair of trousers and a jacket.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I would like to have him elaborate on the question you raised, Dan, an important one, as to why he survived.

Of these 175 who left this camp, were there any high-ranking officers among you of those who survived?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, there was.

Mr. O'KONSKI. About how many?

Mr. GAWIAK. There was one general, and if I remember there were three or four colonels, and gradually down.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Were there any leaders of the Polish Government that survived that were in high office, civilians? Did any of them survive?

Mr. GAWIAK. It was, yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. There were some?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Gawiak, when my line of questioning was slowed up for clarification of the record, you had stated to this committee that you had been at Gryazovets until approximately June 1941.

Mr. GAWIAK. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. When the German and Russian Armies became involved in conflict. Can you tell us what happened to you from that time on?

Mr. GAWIAK. We remained in the camp for a period of 2 weeks of time.

Chairman MADDEN. If the witness cares to speak in Polish on this, that is satisfactory.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). We remained in the prison camp for about 2 weeks, and then we were transferred to the south.

Mr. MITCHELL. Could you show us the route on which you were transferred from Gryazovets and where you ended up, please, on the map?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes; I can. [Indicating Gryazovets.] Here is Gryazovets, way up north, and we moved to Totskoye. I am talking about where I went.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is where you went to?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was your father with you at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, he was.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many others of you made the trip from Gryazovets to there?

Mr. GAWIAK. That was a big transport. At that time in a camp we have around 1,500. Now, you ask me question where they come from, those 1,500 in Gryazovets. I would rather say it in Polish.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me say to the witness:

Any time you have a statement that you feel is easier for you in Polish, go right ahead.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). When we arrived at Gryazovets, our transport consisted of about 400. Those were those who were brought from Pavlishchev Bor. Three months later they attached another transport of about 1,800 soldiers from Estonia and Latvia.

Mr. MITCHELL. Then that made a total of approximately 2,200 in Gryazovets in June 1941; is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. And then all of you were transported from there to Totskoye at the same time?

Mr. GAWIAK. No. We had two transports. I mean, one after one.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many officers were in the group? Polish officers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You had better restate that question. I don't think he understood you.

Mr. GAWIAK. You ask me how many officers was in the transport?

Mr. MITCHELL. From Gryazovets to Totskoye.

Mr. GAWIAK. Approximately about 95 percent.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Ninety-five percent of those from Gryazovets to Totskoye were officers.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you arrived at this camp at Totskoye, would you give us now a description of your life there, who was there, and who you met, and so forth? You may do that in Polish.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). Our transport was the first to arrive there. Returning to Gryazovets, 1 week after the Poles and the Russians agreed, made their agreement, our camp was visited by General Anders.

Mr. MITCHELL. When was that?

Mr. GAWIAK. That was in June.

Mr. MITCHELL. No, June was when they went to war.

Mr. GAWIAK. Later, in August.

Mr. PUCINSKI. August 1941.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). There was a review there and a parade and a reception for the general, and he informed us that we were going to be transferred to Totskoye, and there we would be organized into a Polish army. From that moment, we all began registering.

And we didn't resign, but we were still in the Army.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, when General Anders announced to you that a Polish army was going to be formed in Russia proper to fight with the Russians, how many officers were at Totskoye at that time in all, a rough guess?

Mr. GAWIAK. A rough guess? About twelve or thirteen hundred.

Mr. MITCHELL. Twelve to thirteen hundred officers. I now want you to tell for the record and to this committee what happened about the conversations that went on in the camp among all of you officers and the people in this camp relative to the missing officers. According to the records I have read in relation to this whole matter, published by various groups, it seems that you all were recording the names of those officers who had been with you. Would you just give the committee a more or less brief description of what took place at that time?

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). As soon as we regained our freedom while still at Gryazovets, we all began compiling lists of names of people who were with us at the various camps in which we were interned. That was on the orders of our high command, and also on our own initiative.

Having carried on communications with relatives of some of our friends in Poland, we knew that these men were not in Poland. This was before the Germans invaded Russia. Each of our units compiled as complete a list as it could, and these lists were then forwarded to our high command.

As far as I recall, these lists were then forwarded to the Russian Government. We received answers while at Totskoye, that the Russian Government had no knowledge of the whereabouts of these officers. There were rumors that some of these officers were transferred to the St. Joseph Islands.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I believe that develops the story from this witness's point of view. I would like to go on quickly and just tell you what happened to him from there on in.

He remained with General Anders' army——

Chairman MADDEN. I think the witness should testify to that.

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, it will take us about another 10 or 15 minutes.

Chairman MADDEN. He could just terminate briefly.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us right now the route your army followed, where you ended up, and how you got over here to Canada?

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). They took us from Totskoye during the winter to Uzbekistan in the Soviet Republic. We remained there several months. We were then transferred to Persia and from Persia through Iraq to Palestine. In Palestine, we received further training in the English methods of warfare. From there we were transferred to Egypt, as Polish units, and from Egypt to Italy. We remained in Italy until the end of the war, and I came to Canada directly from Italy.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I ask where your father is at this time?

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). My father is at Welland, Canada.

Mr. MITCHELL. How old is he?

Mr. GAWIAK. Seventy.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask if any members of the committee have any further questions of the witness.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Were there any priests at the Kozielsk camp with you, Roman Catholic priests or Orthodox priests, that you know of, Polish prisoners?

Mr. GAWIAK. I remember four priests, or, I believe, five.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened to them, if you know?

Mr. GAWIAK. From the records I have heard, they found them all at Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. They found them all at Katyn?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes. There was one Jewish priest, one Orthodox—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean a Jewish rabbi?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Two Roman Catholic priests, an orthodox priest, and a Jewish rabbi?

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). And one Protestant.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I would like to develop one point further that is very important. You testified earlier this morning as to the condition of the shoes, the soles, of these Polish soldiers.

Evidently when war broke out, they were all issued new uniforms and new shoes. Is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. When they were captured, they had evidently worn those shoes slightly before they were captured.

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And they were taken out of these camps during the months of January, February, and March of 1940; is that correct?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now, if those soldiers had those shoes and those uniforms until August of 1941, almost a year and a half later, would those shoes and those overcoats have shown far more wear than they had shown?

Mr. GAWIAK. Naturally; yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. From the condition of the shoes as described by the witness, yesterday, and by the pictures you have seen of the autopsy, would you say that the condition of the shoes and the clothes indicates that they were with the soldiers for a period of 6 months, or a period of 2 years?

Mr. GAWIAK. I would say 6 months.

Mr. O'KONSKI. There is no question in your mind about that at all?

Mr. GAWIAK. No question about that.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That clarifies that.

Mr. FLOOD. As far as you know, what percentage of the officers who were with you from the time you came to Kozielsk until the time you left Kozielsk, if you know, were reservists of the Polish Army, or regular army officers?

Do you know what I mean by reservists, as distinguished from regular army or recent recruits?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I know. It is hard to say, but as I remember, in this district it was about 50-50.

Mr. FLOOD. But at Kozielsk, of the 5,000 Poles there, at least half of the officers were reservists, of all ranks?

Mr. GAWIAK. That's right.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Considering your statement as to your feeling, antipathy, toward the Nazis and toward the Russians, have you, in line with the testimony that you have narrated here, and with your experience as a prisoner over that long period of time, and all these extenuating circumstances—have you in your own mind made a decision as to what country or nation was responsible for the murders at the Katyn Forest?

You can answer that "Yes" or "No." Have you made up your mind?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I did.

Chairman MADDEN. Who would you say committed the mass murder at the Katyn Forest?

Mr. GAWIAK. Russia.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, I want to thank you, Mr. Gawiak, for your testimony here.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask just one more question?

When you met with General Anders, and all these people came from these various camps and survived, you were all interrogated as to what you thought happened to all these officers, and was there anybody that had a different opinion than that the Russians did the murdering?

Mr. GAWIAK. I don't—I doubt it.

Chairman MADDEN. I wish the record to show that Congressman Joseph Carrigg of the Fourteenth District of Pennsylvania, is present at the hearing.

I wish to thank you, Mr. Gawiak, for your testimony. I want to say that you have made a great witness. You have made a very sincere witness, and you have created a very good impression on the committee, coming down here from Canada, away from your business, and offering this testimony voluntarily.

I know that in the future the value of your testimony will be known not only to yourself and to your countrymen, but to the people and to the public generally, because your testimony will, I think, eventually serve to possibly give to the minds of the people not only in the free countries, but behind the iron curtain, what a criminal background is behind the leaders of this communistic movement.

And the testimony that you have revealed I think will serve a great purpose, to bring to the minds of the people generally throughout

the world what the free peoples of the world are up against in this scourge that is trying to aggress throughout the globe.

And I know I speak in behalf of the committee in thanking you for the great service that you have rendered in coming here today to testify.

Mr. DONDERO. Just before he leaves the stand, I want to ask a question?

Did you have any papers or any documents in your possession to show that you were a prisoner in these various camps?

Mr. GAWIAK. Yes, I have.

Mr. DONDERO. Have you got them with you?

Mr. GAWIAK. No, I left them home, unfortunately. But I will send them here.

Chairman MADDEN. They will be made a part of the record when you mail them to us.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, the witness would like to make a statement.

Mr. GAWIAK (through the interpreter). I am very deeply moved with the attitude and the action and the undertaking of this committee. I have been waiting for this moment for 10 years, and I am certain that just as some day we will get the satisfaction, by the same token the people in this country at last will understand what Russia is.

Chairman MADDEN. The next witness is ex-Ambassador T. Romer. There will be a recess for a minute.

(A short recess was taken.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might announce that Congressman Edmund Radwan of New York is present at the hearings.

Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

First, I will swear the witness.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearing now in session will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMER. I do.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you try and speak as loudly as you can? And for the purpose of the record, may I have your full name and address?

TESTIMONY OF TADEUSZ ROMER, FORMER POLISH AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA, MONTREAL, QUEBEC, CANADA

Mr. ROMER. My name is Tadeusz Romer. My address is Montreal, Province of Quebec, Canada, 495 Prince Arthur West.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you tell us something about your own personal background, beginning at the time you left school, briefly, please?

Mr. ROMER. I was born on December 6, 1894, in Antonosz, partitioned Poland under the Russian domination. I was at school and high school, in Cracow, Poland. I went through my matriculation in 1913.

Then I was at the university in Switzerland, Fribourg, and Lausanne. I studied law, science, philosophy, and politics.

I graduated in 1917, and then went to Paris to serve in the Polish National Committee under Roman Dmowski, one of the foremost Polish statesmen of that time.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you first enter the Polish Career Diplomatic Service?

Mr. ROMER. I first entered the Polish Career Diplomatic Service in 1919, in Paris, as first secretary of the Polish Legation.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you give us a short history, a brief history, of your various assignments as a Polish career diplomat?

Mr. ROMER. I was in Paris from 1919, until 1921, then from 1921 to 1927 in Warsaw at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Mr. ROMER. Yes; from 1921 to 1928. From 1928 until 1935, I was first conselor of the Polish Legation, and then the Polish Embassy in Rome, with the Italian Government.

From 1935 until 1937, I was Polish Minister in Lisbon, Portugal.

From 1937 until 1941, I was Polish Ambassador to Japan, in Tokyo.

And then, after the rupture of diplomatic relations between Japan and Poland, under German pressure, 6 weeks before Pearl Harbor, I left Japan with my family and the staff of the Polish Embassy and went to Shanghai, China, in order to pass through the United States, to London, to reach the Polish Government in exile.

It was impossible because of lack of communication, and I stayed in Shanghai, during the Japanese occupation until the diplomatic exchange between the western powers and Japan.

Mr. MITCHELL. When was that?

Mr. ROMER. It was in August 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. August 1942?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did you go in August 1942?

Mr. ROMER. I went to eastern Portuguese Africa. And there I received my appointment as Polish Ambassador to Soviet Russia.

Mr. MITCHELL. You received that appointment while you were in South Africa?

Mr. ROMER. In eastern Portuguese Africa.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did you proceed from eastern Portuguese Africa?

Mr. ROMER. I took a plane, and I proceeded through Egypt into Iran to Teheran and then to Soviet Russia directly.

Mr. MITCHELL. What year was that?

Mr. ROMER. It was in 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. What month?

Mr. ROMER. It was either in September or in the beginning of October.

Mr. MITCHELL. Whom did you see en route who might have given you instructions as to your duties in Moscow?

Mr. ROMER. I had not received any instructions during my travel. I just received a few telegrams from my Government in London, containing general information. And I saw in Teheran my predecessor, Mr. Kot, former Ambassador to Soviet Russia. I saw him in Teheran, and I saw also General Anders and a lot of Polish officers.

Mr. MITCHELL. One moment.

You stated that you saw your predecessor, who was Ambassador to Moscow? What was his full name?

Mr. ROMER. Prof. Stanislaw Kot, K-o-t.

Mr. MITCHELL. He was your immediate predecessor?

Mr. ROMER. Yes; my immediate predecessor, but he left Kuibyshev in July 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was the Polish Embassy located, in Russia?

Mr. ROMER. In Kuibyshev, formerly called Samara, on the Volga River, where the whole diplomatic corps was located since the wartime evacuation of Moscow.

Mr. MITCHELL. You stated that you saw him in Teheran. Is that correct?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Mr. ROMER. At the end of September or the beginning of October.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did Ambassador Kot tell you about conditions in Moscow, or Russia, with relation to your new assignment at that time?

Mr. ROMER. He gave me all his own files and archives, and he told me about his own experiences there.

Mr. MITCHELL. This committee is particularly interested in any reports that he may have given you in connection with the missing Polish officers.

Mr. ROMER. I received the full evidence list of the missing officers, the list prepared by different Polish officers and numerous Polish refugees and personalities in Soviet Russia, and the minutes of all conversations and all Polish interventions as to the Russian authorities concerning this matter.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you see General Anders?

Mr. ROMER. Yes; I saw him several times.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where?

Mr. ROMER. In Teheran, also.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did he tell you about it?

Mr. ROMER. He told me also about all his experiences concerning these questions and others, too.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he tell you the name of the individual who had been assigned the responsibility of ascertaining where these officers were?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was that individual's name?

Mr. ROMER. Joseph Czapski.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is Mr. Czapski today?

Mr. ROMER. At present in Paris, France.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is Ambassador Kot today?

Mr. ROMER. He must be in Paris, too, I believe.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is it your opinion that this committee should hear the testimony of those individuals?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely so.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where are the official records today, if you know where they are, of the conversations that took place between Kot and the Russian authorities?

Mr. ROMER. The originals must be with the Polish state archives and many copies in different hands.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who else did you see of note in Teheran? Who else did you see outside of Ambassador Kot and General Anders? Did you see Czapski? Did you see Czapski in Teheran?

Mr. ROMER. Yes; he is my great friend ever since childhood, and I saw him several times there.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you see General Sikorski in Teheran?

Mr. ROMER. No; General Sikorski was not in Teheran at that time. I saw him much later, in London, when I went there in January 1943.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you leave Teheran for Kuibyshev?

Mr. ROMER. In the early or middle part of October 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you receive your official papers appointing you to the Soviet Government?

Mr. ROMER. I received only a telegram appointing me, and I awaited my credentials in Kuibyshev, with which I went to Moscow to present them to the Soviet Government.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long did you have to wait in Kuibyshev?

Mr. ROMER. Approximately 10 days.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you received it, how long from then until you presented them?

Mr. ROMER. I went to Moscow with some person from my staff, and I presented my credentials on the 2d of November 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. Whom did you see at that time?

Mr. ROMER. The President of the Supreme Soviet.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was his name?

Mr. ROMER. I don't remember at this time. He died 2 years ago. Is it Kalinin?

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was the next person you saw in the Soviet?

Mr. ROMER. Mr. Molotov, of course.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you present your credentials to Molotov?

Mr. ROMER. No; I had to present them to the Chairman of the Supreme Council.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would you give us the gist of your first conversation with Mr. Molotov?

Mr. ROMER. Oh, it was only a formal conversation at this time.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was his position at the time?

Mr. ROMER. He was the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you first meet Marshal Stalin?

Mr. ROMER. This I shall tell you later on, with my general statement, if you allow me. It was a political conversation, and I think it would be interesting to know all the details about it.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to have you make a general statement at this time, unless the committee, the chairman or any members of the committee, have any questions to ask up to this point.

Chairman MADDEN. Without objection, the witness will make a general statement.

Mr. DONDERO. Before he does so, Mr. Chairman, I would like to know whether you have any reports left of what took place between Ambassador Kot and the Russians which he reported to you? Have you any papers in your possession on that point?

Mr. ROMER. No; I have no papers, Mr. Congressman, but the results of the conversations are in the Polish state documents.

Mr. DONDERO. Where are they?

Mr. ROMER. I don't know where the state archives are at present. They were moved somewhere. But I was not in the Government at that time, and I don't know about the respective arrangements.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. However, they are now under the jurisdiction of the Polish Government in London?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And their whereabouts are known to the Polish Government in London?

Mr. MITCHELL. Of course.

Chairman MADDEN. You may proceed, sir, with your statement.

Mr. ROMER. When I was Polish Ambassador in Japan, one of the main problems I had to deal with was the fate of the hundreds of thousands of Polish deportees in Soviet Russia who were deprived of any assistance whatsoever on the part of the Polish authorities, owing to the fact that diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries were broken off after the invasion by Russia on September 17, 1939, of the eastern part of Poland.

In the first part of 1941, I had published already a first list of nearly 10,000 names and addresses of Polish deportees in Russia, with whom some kind of contact had been established. Already, then, in the letters I was receiving, I could find many signs of fear on the part of the families in regard to the fate of the Polish prisoners in the three camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov.

When I came to Russia, as Polish Ambassador, in October 1942, the relations between the Russian and the Polish Governments were already seriously strained. The battle for Moscow was lost for the Germans, the tide of the battle for Stalingrad was changing in favor of the Soviets, the American supplies were flowing to Russia in very large quantities.

The Polish-Russian agreement of July 1941, which had been subsequently enlarged during General Sikorski's visit to Russia in December of the same year, was becoming a liability to the Soviet Government owing to the favorable change of war events. The Soviet Government apparently considered those agreements as temporary expediences.

My predecessor had left Moscow in July 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. Excuse me one minute. Do you have any reason, to your knowledge, as to why he left?

Mr. ROMER. He was recalled to London to take part in the Polish Government in London, and this was the main reason.

Mr. MITCHELL. Why he left Kuibyshev at that time?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you.

Mr. ROMER. And in the meantime a great number of Polish relief workers and representatives of the Polish Embassy throughout Russia were arrested and many offices closed, so that the vast relief organization planned for the Polish deportees in Soviet Russia was slowed, if not completely jeopardized.

The Polish Army Corps formed in Russia under General Anders had to be withdrawn during the year of 1942 to the Middle East because of lack of food and adequate equipment. Notwithstanding the fact that this decision had been approved by Stalin himself, the Soviet Government bitterly criticized later on this move accusing the Poles that they were not willing to fight with their Russian comrades the common German enemy.

One of the main problems I had to examine on my arrival to Kuibyshev, in the light of previous correspondence, was the question of the missing 15,000 Polish war prisoners from the three above-mentioned camps. And these camps were Starobielsk, with mainly

4,000 prisoners, servicemen, Kozielsk, with, roundly speaking 4,500 officers of various ranks, Ostashkov, with more than 6,500 or 6,600 various military personnel. In all, around 15,000 Polish war prisoners.

Why do I call them Polish war prisoners? We were not at war, formally speaking, with Soviet Russia. But Soviet Russia invaded Poland in September 1939, and at that time relations, diplomatic and all relations, between Poland and Soviet Russia, didn't exist any more.

Mr. MITCHELL. Russia?

Mr. ROMER. Yes, Russia, on the 17th of September, just at the back of the Polish retreating armies before the advancing German armies. And at that time several different Polish units had battles, and very severe battles, with the incoming Russians.

This is why in the press, in the newspapers, in the Russian newspapers themselves, they gave the number of what they called Polish war prisoners was published. The number given in the Russian newspapers corresponded in all to 200,000 people captured by the Russians during that advance.

All of them, or most of them, were put into camps of war prisoners, and a great number of them later on were transferred to the deportee camps inside Russia, in Siberia, and so on. And only these three great camps, Ostashkov, Starobielsk, and Kozielsk contained the most important, the most well known, of those people.

That is why we were very much concerned with these three prisoner of war camps. Among them were top and high ranking Polish Army officers captured by the Russians in September and October 1939. Among those prisoners were also well known scientists, politicians, lawyers, physicians, economists, and even clergymen.

In other words, they were the flower of the Polish intelligentsia.

These men were, of course, badly needed, not only for our war effort, but also in connection with future plans for mutilated Poland. I hardly know of any family in Poland, which was not alarmed by the fate of missing members of the family, or close friends.

The evidence lists I had at that time I received from my predecessor and from the files of the Polish Embassy, and the evidence lists I had proved that since the spring of 1940 no sign of life had come from those men to their families, and that the correspondence had suddenly ceased.

I looked over the numerous minutes of conversation between Polish diplomatic and military representatives in Soviet Russia when unsuccessful inquiries on the whereabouts of those prisoners were made.

I was particularly struck by a remark that the top ranking Soviet security executives, Beria and Merkulow, made already in October 1940, to Colonel Berling and to a small group of Polish officers who joined him. These were Beria's words at that time: "In regard to them we made a great mistake."

My Embassy and myself were receiving hundreds of letters from Poles anxiously inquiring over the fate of the disappeared men. I did not lose any occasion to question those arriving from remote Russia regions in order to trace any possible sign of evidence of the missing prisoners. Everything was in vain.

I had no instructions to continue conversations on this subject with the Soviet Government, because we saw clearly after our numerous previous unsuccessful attempts that the Russians were unwilling to help us in finding these prisoners. Apart from that, I was mostly

concerned over the fate of the Polish deportees numbering about 1½ million Polish citizens living in appalling conditions in remote regions of European and Asiatic Russia. The help of our Embassy in food, clothing, medical, and other supplies, which were provided for some 270,000 of those we have been able to contact, was threatened to be completely suppressed.

My line of thinking about the war-prisoner problem was, on the basis of my studies, the following: There was no doubt for me already at that time that the great majority of these men were not alive, because we had sufficient evidence lists of all the deportees being spread all over the territory of the Soviet Union, and not a single name out of the Kozielsk, Starobielsk, or Ostashkov camps was among them.

Obviously, I am not speaking of the group of some 450 ex-prisoners from the Gryazovets camp and Moscow prisons, who were with us and helped us greatly in the search for their friends and comrades. The first witness today, my countryman, Mr. Gawiak, is one of them.

My personal guess was that at the time of the German-Soviet friendship, some sort of liquidation of these leading groups of the Polish intelligentsia was agreed upon by the two totalitarian partners, whose final aim was the definite destruction of the Polish nation. I never excluded the possibility that the Nazis would be capable of committing such a mass murder, knowing only too well their methods in occupied Poland and elsewhere, but we had sufficient evidence from the Polish underground in German-occupied Poland to be certain that no mass exchange of prisoners or individual escapes into German-occupied Poland had taken place.

I came then to the evident conclusion that the responsibility for the fate of these 15,000 men lay on the Russian side. I must say that at that time I was still very far from suspecting the full tragic truth. I had an idea that these prisoners maybe were sent to some Arctic regions, and had died of starvation and unlivable climatic conditions.

In December 1942 I was called by my Government for consultation to London, and when leaving my Embassy in Kuibyshev I received a formal assurance from Vishinsky, at that time Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that during my absence from Russia no unilateral decisions or changes would take place in regard to the status of the Polish deportees in Russia, this having been the main subject of our negotiations.

As soon as I arrived to London in January 1943, I found to my amazement that by order of the Soviet authorities the Poles in Russia had been deprived of their national status and forced, under threat of arrest and torture, to accept Russian passports. After having contacted my Government I flew back directly to Moscow, and on February 26 and 27, 1943, I had a night-long conversation with Stalin, in the presence of Molotov. I brought him, under instructions of my Government, a far-reaching and rather sensational offer of the Polish underground.

Chairman MADDEN. We will have a short recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will proceed.

Mr. ROMER. And so, coming back to Moscow, I saw Stalin in the presence of Molotov on February 26 and 27, 1943, and I brought him, under instruction of my Government, a far-reaching and rather

sensational offer of the Polish underground to proceed on a given date for 3 to 5 days to the simultaneous destruction of every German line of communication in occupied Poland just behind the German side of the front line.

Chairman MADDEN. Would you repeat that, please, and talk just a little slower?

Mr. ROMER. I brought him——

Mr. MITCHELL. You brought who?

Mr. ROMER. Stalin. I brought him, under instruction of my Government, a far-reaching and rather sensational offer of the Polish underground to proceed on a given date for 3 to 5 days to the simultaneous destruction in occupied Poland of every German line of communication just behind the German front line.

This offer was the best, although a very costly, proof of the potential possibilities of the Polish underground, and of its readiness and willingness to contribute to the Russian offensive.

On the other side we considered this offer as a possible counterpart for a change of Russian policy in the Polish deportee problem and other pending difficulties in Polish-Russian relations.

Stalin seemed to be struck by this offer, but apparently fearing its political implications preferred to sidetrack it for the time being, and all I was able to obtain from him was the renewing of the negotiations with Molotov in regard to the legal status of the Polish deportees.

And so I continued negotiating in Moscow this time, and was absent from my Embassy. I took from Kuibyshev several persons from the staff of the Embassy to help me. We lived in a hotel in Moscow. I was negotiating with Molotov on the status of the Polish deportees in Soviet Russia after the decree of the Soviet Government, which deprived them of their Polish national status.

It was during those negotiations that the bombshell of Goebbel's propaganda revelations of Katyn exploded.

The news about Katyn was announced in a German communique on April 13, 1943.

Forty-eight hours later we had the Russian answer. We had waited nearly 2 years, from the latter part of 1941, through the whole of 1942 and the early part of 1943, for any precise answer, about the whereabouts of the Polish war prisoners in these three camps. None of our diplomatic interventionists with Soviet authorities on every level, numbering more than 50 had any answer.

And yet, after 48 hours an answer came. The answer was the following one. I have here the official statement of the Tass Agency, dated April 15, 1943. It was published in every Russian newspaper. I give you here the English translation. This was the text of the statement of the Tass Agency.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, if you will let me interrupt you there, this statement was made within 48 hours after the Germans announced the discovery of the graves?

Mr. ROMER. Yes. And this is the statement of the Tass Agency, dated February 15, 1943:

The Polish prisoners in question were interned in the vicinity of Smolensk in special camps and were employed in road construction. It was impossible to evacuate them at the time of the approach of the German troops, and as a result they fell into their hands. If, therefore, they have been found murdered, it means that they have been murdered by the Germans, who, for reasons of provocation, claim now that the crime has been committed by Soviet authorities.

I have, to make Mr. Chairman a few remarks about this text. My first remark concerns this work on the roads imposed on the Polish war prisoners. They were officers and under the Geneva convention, the officers are exempt from manual labor.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean officers?

Mr. ROMER. Officers. They were never forced to labor before in those three camps, and we couldn't see any reason for this change of attitude of the Russian Government.

My second observation is: How can we explain, if this were true, that no information about this fact had been given to the Polish Government in answer to their 50 or more inquiries about the whereabouts of these officers?

And my final remark is that if they really had stayed the whole of this time, from the month of April 1940 until the German occupation of the Smolensk region in July 1941, it would be quite impossible that through different channels we would not have received news about their fate and about their whereabouts. Why were they not allowed to correspond with their families and come into contact with the Polish officials in Soviet Russia? We were then in friendly relations with the Russian Government. I can see no reason for this state of things.

And so you understand, Mr. Chairman, that the explanations in the Russian communique were not only lacking in sincerity—they were not only unconvincing to the Polish Government in London, but they gave rise to very great alarm in the whole of Poland and to all the Poles abroad. You can well understand the feeling of horror which has pervaded Polish public opinion after the German discovery.

I must underline here that we did not, in any way, exclude the possibility of the Nazis committing such a crime. The different camps of extermination in Poland are the best proofs that the Germans, the Nazis, used similar methods of mass extermination. But in this case we considered it necessary to study this question in a very objective manner through reliable channels in order to discover the truth.

Not one move has been made by the Polish Government to accuse the Russians. All that was asked for was the truth. And this is why the Polish Government, on the 17th of April, requested the International Red Cross, as a neutral organ, an organ which was instituted by the Geneva convention, to study problems concerning war prisoners, to organize for an impartial and exhaustive inquiry.

Mr. DONDERO. The 17th of April of what year?

Mr. ROMER. It was 2 days after the Russian answer, the 17th of April 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You say 2 days after the Russian answer?

Mr. ROMER. Two days after the Russian communique, after the Tass statement answering Goebbels' first communique on the discovery of Katyn.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I understood your previous testimony was that Russia had announced that on February 15.

Mr. ROMER. No, no. It was April. If I made a mistake, will you please correct it? It was April 13, 1943, the date of the German communique; and the Russian answer was on April 15. The Polish Government's appeal to the International Red Cross was on April 17. And on the same date the Polish Government in London decided to send a note to the Soviet Ambassador accredited to the Soviet Government in London, Mr. Bogomolow, asking him to advise the Russian

Government to give all possible information and all possible explanations about this case to the Polish Government. This note was handed to Mr. Bogomolow on April 20, 1943, in London.

We went through those five or six hectic days in Moscow, during which I saw quite clearly that the Soviet Government was only preparing to use this question of Katyn as a pretext for rupture of relations between Poland and Soviet Russia.

The International situation had already changed considerably from the time of my arrival in Soviet Russia. The battle for Stalingrad was won by the Russians in early February. The Russian armies advanced steadily, every day, step by step, toward the Polish frontier. The American armies in western Africa and the British armies in northeastern Africa advanced, toward each other, and later converged, battling through Italy to attack central Europe; but they were very far away from Poland at that time, and the Russians were each day nearer. I believe that at this very time the Soviet Government had already made up their plans about the future of Poland, had prepared for a new occupation of Poland, and made plans to set up a Communist regime in our country.

During the night of Easter Sunday, on the 25th of April at 11 p. m. I was awakened, and was told that Mr. Molotov asked to see me at midnight or quarter past midnight, whichever time I preferred.

Chairman MADDEN. That was 1943?

Mr. ROMER. 1943. My choice was the earlier time. I answered that I was coming to see him at midnight. I dressed and went to the Kremlin. I had to wait until 15 minutes past midnight. It was already Monday, the 26th of April 1943.

Mr. Molotov read to me a note prepared and addressed to me, a note containing misstatements and false accusations.

I shall read you only a few excerpts of this note and hand over to you the full text. It was, of course, like all the other Russian notes we received, written in Russian. Our answers were as a rule, in Polish. I will give you some excerpts of the English translation of this note. The following is one of them:

Not only has the Polish Government failed to counteract the base Fascist calumnies about the U. S. S. R., but it has not even found it necessary to address a question to the Soviet Government or ask for explanations in the matter.

I repeat, we asked more than 50 times for explanations, and the Polish note dated April 20, addressed to Ambassador Bogomolow, preceded by 5 days, this note which I have quoted.

Here is another excerpt:

The fact that a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union has started simultaneously in the German and the Polish press and is conducted on an identical platform can leave no doubt of a plot between the common enemy of the Allies, Hitler, and the Polish Government.

May I draw your attention, gentlemen, to the fact that if, at any time, the American press makes any statement the American Government, will be held responsible for it by the Soviet Government in your dealings with them.

And the last excerpt:

The above circumstances force the Soviet Government to state that the present Polish Government, having descended to the level of plotting with the Hitlerite authorities, has in fact as an ally violated its relationship with the U. S. S. R. and has adopted an attitude which is hostile toward the Soviet Union. In con-

sequence, the Soviet Government have decided to break off relations with the Polish Government.

My comment is that Poland, which was the first to be in war with the Germans, the first to oppose the German aggression, a country which has endured the most appalling losses and sufferings in this war, was accused here of plotting with the Hitlerite authorities by a Government which, during the whole of the first part of the war was an accomplice of Germany, helping the German armies not only to conquer Poland but even to overpower France and Great Britain. I wish to remind you of the Molotov-Ribbentrop arrangements and of the flow of war supplies then sent by Russia to Germany.

Chairman MADDEN. As a matter of fact, the only conflict between the Soviet and the Polish Government was the fact that the Polish Government wanted to know where these thousands of Polish officers disappeared to.

Mr. ROMER. Not only did the Polish Government insist on knowing the truth about the Polish officers, but also the Polish press and public opinion.

On hearing the text of the note I declared that nothing was left to me but to express my great regret at this decision, for which the Soviet Government will have to take full responsibility. At the same time, I emphatically protested against the suggestions and conclusions contained in the note read to me. It inadmissibly accuses the Polish Government of conduct and intentions which are contrary to fact, thus rendered the note itself unacceptable.

I also pointed out that, contrary to statements in the note, the Polish Government has, for the past 2 years, made numerous unsuccessful efforts to obtain an explanation from the Soviet Government concerning the fate of the lost Polish officers, and lately has again repeated this request in a note of the 20th instant addressed to Ambassador Bogomolow in London.

That is why I refused emphatically to accept this note and I left it on the table of Mr. Molotov. I told him that, in accordance with international rules and procedure, if he wants to send such a communication to the Polish Government, he has to make it through his own channels, through Ambassador Bogomolow in London.

I said, that I shall not take such a slanderous note.

When I left Molotov and returned to my hotel, I received 1 hour later, a sealed envelope from the Soviet Foreign Ministry. This envelope contained the note I had refused to take from Molotov. I made immediately a copy of it, which I will hand you written, as it was, in Russian. I sent back this note in my own envelope, with an answer in Polish. I shall give you the full text of the Russian note in Russian and its English translation, and the full text of the English translation of my answer, dated April 26.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will accept those exhibits, and they will be part of the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. I want to identify them by exhibit numbers, if I may. Will you give me the note that was handed to you by Molotov?

The note from Molotov to Romer and the translation of the Russian note become Romer exhibits 1 and 2.

The other one is Romer exhibit 3, Romer's reply.

(The documents described above were marked "Romer Exhibits 1, 2, and 3," and made a part of the record.)

Exhibit No. 1

Копия.

Москва, 25 апреля 1943 года.

Господин Посол!

По поручению Правительства Союза Советских Социалистических Республик я имею честь довести до сведения Польского Правительства нижеследующее:

Поведение Польского Правительства в отношении СССР в последнее время Советское Правительство считает совершенно ненормальным, нарушающим все правила и нормы во взаимоотношениях двух союзов государств.

Враждебная Советскому Союзу клеветническая кампания, начатая немецкими фашистами по поводу ими же убитых польских офицеров в районе Смоленска, на оккупированной германскими войсками территории, была сразу же подхвачена Польским Правительством и всячески разжигается польской официальной печатью. Польское Правительство не только не дало отпора подлой фашистской клевете на СССР, но даже не сочло нужным обратиться к Советскому Правительству с какими-либо вопросами или за разъяснениями по этому поводу.

Гитлеровские власти, совершив чудовищное преступление над польскими офицерами, размышляют следственную комедию, в исполнении которой они использовали некоторые подобранные ими же самими польские профашистские элементы из оккупированной Польши, где все находится под пятой Гитлера и где честный поляк не может открыто сказать своего слова.

Для "расследования" привлечен как Польским Правительством, так и гитлеровским правительством Международный Красный Крест, который вынужден в обстановке террористического режима с его высылками и массовым истреблением мирного населения принять участие в этой следственной комедии, режиссером которой является Гитлер. Понятно, что такое "расследование", осуществляемое к тому же за спиной Советского Правительства, не может вызвать доверия у сколько-нибудь честных людей.

То обстоятельство, что враждебная кампания против Советского Союза начата одновременно в немецкой и польской печати и ведется в одном и том же плане, — это обстоятельство не оставляет сомнения в том, что между врагом союзников — Гитлером и Польским Правительством имеется контакт и сговор в проведении этой враждебной кампании.

В то время, как народы Советского Союза, обливаясь кровью в тяжелой борьбе с гитлеровской Германией, напрягают все свои силы для разгрома общего врага русского и польского народов и всех свободных демократических стран, Польское Правительство в угоду тирану Гитлера наносит вероломный удар Советскому Союзу.

Господину Т. РОМЕРУ
Чрезвычайному и Полномочному Послу
Польской Республики
Москва.

-2-

Советскому Правительству известно, что эта враждебная кампания против Советского Союза предпринята Польским Правительством для того, чтобы путем использования гитлеровской клеветнической фальшивки произвести нажим на Советское Правительство с целью вырвать у него территориальные уступки за счет интересов советской Украины, советской Белоруссии и советской Литвы.

Все эти обстоятельства вынуждают Советское Правительство признать, что нынешнее правительство Польши, скатываясь на путь сговора с гитлеровским правительством, превратило на деле союзные отношения с СССР и стало на позицию враждебных отношений к Советскому Союзу.

На основании всего этого Советское Правительство решило прервать отношения с Польским Правительством.

Прошу Вас, господин Посол, принять уверения в моем весьма высоком уважении.

/-/ В. Молотов

EXHIBIT No. 2

[Translated from Russian]

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Moscow, April 25th, 1943.

Mr. AMBASSADOR,

On instruction of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honour to inform the Polish Government of the following:

The Soviet Government finds the behaviour of the Polish Government during the last period of time absolutely abnormal, infringing all the rules and norms of mutual relations as between two Allied States.

The Polish Government has been eager to pick up, and the Polish official press is in every way inflaming, the calumnious campaign launched by German fascists regarding the Polish officers killed by the German armies in the district of Smolensk which they were occupying. Not only has the Polish Government failed to counteract the base fascist calumnies about the USSR, but it has not even found it necessary to address a question to the Soviet Government or ask for explanations in the matter.

The Hitlerite authorities, having accomplished a monstrous crime on Polish officers, are now enacting the comedy of an investigation, in which they are using Polish fascist elements whom they have carefully selected in occupied Poland, a country thoroughly dominated by Hitler and where no honest Pole can openly express his opinion.

The Polish Government on a par with the Hitlerite Government, has called on the International Red Cross to carry out an "investigation" staged by Hitler against the background of his terroristic regime with its gallows and mass destructions of peaceful populations. Obviously, such an "investigation", carried on behind the back of the Soviet Government, cannot inspire confidence in anyone possessing even a modicum of honesty.

The fact that a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union has started simultaneously in the German and the Polish press and is conducted on an identical platform, can leave no doubt of a plot between the common enemy of the Allies: Hitler, and the Polish Government.

At a time when the nations of the Soviet Union, shedding their blood in the desperate fight against Hitlerite Germany, unite for the defeat of the common enemy of the Russian and Polish peoples and of all freedom-loving democratic countries, the Polish Government bowing to Hitler's tyranny aims a treacherous blow at the Soviet Union.

It has been brought to the notice of the Soviet Government that the Polish Government have taken advantage of Hitlerite falsifications to start hostile campaign against the Soviet Union, so as to extort concessions at the expense of the Soviet Ukraine, Soviet Byelorussia and Soviet Lithuania.

The above circumstances force the Soviet Government to state that the present Polish Government, having descended to the level of plotting with the Hitlerite authorities, has in fact as an Ally violated its relationship with the USSR, and has adopted an attitude which is hostile towards the Soviet Union.

In consequence, the Soviet Government have decided to break off relations with the Polish Government.

Please accept, Mr. Ambassador, the expression of my highest respect.

Signed: V. Molotov.

Mr. T. ROMER
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the Republic of Poland
Moscow.

EXHIBIT 3

[Translated from Polish]

To Mr. V. MOLOTOV
People's Commissar
for Foreign Affairs
Moscow.

APRIL 26th, 1943

SIR,

Today at 0.15 a.m. you were good enough to invite me with the purpose of reading to me a note signed by you, dated the 25th inst., informing me of the decision of the Soviet Government to break off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government. On hearing the text of the note I declared that nothing was left to me but to express my great regret at this decision for which the Soviet Government will have to take full responsibility. At the same time, I emphatically protested against the suggestions and conclusions contained in the note read to me. It inadmissibly accuses the Polish Government of conduct and intentions which are contrary to fact, thus rendering the note itself unacceptable.

I also pointed out that, contrary to statements in the Note, the Polish Government has, for the past two years, made numerous unsuccessful efforts to obtain an explanation from the Soviet Government concerning the fate of the lost Polish officers, and lately has again repeated this request in a note of the 20th inst. addressed to Ambassador Bogomolow.

In spite of my firm refusal to accept your note, I find that it has been delivered to my hotel in a sealed envelope of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. I therefore have the honour to return it in accordance with my position as set out above.

I have the honour to be, etc.

Signed: TADEUSZ ROMER.

Chairman MADDEN. When you get through with your statement, Mr. Witness, let us know so that the members can ask questions.

You may proceed.

Mr. ROMER. I have nothing more to add concerning what happened to me and to my embassy later on. We went to Persia after that, and that has nothing to do with the question we are studying here. I just want, if you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, to make two general remarks at the end of my statement.

You will probably understand my very deep emotion in testifying on this problem. For to me, as a Pole, it is not the sad story of an anonymous victim. It is one of the most tragic episodes of the whole tragic story of the Polish nation, a tragedy in which the flower of our manhood was involved. I hardly know, as I told you, of a Polish family that was not directly or indirectly affected by the loss of one of his dearest members or friends, and, as for myself, I have found on the list of victims several relatives and close friends of mine.

And my other remark, Mr. Chairman, is the following one: When I was honored by the invitation to testify before this select committee of the House of Representatives, a friend of mine asked me about the purpose of such a hearing. You will not, said he, bring back to life the victims of the Katyn Massacre, nor bring its perpetrators to repentance. My answer was that in the pursuit of the truth we are not seeking vengeance nor inciting hatred, but promoting justice. Sooner or later the day will come when those responsible for this unprecedented war crime will be called before a regular court of justice. And I hope, I pray, that we shall avoid the repetition of such horrible things.

We are rightly told, Mr. Chairman, that peace, freedom, and democracy are indivisible. I firmly believe that decency, justice, and truth are indivisible, too. And this is why I am thanking you very heartily for the fine work you are doing.

Chairman MADDEN. We will take a 1 minute recess.

(Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I wish to commend you, Mr. Witness, for that statement and your testimony. The Committee appreciates it very much, and especially the sentiments that you expressed in your closing remarks.

During these numerous conferences that you and others had with Stalin and Molotov, previous to the announcing of the finding of the Katyn graves by the Germans, at any time during these conferences, did Mr. Stalin or Mr. Molotov or anybody connected with the Soviet make any statements whatsoever about these prisoners working on roads or doing any manual labor for the Nazis, for the Germans?

Mr. ROMER. Never, Mr. Chairman. But I have never spoken with Stalin and with Molotov about the conditions of these prisoners. As I told you, this question was put by my predecessor and by General Anders, and when I was present there, I received no instructions and had no intention of asking this question, because I had other very important problems to deal with, and was convinced that the Soviet Government was unwilling to give any explanation. And so I received no answer at all of this kind from any Soviet authority.

Chairman MADDEN. There have not been any records that were turned over to you by the Soviet, through Mr. Stalin or Mr. Molotov or otherwise, as to these prisoners of war working on roads or in the fields or any place else?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Ambassador, how long were you in Moscow as the Ambassador representing the Polish Government?

Mr. ROMER. Part of my stay in Russia was at Kuybyshev. But I stayed until the end of April 1943. And then later on, when I was Foreign Minister of the Polish Government in London in 1944, I went twice to Moscow, in an unofficial mission, because our diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government were already broken in order to try to negotiate some arrangement.

The first time I went there, with the Prime Minister of the Polish Government, Mr. Mikolajczyk, it was at the end of July 1944. And my second unofficial visit to Moscow was during the visit of Mr. Churchill in October 1944.

Mr. DONDERO. At the time that you were in Moscow, however, was that the occasion when you received the note from both Stalin and Molotov, that you have described to us?

Mr. ROMER. This was when I was there as ambassador, in April 1943.

Mr. DONDERO. Were you staying at the Polish Embassy at that time?

Mr. ROMER. No; at that time I was at a hotel in Moscow. It was the National Hotel. I did not return to my Embassy in Kuibyshev, as I had to negotiate with Molotov on the national status of the Polish deportees.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you know where the Savoy Hotel is?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. You did stay there?

Mr. ROMER. No.

Mr. DONDERO. What was the population of your country at the time it was divided by Germany and Russia?

Mr. ROMER. Thirty-five million.

Mr. DONDERO. This question of the note being handed to you: Nothing was done by Russia until the Germans announced that they had found the graves; is that correct?

Mr. ROMER. Quite correct.

Mr. DONDERO. Although you had tried for a year and a half or nearly 2 years to get Russia to make some statement as to the whereabouts of the Polish officers?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. DONDERO. And then you were accused, or at least your Government through you, the moment that that announcement came from Germany, that they had found the graves, that you had entered into a plot with Germany against Russia, and they accused you of it in this note when they broke off relations with the Polish Government in exile, in London?

Mr. ROMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. But nothing prior to that time?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely not.

Mr. DONDERO. And they were silent?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. That is all.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I wanted to add my compliments and commendations for your very informative and complete statement, which no doubt will cast much light, particularly on the good faith of the Polish Government and the bad faith of the Soviet Republic in dealing with the fate of these lost prisoners.

There is one question I wanted to ask you. It is this: You say that these 50 or 60 incidents of negotiation occurred all during the time that Mr. Kot was ambassador. Is that correct?

Mr. ROMER. Yes, not only on the side of the Polish Embassy but also of General Anders and his staff, through the military as well as the diplomatic channels.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. For that reason, you consider it important for this committee to contact both General Anders and Minister Kot?

Mr. ROMER. I consider it quite essential.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you ever seen the correspondence interchanged either between Mr. Kot or General Anders and any Soviet officials on this matter?

Mr. ROMER. Of course.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, in the Soviet answers to the inquiries, did they at anytime give the number of prisoners or give any information about their whereabouts?

Mr. ROMER. No; never.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was the nature of their answer?

Mr. ROMER. The nature was always evasive. They always tried to say that they had liberated every one of them, and that it was none of their concern nor interest to know what happened to them later on; that they were freed. The only conversation which was a little bit more specific was the conversation between General Sikorski and General Anders on one side and Stalin himself on the other. Stalin made the supposition that perhaps some of these officers fled from Russia through Manchuria.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was a supposition only?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did they ever refer in any of their answers to Katyn?

Mr. ROMER. Never.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, one other question. Are you familiar with the incident of one of the consular officials of Poland in Russia being taken by the Russians?

Mr. ROMER. Yes. Just at the beginning of the war.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you give us the man's name?

Mr. ROMER. Mr. Matusinski, a consul general of Poland in Khar-kov, Ukraine, was kidnaped and disappeared without leaving a trace.

Chairman MADDEN. Would you spell the name?

Mr. ROMER. M-a-t-u-s-i-n-s-k-i, Matusinski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When was this?

Mr. ROMER. I was then in Japan, and I know it only through the files and through the records.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You had access to the files and records?

Mr. ROMER. Yes. It must have been just at the beginning of the war.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That would make it in 1939?

Mr. ROMER. In 1939, yes, probably before the Russian invasion of Poland.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And at that time, what was the relationship of the Polish Government and Soviet Russia?

Mr. ROMER. A normal neighborly relation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, will you relate the incident as you know it, from the official records?

Mr. ROMER. The only thing we knew then was that he was invited for a talk, a car was sent for him. Some officials invited him to come see them. He took his own car, with his own chauffeur, and we never heard of him later. He disappeared. His widow—I believe he must be dead—is at present in Montreal, Canada.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were representations made to the Soviet Government by the Polish Government?

Mr. ROMER. Of course.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And were there any satisfactory answers?

Mr. ROMER. None at all.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And so, in addition to these officers we are talking about, there was at least one incident where a Polish consul was actually kidnaped by the Soviet authorities?

Mr. ROMER. That's right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And never heard of since?

Mr. ROMER. Never heard of since.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman O'Konski?

Mr. O'KONSKI. When you first found out you were not getting anywhere with the Russian officers on the location of the Polish officer prisoners, you went back to London, did you not, for consultation with your Government?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And they gave you instructions to go over there with an offer, and the offer that you gave them was that the Polish underground would strike and knock out every piece of communication that the Germans needed in their offensive against Russia if they would tell you where these soldiers were? Is that correct?

Mr. ROMER. It was not connected, Mr. Representative, with the soldiers in war camps. It was connected with the national status of the Polish deportees in Soviet Russia.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And even with that offer, which probably would have meant the Polish people had lost another 25,000 lives, they refused to give you any information on Polish prisoners?

Mr. ROMER. I didn't ask for information on Polish prisoners at that time. I discussed the status of the Polish deportees in Soviet Russia, numbering one million and a half of Polish men and women.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And they would not give you any information even on that?

Mr. ROMER. No; not even on that.

Mr. O'KONSKI. All right. Now, when Goebbels announced over the German radio, in a broadcast, that they had discovered these graves in the Katyn Forest and blamed it on the Russians, the Polish Government even with that information did not accuse the Russian Government of the crime, did they?

Mr. ROMER. Not at all.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You did not accuse the Russian Government of the crime?

Mr. ROMER. Certainly not.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Nor did the Polish press accuse the Russian Government of the crime?

Mr. ROMER. This I cannot answer, because I was not in London at that time.

Mr. O'KONSKI. But to your knowledge, no official of the Polish Government in exile accused the Russians of murdering these soldiers at Katyn?

Mr. ROMER. I have never heard of it.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, all your Government did was to say that it heard the German propaganda radio announce to the world that they had found these graves. That is all they said?

Mr. ROMER. They said that the identification of the bodies was quite definite, and so they knew that these were the Polish officers. And so, their death was ascertained at that time.

Mr. O'KONSKI. But there was no impression or no implication of any kind that the Polish Government believed it?

Mr. ROMER. Certainly not. We asked for an inquiry.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And all you did was ask for an independent survey by the International Red Cross to establish the guilt?

Mr. ROMER. Of course, Mr. Representative.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is the only request you made?

Mr. ROMER. The only request we made.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now, in that request, did you get any help from the other embassies in Moscow? For example, the American Embassy? Were they not concerned with these soldiers?

Mr. ROMER. This request was not made from Moscow but from London, the Polish Government in London.

Mr. O'KONSKI. To your knowledge, no other government made the request? Just you made the request?

Mr. ROMER. To my knowledge, the German Government made another request to the Russian Red Cross, and we knew not of it at the time we made our request.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, they did not sever diplomatic relations with Poland because Poland took the same position as Germany. They severed diplomatic relations with Poland because you asked for an international independent Red Cross examination; is that correct?

Mr. ROMER. In the note they pretended also that the Polish newspapers accused them of being responsible for this crime. And I told you that I considered this quite unfair, to accuse the Polish Government of some opinions that perhaps—I don't know for certain—have been put forward by some Polish newspapers.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And this is important: They did not talk, or never gave you any information whatever, about these people, where they were, particularly these Polish officers. They gave you no information whatever until Goebbels broadcast the finding of the graves in Katyn Forest?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely not.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Then they said they were slave laborers working on roads?

Mr. ROMER. Of course.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to ask the question: What was the name of the Government official who made the petition to the International Red Cross? Am I correct in the assumption, or in your statement, that the request came from London, the Polish Government in London?

Mr. ROMER. Of course, yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was the name of the individual who made that request?

Mr. ROMER. General Kukiel, who was the Minister of National Defense of the Polish Government in London.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is General Kukiel alive today?

Mr. ROMER. Yes; he is alive today, and he is in London.

Mr. MITCHELL. He is in London today. Do you feel that this committee should take his testimony relative to this incident?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely so.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Romer, I have several questions to put to you. The first one is a matter of opinion. It relates to the Korean situation as we know it today. In your testimony, you spoke of all the procrastinations or the stalling of the Russians in dealing with you and giving you an answer to this prisoner of war question. You probably know from reading the papers that we, in the United States, have run into the same snag in Korea, where for 7 months this stalling has gone along, and most of it is concerned with the prisoners of war. In your opinion, do you suppose there is any relationship or correlation between these two events?

Mr. ROMER. It is very hard for me to say. I do not know very much, only through newspapers, of what happened in Korea, and I have some doubts whether the subject of my testimony has any connection with this problem. It would be only a supposition on my part. I don't know whether I can give you any useful answer to this question, Mr. Representative.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you not find similarity in the method that is being used now by the Soviet authorities in dealing with the prisoner question in Korea, and that which was used with your Government at that time?

Mr. ROMER. I don't know whether Russian and Soviet authorities are dealing with the American prisoners at present. Perhaps they are Chinese Communists. I don't know. I am not sufficiently informed on the situation there.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Would you say, Mr. Romer, that it follows any particular pattern, similar to the one you encountered?

Mr. ROMER. The pattern is quite similar; but I don't know who is responsible for it.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Another question I have: Who was the American Ambassador in Moscow while you were there?

Mr. ROMER. Admiral Standley.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Admiral Standley?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Do you know, to your personal knowledge, whether or not he was acquainted with any of the facts or the problem of the missing Polish officers?

Mr. ROMER. I know that my predecessor, Mr. Kot, saw his American colleague quite often, and I saw him also a lot, and we spoke about this question.

Mr. SHEEHAN. He was fully cognizant of the problem?

Mr. ROMER. I think so.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Another question I would like to ask you: A gentleman by the name of Father Leopold Braun has been brought into this investigation through the newspapers. Do you know anything about him?

Mr. ROMER. Yes, I know him very well and have a very high opinion of him. He was in Moscow at the time I was there, and I saw a lot of him.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Was he pretty well acquainted with the entire situation?

Mr. ROMER. Oh, definitely.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Another question: Did you know, yourself, of any discussions with American representatives, especially of the press, about this problem, while you were in Moscow?

Did you talk to people of the press with regard to the problem?

Mr. ROMER. At the time of the rupture of relations with the Soviet Government in 1943, I was, of course, interviewed by all the representatives of the American and British press in Moscow, and I told them all I knew.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Was this in reference to the rupture, or the missing prisoners?

Mr. ROMER. The reference was to the rupture and to the prisoners.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you immediately leave Moscow after you received the paper in Molotov's office?

Mr. ROMER. A few days later, because I had to prepare the travel of my whole embassy, with a staff of about 150 persons, together with their families. It was a long affair. It took at least 1 week or 10 days to organize it. We had to travel through Asia, through Asiatic Russia, through Turkestan, and the mountains of Iran, to reach Tehran. It took us a long time.

Mr. FURCOLO. I understood you to say that you had been in close touch with many of the families in Poland who had sons and husbands and so on in the service. Is that right?

Mr. ROMER. Yes. Polish families, for the most part of the deportees in Soviet Russia, and they were inducted when they were in Soviet Russia.

Mr. FURCOLO. The point I was getting at was this: If you were in touch with many such families, I wanted to ask you whether or not any of them, to your knowledge, had relatives who had been in any of these prison camps and who had disappeared, and who, as it later developed, had been murdered?

Mr. ROMER. I know a lot of them.

Mr. FURCOLO. You know a good many of them?

Mr. ROMER. A good many.

Mr. FURCOLO. Had you had any talk with any of them along the lines of whether or not they had been in correspondence with their men in the service while they were in the service?

Mr. ROMER. Yes; there were such talks.

Mr. FURCOLO. What I am interested in finding out is whether or not, to your knowledge, any of those families had any communication or correspondence of any kind, or any knowledge of the whereabouts of their menfolk, at any time after May of 1940?

Mr. ROMER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do you know whether or not they had been in regular correspondence with their men in the service before that time?

Mr. ROMER. Yes. I knew of numerous cases of that kind.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you know of numerous cases where the families had been in touch by correspondence with the officers during the years of '39 and '40, and then the correspondence and contact ceased after May of 1940?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely; yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. With reference now to the part that the Soviet Government played in connection with the request for Red Cross investigation; as I understand it, the Polish Government and the German Government each requested an investigation by the International Red Cross, each one making that request independently and acting on its own.

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. And I have been given to understand that one of two things happened. Either the Soviet Government refused or simply did not answer. I know that later on they broke off diplomatic relations. But what I am trying to establish for the record is whether or not the Soviet Government did really refuse, or simply did not answer. Now, are you in a position to be able to tell us that for the record?

Mr. ROMER. This is not of my own experience, but I have heard and read that the Soviet Government made pressure on the International Red Cross in Geneva and stated that they would not consent to any inquiry, and under this pressure, the Red Cross refused to undertake such an inquiry.

Mr. FURCOLO. Yes; I understand that. But are you able to tell us any more definitely than that, other than simply by what you heard some place?

In other words, did that come within your responsibility or your jurisdiction?

Mr. ROMER. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. I see. Now, the last question, I think, that I have, is this, and I will have to read a quotation to you from the publication that I have here. It has to do with a conference that is supposed to have taken place between Colonel Berling, who was going to organize a volunteer Polish army, and Beria and Merkulov. As I understand it, Beria was in the NKVD.

Mr. ROMER. That's right.

Mr. FURCOLO. Well, several months before the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict:

The Bolsheviks transferred a number of Polish staff officers, including Colonel Berling, to a new camp and suggested to them that they organize a Polish army to fight against the Germans. Berling was willing, in principle, to accept the proposal. However, he set one condition: such an army was to include all officers and men, irrespective of their political creed. A conference was held with Beria and Merkulov. "Of course," they agreed; "Poles of all political parties will be able to join the army." "Well," said Berling, "we have excellent army cadres in the camps of Starobielsk and Kozielsk." Whereupon Merkulov replied with some constraint: "No, not these men; we have made a great blunder in connection with them."

Then it goes on to say:

Three witnesses have testified to hearing this remark of Merkulov.

Now, without giving the names of those witnesses at this time, do you know if there are any such witnesses available any place today? Do you know who those witnesses were, and if so, do you know they are still living?

Mr. ROMER. I knew of this incident and referred to it in my general statement. I know only that Colonel Berling has recently fallen into disgrace with the present regime in Poland and disappeared. The others, I think, are also somewhere in Poland. They are not traceable at present.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, there is no help you can give us on that?

Mr. ROMER. But you will know through Joseph Czapski—I mentioned his name in my testimony—C-z-a-p-s-k-i, all the details concerning the news we possess, about this conversation. Because Colonel Berling and his friends at the conclusion of the Sikorski-Stalin arrangement between the Soviet and the Polish Government in July of 1941—although previously indoctrinated by the Communists, entered the Polish Army under General Anders. As long as General Anders stayed in Soviet Russia, they served under his orders. It was only at the moment when General Anders and his army moved to the Middle East, that Berling and a few of his comrades remained in Soviet Russia. Only then, were their true convictions ascertained.

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to know whether you can tell us at the present time to the best of your knowledge, whether there are any witnesses, to that conversation who would be available to this committee.

Mr. ROMER. Not witnesses who took part in this conversation.

Chairman MADDEN. There will be a 1-minute recess.

(Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Congressman Sheehan?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Romer, I may have, through my language before, not drawn you out properly in the sense of this correlating with the Korean thing, because what I was primarily interested in was

getting your opinion, if you want to give one. If you do not want to, of course, you do not have to. But seeing the similarity in our present Korean talks over 7 months, that being one of the big stumbling blocks, and you probably noticed it in Canada, would you want to hazard a guess or give an opinion in your own mind, whether we call them Russian Communists or Chinese Communists, whether you think the Communists are behind the Koreans from the standpoint of advising them, in your opinion?

Mr. ROMER. Definitely; yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, it is Communist led, so to speak?

Mr. ROMER. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. To go a little further, on the basis of your experience, would you say in your opinion that these were the Communist tactics which were followed by the Communists in dealing with your Government on the prisoner-of-war question?

Mr. ROMER. I presume so, yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, the similarity between the Korean situation today, the Russian or Communist tactics today, assuming the Russians are guiding the Chinese or Koreans, however you may want to put it—the similarity between the situation we in America find in Korea and the situation that you and your fellow Government officers of the Polish regime found, is very plain.

Mr. ROMER. It is very close.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, you would say there is a definite correlation?

Mr. ROMER. I think so.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, Mr. Ambassador, as far as the jurisdiction of this committee is concerned, and the investigation that we are conducting, the most interesting analogy coming out of Korea, rather than the political, is the execution of the American prisoners during the early days of the war, and of Koreans, which is taking place yet.

Directing your attention specifically to pictures appearing in the Washington press of the American soldiers or United Nations soldiers with their hands bound behind their backs and the wounds in the back of their heads, and so on, in the jurisdiction of our purpose that is the most interesting and fitting analogy we have.

Now, you might be interested to know that at least I think, and I think some if not all of the committee here think, that the Russians and the present Polish Government should be invited to testify at this hearing.

What would you think about that?

Mr. ROMER. It is not my business, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. FLOOD. That is a good answer.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I would be fearful of that. The Soviets might break diplomatic relations with us.

Mr. FLOOD. I am sure that would not cause a great deal of heartache here.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

The committee wishes to thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for your testimony, and assure you that we appreciate it very much.

We will adjourn until 10:30 tomorrow morning in the caucus room.

(Whereupon, at 4:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene in the caucus room, Wednesday, February 6, 1952, at 10:30 a. m.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met at 10:30 a. m., pursuant to recess, in the main caucus room of the House Office Building, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden (presiding), Flood, Machrowicz, Furcolo, Dondero, O'Konski, and Sheehan.

Also present: John J. Mitchell, chief counsel to the select committee. Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might announce that the witness to be heard today by this committee is a witness who was a personal observer of the murdering which took place in the Katyn Forest in Russia in the early part of World War II. This witness, in order to inform the world as to what took place there, was willing to appear before this committee allowing his identity to be known if necessary. But it had been the unanimous decision of the committee that the family of this witness who are now behind the iron curtain, have already paid a severe penalty and suffered greatly under dictator rule. The witness has consented to appear here masked because the committee has unanimously recommended this procedure.

Our committee felt that we owed it to his sister and brother, who now reside behind the iron curtain, that his identity be not made known publicly; because from what this committee has already discovered in the testimony already offered by other witnesses, that the leaders in control of the communistic regime would not hesitate at all to commit immediate reprisals upon this witness' brother and sister and family who are behind the iron curtain. We all believe that not only this committee but Congress owe that duty to the witness we are about to hear.

Owing to the fact that this witness does not speak English, it will be necessary to have an interpreter. I might say that each member of this committee has talked to this witness. We are familiar with his identity, his place of birth, and all the facts and circumstances connected with his veracity and identity.

Will the interpreter stand up and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the interpretation you give of the testimony of the witness to be heard this morning, in translation from English to Polish and from Polish to English, will be true, so help you God?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, will the witness stand up? And will you, Mr. Interpreter, stand and repeat this to the witness?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give at the hearings this morning will be true, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I do.

Chairman MADDEN. I might state that the acoustics in this room are not of the best, although we have a public address system here, and I will ask the folks gathered in the committee room to be as quiet as possible during this testimony.

Mr. Interpreter, will you ask the witness how old he is?

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DOE

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Forty-four years of age.

Chairman MADDEN. Where were you born?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). In Poland.

Chairman MADDEN. Were you ever at the Katyn Forest in Russia?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you ask him now to narrate slowly, so that you can repeat at intervals, what happened to him immediately preceding his visit to or his viewing the incident at the Katyn Forest?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was taken prisoner by the Russians. After being held captive for 2 days on the Polish terrain, a Russian general visited us.

Chairman MADDEN. What date?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The 17th of September 1939.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, narrate what occurred after that.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was in a Russian prison camp in the area of Smolensk, Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I don't think that the witness understands the original question. Do you want him to start from the beginning and go right through his narration?

Is that correct?

Chairman MADDEN. I suggest that the counsel propound the questions in a chronological manner.

Mr. MITCHELL. You have just stated that you were taken prisoner by the Russians on September 17, 1939.

Is that correct?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us what happened to you for the next few days?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was taken to the area of Smolensk, Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. He doesn't understand your question.

Mr. MITCHELL. About what time was he in the Smolensk area?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was captured on the 17th. For 2 days we didn't move. We stayed in the same area.

Shall I tell about the passes that we received?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I don't understand the Russian ranks, but the high Russian official gave us passes.

Mr. MITCHELL. For what purpose?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). These permitted us to go to our homes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did he go?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was walking in the direction of my home. I was near Bialystok.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you free?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was free for about 3 days. I cannot tell exactly.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you arrested again?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was arrested on the road near Bialystok.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you taken from there?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They took me to Slonim.

Mr. MITCHELL. Slonim. What happened at Slonim?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). At Slonim they gathered a large number of us. They grouped us into groups of 500, and they forced us to march by foot to Stopce.

Mr. MITCHELL. Stopce. What happened at Stopce?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They loaded us into wagons in groups of 100.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you taken from there?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). To a camp in the area of Smolensk, Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know how many other Polish prisoners were at this camp?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I did not count them, but the estimates ranged between 35,000 and 40,000.

Mr. MITCHELL. At what station near Smolensk were you unloaded from the train?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I don't recall the name of the station, because the cars in which we were transported were dark, and it was dark there.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many people were in each car, approximately?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). 100.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask the witness to narrate his meeting with the Catholic priest in the camp at Pavlishchev Bor?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). As I was in a cell block, a priest came to visit us. He asked us: "Why are you so depressed?" We said, "Something is happening to our officers."

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will recess for just a minute. (Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. I might say that Congressman John Kluczynski is sitting with the committee.

Proceed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could I interrupt for a moment?

I understood the witness first to testify that they were put into wagons. Now, I would like to ask the interpreter to explain whether or not the word "wagon" in Polish means a car on a train.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness used the word "vagon" which literally would mean wagon, but which is used to mean a freight car also. They arrived at Pavlishchev Bor in freight cars.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So when he referred to wagons, he meant freight cars? Is that correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Witness, will you tell us now what happened while you were talking with the Catholic priest at Pavlishchev Bor?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The priest asked us, "Why are you so worried?"

We asked, "What is happening to our officers?"

He said, "It's too bad, but they are not going to be on this earth any longer."

We said, "Why?"

He said, "That is their fate. They fell into the hands of the Reds."

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you just continue to narrate your story.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you yield for a question here?

Will the witness explain whether or not this priest informed him how he knew that these officers were to be killed?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He received some good information.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you ask the witness from whom?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Apparently from those who were holding us captive.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did the priest relate to him who gave him the information?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). At first he said, "I have information, but I can't tell you from whom."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he later explain from whom?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Later he told us.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. From whom?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He said that he got the information from one of the NKVD officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will he tell us how he got that information?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He got the information that "all of your officers are going to be executed."

Mr. DONDERO. Ask him if that was a Polish priest.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). A Polish priest.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he explain how this NKVD officer happened to tell him that?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was not with the priest, so I don't know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, did the priest tell you anything about who this NKVD was and why he told him that story?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He told me that the officer told him that he felt sorry for this priest.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you find out whether or not this NKVD officer or guard told the priest why he felt sorry for him?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Because the priest said the officer told him that he also was a Catholic, but because he was in the hands of the Reds he had to do as they ordered him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did this officer or guard advise the priest what to do?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He told the priest to make efforts or to make an attempt to escape from the prison.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened after this conversation you had with the Catholic priest?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The priest brought us a drawing, a sketch, of how he could effect an escape from the prison.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I will now ask the witness to describe the escape.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We escaped in this manner. There was a kitchen in the camp, and near the kitchen was another old and tattered building. There was a culvert leading into this old building, which was made of a mixture of sand, stone, and cement. The culvert was packed with soil and sand. We had to clean it out, and the sand was removed in our pockets at night, a distance away from here, so that nobody would see where we were putting it. When we finally cleaned the culvert, we had reason to believe that we had already cleared the wire fence around the camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did they get out of this culvert?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There was a crack in the culvert, and with the aid of a fork, we were able to loosen the crack and make a larger hole in the culvert and make a hole large enough for a head. One night during a severe storm, when the guards were unable to or were not watching that area, we made our escape through the hole in the culvert.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you describe the kind of night it was?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There was a storm. It was raining, and there was a strong severe wind.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were the guards at this camp of Pavlishchev Bor located?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The guards were in the other direction in the camp, not in the direction from which we were making our escape. But those in the watch towers were there. But the storm was so severe that they could not observe accurately.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were the famous Russian watch dogs?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They were in the watch towers with the guards.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was there any kind of a roving patrol around this prison?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There were no roving guards. The watch towers were relatively close together, and they were up in the watch towers, and the camp was illuminated with reflectors at night.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did you proceed once you were outside the fence?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We crawled on our stomachs and our elbows toward a woods.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Mitchell, ask him: Did the priest escape with him? And who did escape? Who was in this escape party?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There were three of us.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The priest was one of them?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The priest was one of them. The priest was with us all the time.

Mr. DONDERO. Was this a stockade or a building? He mentioned something about a cell. Will you ask him that?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There was wire around the entire camp, and it was very high.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. While you were in the camp, did the guards give any orders as to how close you could approach to these wire fences?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Three meters to the fence.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And were there any instructions given to you as to what would happen to you if you came closer than three meters to the fence?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They would kill us immediately. They would shoot us immediately.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you told that you would be shot if you came nearer than 3 yards to the fence?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They would shoot us immediately.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will the witness proceed to tell the committee what happened the next day after they escaped?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We could then proceed by foot farther away from the camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long did you proceed by foot? How long until you met any person?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We met a shepherd 3 days after our escape.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened with the shepherd?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He asked us, "Where are you going"? We told him that we were going to find work. He said, "There is no work for you here."

Mr. MITCHELL. Why not?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Because "There is no work here. There are no factories here. These are just poor farmer tenants in this area."

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt again? Will you set the date of the escape, if you can, the month, or the year? Does he know? Does he recall?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). It was in October.

Mr. FLOOD. October of what year?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Around the 20th of October 1939.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Counsel, would you be kind enough to ask him what language he used in talking to the shepherd?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). In Russian.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Does the witness speak Russian, too?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Perfect.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did you use for food during the 2 or 3 days before you met the shepherd?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We had some dry bread with us, and we gathered some water as we went along. We had to depress our feet against the ground in the moist areas, and we got water that way.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who did the speaking with the shepherd?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). All three of us. But mostly myself, because I spoke the best Russian.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask him to tell us what the conversation was with the shepherd?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). First he asked us where are we going, and we said, "We are going to find work." And he said, "That can't be, because you are not Russians. You are prisoners. You better not go in that direction [indicating], but you can go in that direction [indicating]. If you go in that direction, they will catch you and they will beat you." He took us in, and he gave us some bread and cheese, and again he admonished us not to go in that direction.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he say why?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He did. He said that "in that direction they are murdering your compatriots."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he say, "They are murdering the Polish officers"?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He didn't say "officers." He used the word "Bojdcie," which is comparable to "officers."

Mr. SHEEHAN. Did the shepherd name the place for him?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He said that it is known as Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. What did you do after leaving the shepherd?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The priest said, "We have to go there. Maybe we will find something there."

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you go there?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes, we went in that direction.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did the priest mean when he said, "Maybe we will find something there"?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). If we survive, so that we can tell the world what the Russians are doing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And do I understand that the priest asked you to accompany him to this place in order to be witnesses of this alleged massacre?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. After you left the shepherd, what happened? Did the shepherd give you food?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did they go in the direction that the shepherd told them to go in, or the direction he told them not to go in?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We went in the direction that he told us not to go, because we wanted to see if it was true, and we wanted to get the facts.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long did they proceed in that direction?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We walked an entire day and half of a night.

Mr. MITCHELL. What caused you to stop proceeding on your way?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). A large ditch.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will the witness describe the surroundings of the general area?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). It was a forest.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask the witness to tell us what they did when they reached the forest?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We walked around, wandered around the forest, but we didn't know exactly which way.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Mitchell, would you mind asking the witness what kind of a forest this was?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). This was a mixed forest. There were evergreens and birch and oaks and various trees, and there were some young trees.

Mr. DONDERO. Why not let the witness from there on just tell what he did.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is what I was going to ask.

Will the witness proceed and tell all the details, slowly?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I didn't have a watch, but the priest had a watch, and at about 10 o'clock at night a path became considerably illuminated.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were they then?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We were up in a tree.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did they come to be in a tree?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We had seen the open pit there, and we thought that that might be a grave and this might be the area we were looking for. So we decided to climb up into a tree and wait. And so we climbed up into the tree.

Mr. DONDERO. How large a pit?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I cannot estimate exactly. It could have been as large as this room.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there any ground that was excavated, on the sides, piled up?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes. We saw ground around the pit.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you find out how close they got to the pit?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). About 120 meters.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Why did they not get any closer?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We couldn't. We feared that we might be seen, and there was a clearing. The hole was in a clearing, and we feared detection.

Chairman MADDEN. What kind of a tree?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). It was dark, and I cannot tell exactly what kind of tree it was, but it had a very thick and heavy bark, that you could rest your hands into the cracks.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were the three of them in the same tree, or different trees?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes. We were all in that one tree. One was on one branch a little lower, a little below the other.

Mr. DONDERO. Ask him who the third person was. We know the priest was with him. But who was the third person?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe we should divulge any names here. It might be very dangerous for this person.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask him to proceed to tell us and demonstrate generally what he saw during the night?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We saw lights go on down this path, and the lights illuminated the people up to about their necks, from their necks down. About 10 minutes after these lights, these floodlights, went on, we saw that they were leading two Polish officers in our direction. They were tied to each other's hands. The two officers had their hands bound together.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many Russian officers?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There were four of them. They were not officers; they were Russian soldiers. When the first two approached the ditch, momentarily the two Russian soldiers took one of the Polish officers, and the other two took the other Polish officer, and placed their hands in the back.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will the witness demonstrate on Mr. Burke, there, how it was done, please?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness is saying that two of them seized the prisoner by the hands, seized their hands and held them in the back, and one of the Russian soldiers lifted his chin up, took him by the head, opened his mouth, and shoved a handful of sawdust into his mouth. [Mr. Doe demonstrates.]

Mr. MITCHELL. What were they using for cords, for binding?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They were using wire.

Mr. MITCHELL. How does he know they were using wire?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Because I knew that they would tie their hands differently if they were using rope, and differently if they were using wire.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask him to turn around and demonstrate to the committee just exactly how he knows that it was wire?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Using a rope, you would tie the hands differently, and using wire, you would tie them differently.

With a rope you would have to bind the hands at least twice around, but with a wire I could see them twisting the wire, this way [demonstrating].

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask him to demonstrate how the prisoners were being shot?

Chairman MADDEN. Ask him if he saw any prisoners shot.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he see any prisoners being shot?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes; I saw it.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a minute. Mr. Mitchell, at this point you have two Polish officers only, and four Russian soldiers. At that point, you interrupted for this demonstration. Now, what happened to those two officers, and then what happened next?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). One was shot, and the other one, who made no resistance, was just pushed into the grave.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is all for the demonstration. Thank you.

Chairman MADDEN. Wait just a moment. Did both of them have their mouths filled with sawdust, or just one?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They both had sawdust in their mouth.

Mr. FURCOLO. Where did the sawdust come from?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They had it there.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness said that one of them was gagging. One of the officers was gagging with the sawdust in his mouth.

Mr. FLOOD. You say one of them was shot. Now, if he can, if he saw, will he demonstrate how the shooting took place?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Two of them were holding him, but he was resisting. Then one of them held the officer, and the other one pulled out a gun and shot him.

Chairman MADDEN. We will recess for a minute.

(Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might announce that Congressman Radwan, of New York, Springer, of Illinois, Green, of Pennsylvania, and Price, of Illinois are present at the hearing.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Mitchell, before you proceed, ask him how he knew these people were Russians. That has not been brought out.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Witness, will you identify for the benefit of the committee how you knew these people were Russians?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Because I could tell a Russian soldier. You can tell a Russian soldier very easily. And during the past few days I had occasion to get to know them fairly well.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean during the few days before this incident?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). As soon as I was taken captive, and all the way to the camps.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And in the camp in which he was captive, he saw many Russians?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I think a Pole knows a Russian when he sees one.

Mr. FURCOLO. Before you get too far away from the matter I asked about, I would like to ask the witness this question:

You apparently were about a hundred yards away up in a tree. You have testified that they put some sawdust in the mouths of these two Polish men. I would like to know first of all whether you are certain it was sawdust, or something that looked like sawdust, and how sure you are of what the substance was, and where it came from. Were they carrying anything?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). It was not sand or ashes. I am certain that it was sawdust.

Mr. FURCOLO. What makes you so certain it was sawdust?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Because I had occasion frequently to work with lumber, and I know sawdust when I see it, and the area was very well illuminated.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Was he not also a farmer, so that he would know soil?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes. Yes; I would know soil when I saw it.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Counsel, I wish you would ask the witness to make sure of his statement that he has made that their hands were bound with wire, because in all other testimony so far, in all readings, in all documents, and in the testimony of Colonel Van Vliet the other day, all the bodies he observed were tied with a cord, and this is the first instance that was brought to the attention of anyone that wire was used. Is he sure of that?

Mr. MITCHELL. Are you sure that this was wire that was used in the tying of the hands of these victims?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). With a rope you would make the knot differently. If it were rope, it wouldn't have been cut into the lengths that they were using.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I make an observation that Colonel Van Vliet and Colonel Stewart testified only as to the witnessing of a very few bodies, and testified also to the existence of about nine to eleven thousand bodies, according to their estimate, but many of them were not exhumed. So it might be that some could have been tied with cords and some with wire.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness earlier had said, as we were interrupted, that the appearance of rope would have been different.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask a question? Were there any bodies in the grave before you got there?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We didn't see anything. The only thing we saw was the ground around the ditch.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I might remind the committee also that Colonel Stewart's and Colonel Van Vliet's testimony was that there were some seven layers of officers lying one on top of the other, and this obviously was the lowest layer, which was not reached.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to put in as exhibit 1, a standard Russian-type revolver. The standard name of this revolver is N-a-g-a-n, Nagan.

On this gun is recorded indelibly the initials CCCP 1928. The official number of this gun is 18530. When I first started on this investigation as counsel for the committee, I had no indication of any type of weapon that might have been used in these mass murders. However, our witness tomorrow, Colonel Grobicki, G-r-o-b-i-c-k-i, will testify that these revolvers were issued to the Polish Army officers when the Polish Army was being formed in Russia under General Anders' command; and it is to him that we are indebted for such information.

(The revolver was identified as John Doe exhibit No. 1.)

Mr. MITCHELL. I am going to ask the witness at this moment, with your permission, to demonstrate two things: (1) the tying of the hands, because it has become a significant feature; and (2) to take this gun and demonstrate just how it was used.

Chairman MADDEN. The gun will be admitted as exhibit 1 in evidence.

(The revolver previously identified as John Doe exhibit No. 1, was received in evidence.)

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I think that the counsel should tell the committee what caliber of gun that is, because the testimony has already shown that these men were all shot by a small caliber revolver or rifle or some other instrument.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Dondero, the purpose of this gun at this particular time, at this moment, is only for purposes of demonstrating. I am not a ballistics expert. I doubt if there are any ballistics experts here in this room. I am putting this in here only for the purpose of demonstrating the method of shooting, at this moment.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). As I was showing before, the head was tilted back by the other guard. The guard took the hands in this manner [demonstrating], and here he twisted the wire in a circular manner.

First, they tied his hands together, and then they tilted the head back, and they packed the sawdust into the victim's mouth. If he showed signs of collapsing while in their hands, then they just kicked him into the ditch. And those who showed signs of resistance, or resisted this procedure—then a guard would put a gun to his head, in this manner [demonstrating], and he shot him. Then he would spin him around and throw him in the ditch.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to ask one question. Did you hear the report of a gun?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I heard it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell us about how many reports of a gun you heard?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Very many.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many people were shot like this?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). More or less, the bigger half of those present were shot. Those who appeared to be weaker or in a weakened condition—those who appeared to be weaker immediately became gagged with the sawdust, and they were immediately thrown into the grave.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness said, "They choked themselves."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. While these two first officers were being escorted to the pit or grave and subsequently either pushed in or shot, where were the others? Where were the remaining?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The others were about 5 meters behind.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And could you see how many there were altogether?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There were 200, because we counted them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, was the light on these entire 200?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How, then, could you count that it was 200?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). As they approached the ditch, and as we saw them dumped into the ditch, we were counting them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All three of you?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And did the three of you reach approximately the same estimate?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, while these remaining officers were standing behind, when the two were shot, were the others gagged, or anything?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They were gagged only as they approached the ditch.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did not any of the others make any outcries?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They were not permitted to make any sounds. They had a guard on either side of them with machine guns.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you not hear any outcries of any of them, despite the orders?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). You could hear them virtually crying and moaning.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And what happened, if any of them made too many loud outcries?

(The witness appears unable to continue.)

Mr. MITCHELL. Recess.

Chairman MADDEN. We will take a recess.

(Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. You might mention to the witness that the questioning is coming to an end. It will not last very long.

I might announce that Congressman Clemente, of New York, is here at the hearing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, I asked a question to you which occurred to me. If these two officers were being killed, and the others stood a few meters behind, there naturally would be some outcries. And I understood you to say you heard some. Is that correct?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did these Russians do to these officers if they made any outcries?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The Russian soldier would then come up to the prisoner and poke his gun at him and subdue him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did they do anything else?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The prisoners did then calm down.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now I want to get the story about these trees again. This was in November. Is that right?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). At the beginning of November.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Any snow on the ground?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). No. Only it was very cold and damp.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It was cold. What kind of a tree was this you were on?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I cannot tell definitely. It was night, and the only thing that I remember is that the bark was very heavy, and we could put our fingers into the cracks.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there any leaves on the trees?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). As we reached the branches of the tree, it was not a dead tree. You could see that it was a live tree.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, was it or was it not of the evergreen family?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I cannot be certain. I repeat that it was at night, and as I grabbed the bark of the tree, it was of the coarse type of bark.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of course, you know, as a farmer, do you not, Witness, that most trees are pretty bare in winter?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What about this tree?

Mr. PUCINSKI. He said, "In November, how could you find leaves on a tree?"

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did this one have leaves?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We didn't see any leaves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, what protection did you have from these lights that were shining?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). On an oak tree, the leaves would be yellow at this time of the year.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there leaves on this tree?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). On this tree, there were no leaves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What protection did you have from the lights?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). There were other trees in front of us, which shaded us from the lights. They were lower trees. The tips of the trees in front of us were just about our level.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was this a sandy soil?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). No. It looked more like clay than sand.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you give us for the record the name of the prison camp from which you escaped?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). The Smolensk area, Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. If you were a witness to this massacre, can you explain whether you ever told this story you are now telling to anybody before telling it to this committee? But do not give names, of course.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). When I returned from Russia—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Returned where from Russia?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). To Iraq. I told the men, but he told me, "This is not the time to discuss this. We will have to wait."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was this man a military, or a civilian man?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). A military man.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Polish?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). A Polish officer.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When was this?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). In 1942.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right. And what did this man tell you?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). He told us, "We are at war now. We have to wait our time."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right. Did you ever at any time after that report this story to anyone else?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Not until I came to America.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What were you doing in Iraq in 1942?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I was in the Army.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, I wanted to ask this. I do not want you to relate names of persons you recorded this to, if you did report it, after you arrived in the United States, but did you relate this story to other organizations after your arrival in the United States?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I wrote a letter.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right. You wrote a letter to a certain organization. Correct?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long ago?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). About a week after I arrived in this country.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that was several years ago?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think that is sufficient questioning along that line.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think he can answer that question.

Mr. MITCHELL. There is always immigration. It is easy to obtain those things, Congressman.

Chairman MADDEN. Ask him if it was several years ago.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Ask him if it was before September of 1951.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). It was in 1951.

Mr. MITCHELL. Before September?

Mr. PUCINSKI. He is telling me when he arrived here. Do you want that?

Mr. MITCHELL. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was it more than 2 months ago?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). More.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And have you been awaiting an opportunity to testify before a proper committee as to these facts?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, may I take over the witness now for a minute?

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Counsel, I want you to ask him two questions. How many did he see actually shot by the Russians, and how long did it take them to do it?

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe he has stated that he saw the majority of 200, and that the 200 were actually shot. I would like to ask, in your behalf, a question which I am not clear on either.

Did all these bodies land in this pit?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). All of those that I saw.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to proceed for a few minutes now by asking the witness what happened after all of the victims had been shot.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). At daybreak, we climbed down from the tree and began running away from the woods, running out of the woods.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long after that, until you met anyone?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We ran through the forest all of that day. Toward the evening, we saw the open fields. No longer were we in the forest. We saw a Kohos.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Interpreter, will you kindly explain what a Kohos is?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness is using the word "kohos", which is a Russian word. It is a hut-village used by tenant farmers. It is tenants living on collective farms.

Mr. MITCHELL. There is a picture referring to that type of village in Colonel Stewart's testimony, dated October 11, 1951, I believe it is exhibit No. 1.

Will you proceed with what happened?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We halted in our path and avoided getting too close to the kohos, and proceeded on our way, and we met another shepherd, similar to the one that we had met previously, but not the same.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened at that time?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We were at that time starved, tired, and we decided to risk asking him where we were and which way we were going. We had no maps or any knowledge of the directions in the area. He looked at us, and he said, "I feel sorry for you. Come along with me." He led us into a barn. Sheep were in the barn. He had a storm cellar there, a coal cellar, where he had bread and cheese and some meat stacked away. He had tobacco in there, too. He gave us a handful of tobacco, each of us a handful of tobacco. We asked him more or less in which direction we were going, and he said, "Well, where do you want to go?" So we said, "Well, where can we go? We doubt if we can get across the border, because they will never let us cross the border." Because in the condition we were in, we wondered how far we could go. And so we started returning in the direction of the Polish border.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long did you proceed in this direction?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I cannot say exactly, but we walked for about 6 or 7 days.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who were the next people that you met?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We came across a poor disheveled hut. We did not notice another hut a slight distance away. So we approached this hut and asked for food. The lady gave us a cup of milk. She said, "Wait here, and I will bring you some bread." But she did not bring us bread. She brought with her the NKVD.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened at that time?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They arrested us immediately, placed handcuffs on our hands, on our wrists.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did they take you?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They took us to a railroad station near Schepetowka.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to spell that name for the benefit of the record.

S-c-h-e-p-e-t-o-w-k-a. And it is very near the Polish border.

Will the witness proceed with his story?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). And they then took us to Kriwoi-rog.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The spelling is K-r-i-w-o-i-r-o-g.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us what happened there.

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). At Kriwoi-rog, they attached us to other transports, which they were taking, to the White Sea, some islands in the White Sea.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he reach the White Sea?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was he located in that area?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We were on the Kola Peninsula.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you there?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Six days.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you leave there, and where were you taken from there?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They took us to Kumyussa, which is along the Yukta River.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is that located, in Russia? Eastern, or western?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). That will be up in the northern part of Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Witness, is that beyond the Ural Mountains in Siberia?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes, beyond the mountains, near the village of Siubjuch.

Mr. MITCHELL. S-i-u-b-j-u-c-h.

How long were you in this prison camp?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Fourteen months.

Mr. MITCHELL. What were you doing?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Some of us worked in the woods; others crushed stones; some worked on the rail tracks. Whatever work he was most suited for, the Russians assigned him to. We worked 14 hours a day.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you escape from this camp, or were you released?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). No, they removed us, the entire group, from this camp, and they took us by rail to Tatischevo.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is T-a-t-i-s-h-c-h-e-v-o?

Mr. MITCHELL. Who did you meet at Tatischevo?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I saw General Bierut there from the Fifth Polish Army.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was this where the Polish Army was being formed?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes, this was where the Polish Army was being formed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was the Polish Army formed with the consent of Soviet Russia, the army that General Anders headed; is that correct?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would he tell us briefly where he went from this camp and where the army that he was attached to went?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We went to Jenabat.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did this army go first?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). From there they took us to Iraq.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I believe that that just about finishes the witness' testimony, because of the fact that he did join General Anders' army and fought with it from there on in.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me just ask one final question. These approximately 200 Polish soldiers that he saw shot or shoved in this pit on that evening: were they shot or shoved in by Russian soldiers?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). By Russian soldiers.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all.

Mr. MITCHELL. One more question. Where did you leave the two people who were with you on your trip?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We were separated, and I lost track of them at Siubjuch. That was the camp in Siberia.

Mr. MITCHELL. One question I forgot to ask, which Congressman O'Konski has just pointed out to me, is: How were these victims dressed at the time of the shooting?

Mr. O'Konski. Did they have overcoats and boots on?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). They were in Polish uniforms.

Mr. MITCHELL. Boots?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). Some had them and some did not.

Mr. DONDERO. Just one question, on something that is not clear. Did the Russian soldiers who did the shooting have the sawdust in their pockets, or was it in a pail, or a basket?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I cannot be certain whether it was a bag or a box, but there was a container standing beside them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. About how long did the shooting take place, this entire procedure of shooting and pushing these officers into the graves, about?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). I cannot say exactly, but after the lights went out, after the executions, in our discussions, we asked the priest how long he thought this whole thing took. And he says, "I don't know for certain, but I think it was about an hour and a half." I am not certain, because, of course, I was very excited, and the priest said, "I am just as excited as you are." And it might have been an hour and a half.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, did you remain in the trees all night, or did you leave after the shooting?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We remained in the tree until daybreak.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And then what did you do? Then you got down and escaped?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). We climbed down, and we began running.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you give us a figure approximately of how many Russian soldiers guarded these officers?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). At the immediate grave, there were four. Then the next two victims were brought by two more

Russian soldiers, who immediately turned around and went back; and further back it was dark, and it would be difficult to estimate.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, let me ask you: Did any one make any promises to you or any threats to you or do anything else to get you to testify here today?

Mr. DOE (through the interpreter). No. It has been my ambition that when I get to America—I had pledged that I would be loyal to this country before I came to this country, and I came here so that I can tell my story, so that the American people will know what sort of people are in Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. If there are no further questions, I ask you to tell the witness that the committee and the Congress and the country generally are very thankful for his coming here today and testifying.

Mr. DOE. Thank you very much.

Chairman MADDEN. The security officers will take the witness from the room. The people in the room will remain until the witness leaves.

The next meeting of this committee will be tomorrow morning at 10:30 in this room.

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel Grobicki will testify, and probably Father Leopold Braun and Henry Cassidy, now of NBC, news editor, formerly AP, in Russia, at the time of the Russian investigation.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m., the hearing was adjourned until 10:30 a. m., Thursday, February 7, 1952.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met at 10:30 a. m., pursuant to recess, in the main caucus room of the Old House Office Building, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Furcolo, Dondero, O'Konski, and Sheehan.

Also present: John J. Mitchell, chief counsel to the select committee. Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

The witness the committee will hear this morning is Col. George Grobicki.

Will you stand up and be sworn, Colonel? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give at the hearing about to be held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Colonel GROBICKI. I do.

Mr. MITCHELL. The name of the witness this morning is Col. George G-r-o-b-i-c-k-i.

Chairman MADDEN. Will the counsel proceed with the testimony?

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, will you state your full name, please?

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE GROBICKI

Colonel GROBICKI. My name is George Grobicki, G-r-o-b-i-c-k-i.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you state your age, Colonel, please?

Colonel GROBICKI. Sixty.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you born?

Colonel GROBICKI. I was born in Warsaw, Poland, on the 1st of January 1892.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell the committee briefly what your background was from the period 1892 until 1939?

Colonel GROBICKI. I was a professional soldier in the Austro-Hungarian Army and served from November 1918 in the Polish Army.

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, are you Polish, yourself?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Proceed, please.

Colonel GROBICKI. I was attaché in Budapest, Hungary, from 1921 to 1923, regiment commander, brigade commander of cavalry in the Polish Army, and then military attaché in Prussia, 1932 to 1936, on a special mission in the Middle East, in Greece, and in 1939, at the beginning of the war with Germany, I was the commander of a special group on the western Polish border.

Mr. MITCHELL. Can you identify just exactly where you were at the beginning of the German-Polish war?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; I was in a place called Vielun. It is on the western Polish border, about 60 miles west of Luch.

Mr. MITCHELL. That place is spelled——

Colonel GROBICKI. V-i-e-l-u-n.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, you were a Regular Army officer and not a Reserve officer?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. A professional career soldier of the Polish Army?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us the nature of the Polish Army group you commanded on the western border in 1939?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. It was a special group which was composed of an infantry brigade, a cavalry regiment, and three artillery batteries and all kinds of different troops.

Mr. FLOOD. All kinds of what?

Colonel GROBICKI. All kinds of troops, technical troops, and other kinds. It was a group of about 4,000 men.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you proceed to narrate what happened from the time war began, what happened to you?

Colonel GROBICKI. After the war started, in the morning of the 1st of September 1939 we proceeded in 3 days to the border, and then we were forced to retreat. As for my group, it went through Pawianicze, Skierniewicze, Warsaw, and then we crossed the Vistula and took a defensive position on the eastern bank of the Vistula.

Mr. MITCHELL. What large city in Poland is that near?

Colonel GROBICKI. It is a place called Garwolin.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is spelled G-a-r-w-o-l-i-n?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Proceed.

Colonel GROBICKI. In this position we were for some days, and then retreated to the east, and were in the neighborhood of Lublin, when we got the news that the Russians had crossed the border and attacked us in the rear.

Mr. MITCHELL. What date was that?

Colonel GROBICKI. It was the morning of the 17th of September.

Mr. MITCHELL. What instructions did you receive from your Government or your military commanders at the time of the Russian attack?

Colonel GROBICKI. We got news that we could not resist both enemies, the Germans in the west and the Bolsheviks in the east.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, you say "at the time of the Russian attack." Do you mean when the Russians crossed the Polish border there were open hostilities, firing, combat?

Colonel GROBICKI. Sure. Because they said that they crossed the border to help us, but at the same time, they disarmed our troops, they shot officers, and so on. Therefore we have seen that it was not a friendly act, but aggression.

Mr. FLOOD. I mean, Colonel, at the time the Russians crossed the Polish border, at the time you are speaking of, in the fall of 1939, you used the term "attack." Do you mean the word literally in the military sense, that there was open military combat between Russian and Polish military units?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Because on the eastern border, on the border between Poland and Russia, we had blockhouses which guarded our eastern frontier against the Bolsheviks. And therefore when the Soviet troops crossed the border, without any knowledge of us, the block houses, the frontier guards, resisted, and there was fighting from the first moment.

And, therefore, as we knew the character of this Soviet movement, we knew that we couldn't resist both the Russians in the east and the Germans in the west.

Mr. FLOOD. Who knew this? You, or your Government?

Colonel GROBICKI. Every soldier.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, what information was given to you, and as far as you know to the Polish troops in east Poland, with reference to the entry of Russians into Polish territory at that time? For what purpose was it? What did the Russians say they came in for? What information did you get when you heard the Russians came in, as to why they came in? What did you hear from the Polish Government? What did you hear from the Russians? What did you think?

Colonel GROBICKI. I personally heard nothing from the Polish Government, because I was not in liaison at this time. I know only what General Anders, who was my close commander, told to me personally; that the Russian troops had crossed the Polish border without any invitation from Poland, from the Polish Government. And it was proposed that we wouldn't attack the Soviet but would resist on any occasion if they wanted to disarm us.

And as we could not fight, as I said before, both the Germans in the west and the Bolsheviks in the east, therefore we were going to Hungary, past the Polish-Hungarian border, to try to go to France to join the allies in France.

Mr. FLOOD. Was General Anders active in command of a division, or a corps?

Colonel GROBICKI. General Anders was in command of the Cavalry Corps, which consisted of three Cavalry brigades.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you under his command at that time?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; of one of the three brigades.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Colonel GROBICKI. Beginning with the 9th of September.

Mr. MITCHELL. What year?

Colonel GROBICKI. 1939. I came under his command after we crossed the Vistula.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us when you were first captured, and where, and by whom?

Colonel GROBICKI. As I said before, we were riding toward the Hungarian border.

Mr. MITCHELL. On a truck?

Colonel GROBICKI. From Lublin to Krasnystav, Tomaszow, in the direction of the border.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you in a wagon, a truck, a motorcar?

Colonel GROBICKI. No; we were mounted troops, all mounted troops.

On the 26th of September, we were fighting the Germans on the general line along the railway from Lwow to Przemysl.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is spelled Lwow?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. It was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon that I got a message from General Anders to join him in a small hamlet for a conference. I took my adjutant, my second lieutenant, and two orderlies.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was the name of the adjutant?

Colonel GROBICKI. His name was Antonin Kaminski. He was from the Field Artillery Regiment 30.

Mr. MITCHELL. Proceed.

Colonel GROBICKI. It was not far from my headquarters during the fight, to the headquarters of General Anders, but it was a small forest between us. It was a very foggy day. It was raining. The visibility was very low. And when we entered the forest, which was very dense, with many shrubs, the road on which we were riding was not very broad, and in the middle of the forest some 30 people jumped out at us, crying, "Surrender," and a hand grenade was thrown under my horse. The horse was wounded and fell down and fell on me. I could not move, and had a fractured hip.

Mr. FLOOD. I notice that you use crutches now.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Is there any connection between that and this injury?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Because I was never treated by the Bolsheviks after I was caught.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you been permanently injured as a result of that?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Because it was a dislodgement of the joints.

Mr. FLOOD. You used the word "people" that jumped out of this forest. Were they in military uniform?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Sure. They were soldiers of a motorized brigade or division.

Mr. FLOOD. Of what army?

Colonel GROBICKI. The Soviet Army, which infiltrated between our troops and our headquarters during this day.

Mr. MITCHELL. They were in this forest?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to you when you were taken by them?

Colonel GROBICKI. Then I was taken, and in the first moments they wanted to kill us, but the official commanding them asked who we were. We said a second lieutenant, colonel, and——

Chairman MADDEN. Let me say to the witness: These microphones and the acoustics in the room are not so good, and it would be better if you talked just a little slower and louder.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Then they took us with them.

Mr. FLOOD. I take for granted you and your party were in the uniform of the Polish Army?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. And as I could not walk, after some hundred yards I just sat down. Then the soldiers that were with us in the convoy said to me, "Go on, or we will shoot you." I tried again. It was very difficult, and I sat again. Then one of them came to me and said, "Go on, or I will kill you." I was very nervous and down.

"All right," I said, "kill me, you hero of the Red army."

Mr. FLOOD. Just a minute; Mr. Chairman, can we have those doors closed, or typewriters stopped, or a combination of both?

Chairman MADDEN. If the witness just talks a little louder and a little slower, I think we will overcome that.

Colonel GROBICKI. And then after I said this to him, he took his gun and just put his bayonet into me.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where on your body did he put it into you?

Colonel GROBICKI. In my back. And as I had a very thick overcoat and thick belt, it just happened that the bayonet struck the belt and went into the belt not more than half an inch. It scratched my back very badly. I was bleeding like a pig. But nothing more happened to me. I fell down, and he was very astonished and said to his commander, "Comrade Leftenant, I struck him with the bayonet, and he is sleeping. What am I to do with him?"

The leftenant said, "Oh, don't kill him. He is a colonel, and he is very important. We have to bring him to the headquarters of the brigade."

Then they took me and put me on a truck and brought me to the Soviet brigade commander of the motorized brigade in a place which is called Grodek.

Mr. FLOOD. By the way, Colonel, do you talk and understand Russian, and did you at that time?

Colonel GROBICKI. I speak and understand Russian very well. I speak Russian like Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you at that time?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. But I did not speak with them in Russian.

Mr. FLOOD. You understood it perfectly?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. I speak Russian the same way as I am speaking Polish.

At the brigade headquarters, they interrogated me, asked me about all kinds of things. Some of them I answered, and some of them I did not answer. And then they took me out, together with my adjutant. They put us in a garden and just wanted to shoot us.

Mr. MITCHELL. They put you where?

Colonel GROBICKI. They put us in the shrubs before a wall.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many other people were with you at that time?

Colonel GROBICKI. Only my adjutant, the second lieutenant.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were there any other people near this wall?

Colonel GROBICKI. No, just the two of us, and there were three Soviet soldiers, with a commissar.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was the purpose of that?

Colonel GROBICKI. They wanted to shoot us.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did they line you up against the wall?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes, they lined us up, and the commissar drew a gun.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you facing the man with the gun?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. They wanted us to turn to the wall, but we said, "No," that if they wanted to shoot us, to shoot us in front.

Mr. FLOOD. You spoke of a commissar. Do you mean a commissar, as distinguished from a Russian officer?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You knew it was a commissar?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. I think we will have the members of the committee delay their questioning until the witness concludes his narrative.

Colonel GROBICKI. Then, when he put his gun on us, there came a soldier and told him, "The execution is canceled." And they brought us back, put us in a barn, and closed it up.

The next day, in the morning, they brought us to a place which is called Yavovov. There was again an interrogation, and after this interrogation they again brought us into the forest and wanted to shoot us. But then there came a messenger from the command where we were interrogated, who said again, "This shooting is canceled."

The next day they brought us to Lwow. And there was prison there, and then, again, the third time, the same thing happened. After the interrogation we were put before a wall, but at this time five of us, and they put a machine gun before us and said we would be shot. But at the time when the soldier who was to shoot us just pointed the gun at us, from the window somebody said, "Stop for a moment. There will be more." And they brought two chaps more. And when he started again to try to shoot, they did it again: "Oh, wait. There are more coming."

After 5 minutes, there were about 10 lined up around the wall. Then we thought it was all finished, and then the commissar came again and said something to the soldier, who was sitting on the machine gun, and they just took us away, put us in a cell, and it was finished.

The next day, they brought us by truck to a place which is called Tarnopol, and from there, after, I think, 2 days, we were brought to a place which is called Woloczysko, the first prisoner camp.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, the colonel is familiar with maps from his background. Is it your desire that he trace on a map the route that he was taken over from the time he crossed the Russian border?

Chairman MADDEN. I think that the committee would be very much interested if the colonel would proceed with a chronological narrative, slowly and clearly; and then we can clear up these other points when he completes his statement.

Colonel GROBICKI. And so, in Woloczysko, I was about 3 or 4 days, and then we were brought by train to a place which is called Putivl. It is east of Kiev. This Putivl, we were at about 6 weeks, and from Putivl they brought us to Kozielsk. In Kozielsk we came about the 15th of November. Then in Kozielsk I remained until, I believe, the beginning of May 1940.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, what is the name of this place?

Colonel GROBICKI. Kozielsk.

Chairman MADDEN. That is a prison camp?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. I left Kozielsk by prison train, a special prison car, for an unknown destination.

Chairman MADDEN. When?

Colonel GROBICKI. It was about the 1st of May 1940.

We were told that there were two different versions. Some of the commissars, of the political officers, said to us that we were going to be exchanged with the Germans, and therefore we would be brought into the neighborhood of Smolensk, where there was a big camp where

people were exchanged. It means the Germans bring in people who want to live in Russia, and the Soviets give to the Germans the prisoners who are living in the part of Poland occupied by the Germans. And other political officers said that, "The camp of Kozielsk is too big. They have too great difficulties in supplying food for us. And therefore the camp will be divided into smaller camps."

In reality, when we left Kozielsk, we did not know where we were to go. Inside the railroad car, we saw inscriptions from our comrades who left Kozielsk before us. I personally left Kozielsk in one of the last transports. And these inscriptions told us that our comrades before us were taken in the general direction of Smolensk, but did not arrive at Smolensk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who gave you that explanation?

Colonel GROBICKI. There were different inscriptions inside the car.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Oh, writings in the car?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes, done by our comrades who were transported before us. And one of these inscriptions was very interesting, because they told us the railway station by which they were taken. And this station mentioned by these people was the railroad station at Gniezdowo.

Chairman MADDEN. How do you spell that?

Colonel GROBICKI. G-n-i-e-z-d-o-w-o, Gniezdowo. And at this time they saw black cars, black automobiles, which means they were prison automobiles.

Chairman MADDEN. Automobiles?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes, automobiles used by prison authorities to transport prisoners.

And since they were taken out of the train and put into these cars, this was the last inscription.

After this, there were no inscriptions more. It means that all inscriptions ended at this railway station of Gniezdowo.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, how far is that from Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. As I say, at this time we did not know, but at present I know it is the railway station of Katyn.

But our transport did not arrive at Gniezdowo. We stopped earlier, at this railway station which was called Babuvino. There was big excitement at this railway station, and we saw the people did not know what to do with us. The commissars and the officers of the convoy were running here and there and talking together and did not know what to do. And then, after 36 hours, we were disembarked, put into trucks, and brought into a prisoner camp which was called Pavlishchev Bor.

Chairman MADDEN. Pardon me. During this 36 hours that the commissars did not know what to do with you, what did you do?

Colonel GROBICKI. We were inside the cars. We were closed. We were shoved in the cars.

Chairman MADDEN. The doors were shut?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. The prison cars are pullman cars with bars, and compartments, every compartment for 6 men; but at this time we were 12 to 15 men in one such compartment.

Then, after 36 hours, they let us out.

In Pavlishchev Bor, we were about 6 weeks, and then we were transferred to the camp of Gryazovets. In Gryazovets, I remained till the Polish-Soviet treaty and was released on August 25, 1941. I

was nominated second in command of the Fifth Polish Infantry Division and was sent at once to organize a division in a place called Tatishchevo near Saratow on the Volga. There I remained for 3 months, and after the arrival of General Sikorski, our commander in chief, to Russia, I was nominated second in command of the Polish troops in Tobruk.

Chairman MADDEN. When was this?

Colonel GROBICKI. That was in December 1941. Then I left Russia by plane on the 31st of December 1941. I crossed Russia by plane on the 7th of January 1942. I arrived at Tehran and was sent from Tehran to Cairo, where I joined the Polish troops under British command. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Counsel, do you have some questions now?

Mr. MITCHELL. Witness, I would like to go back and establish for the record some dates as to where you were and what time you were captured, and so forth. Would you tell us for the record what date you were captured?

Colonel GROBICKI. I was captured at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on the 26th of September 1939.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was that? Can you tell us the name of that location?

Colonel GROBICKI. The exact name of the place was Sadowa Wisznia. It is a place on the railway between Lwow and Przemyśl.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us what date you were taken to Tarnapol?

Colonel GROBICKI. About the 3d or 4th of October.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us the date you were taken as a prisoner across the Polish-Russian border?

Colonel GROBICKI. About the 7th of October.

Mr. MITCHELL. What date did you arrive at Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. About the 15th of November 1939.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Counsel, may I interrupt there?

Before you arrived at Kozielsk, were you separated in any categories, such as officers and enlisted men, or was everybody sent to Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. In the camp before I came to Kozielsk, at Putivl, we were about 2,000 men, officers, and enlisted men. And then after about 2 weeks, they said that we officers had a bad influence on our men, and therefore we were divided. The officers, about 250 in all, remained in Putivl, and the enlisted men and noncommissioned officers were taken away.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Where were they taken to Colonel—the enlisted men?

Colonel GROBICKI. They were told that they were to be brought back to Poland and to be released. But after, in Kozielsk, we learned that they were brought to a place called Kriwoi-rog.

Mr. SHEEHAN. At that point, I would like to call to the attention of the other committee members that our hooded witness yesterday said, at the separation he was an enlisted man and that he was sent to Kriwoi-rog, which bears out the testimony of the colonel.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct. Wasn't that the place where the Polish enlisted men were supposed to be working in iron mines, or salt mines?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; there are big iron mines there.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, when you stated the reason why you were separated was because you were a bad influence on the rest of the men, were you told what this bad influence was? How were you a bad influence on the enlisted men?

Colonel GROBICKI. Because we incited the men to resist and to remain good Polish and not hear about the Communist propaganda. And they said that was why we were influencing our men in a bad way. Because, they said, we should tell them to become Communists, and so on. And this did not happen, and therefore they wanted to separate the men from the officers.

Mr. DONDERO. Counsel, I wish you would ask this witness what he knows about the shooting of these men. We found him to be located at Katyn, but that is all that he has said. That is what this committee wants to know.

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Dondero, I don't believe that this witness stated that he was at Katyn.

Mr. DONDERO. He stated that he learned that it was Katyn afterwards.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; afterwards.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to have the witness describe some of the incidents that happened at Kozielsk. For instance, why he was in prison, what treatment he received at Kozielsk, was he in the hospital at Kozielsk, was he treated there, and particularly did he recognize any of the Russian officers or men in charge of this camp at Kozielsk.

Colonel GROBICKI. When I arrived at Kozielsk—Kozielsk is a big camp, a former monastery, and there are inside the walls about 28 barracks, some of them built of wood and some of bricks. And in these barracks were imprisoned about 5,000 officers. The transports arrived in a different way. When I arrived there, on the 15th of November, there were already some people there, which were brought out, and other people kept in. And it was so during all the time.

Chairman MADDEN. When you arrived there, and immediately afterward, were they bringing prisoners, in, and bringing prisoners out?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. During that time?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; they were bringing in and bringing out.

Chairman MADDEN. That was in November?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; in November. They were bringing in bigger parties and taking out smaller parties, or even individuals.

It is difficult to say how many they brought out, because they made it always during the night, and we were not allowed—

Chairman MADDEN. This was in November, and did any of the prisoners in Kozielsk know or suspicion or have any conversation as to where they were taking these prisoners that they were taking out of the camp?

Colonel GROBICKI. No. We heard never any word about this. And nobody said anything about it. The people were taken away. They just disappeared.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When you arrived at Kozielsk, who was commander at that camp?

Colonel GROBICKI. It was, I will say, a brigadier general.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was his name?

Colonel GROBICKI. It was an NKVD officer, Zarubin.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And is that the same Zarubin who is now Soviet Ambassador to the Court of St. James in London, England?

Colonel GROBICKI. This I cannot say quite definitely. I was shown a picture in London and was asked, "Who is this man?" I said at once, "It is General Zarubin."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that was the picture of the Soviet Ambassador to the Court of St. James in London?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that was the picture of the Soviet Ambassador to the Court of St. James in London?

Colonel GROBICKI. Just a minute. Afterward, General Kukiel, the Minister of Defense, laughed and said, "No, that is not Comrade Zarubin. This is Mr. Zarubin, the Soviet Ambassador."

I cannot remember where, in Canada or in London.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Had you also heard of the Communist spy activities in Canada?

Colonel GROBICKI. At this time, no.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you hear there was a Zarubin who was found to be in charge of the Communist spy activities in Canada?

Colonel GROBICKI. I learned about it, but much later.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know whether or not that is the same Zarubin who was commander of the prison camp at Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. As I said before, the name is the same, and the likeness is a very great one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The likeness is great.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. But I don't know. I did not speak to him.

Mr. MITCHELL. How do you spell Zarubin?

Colonel GROBICKI. Z-a-r-u-b-i-n.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One other question. What are you doing now?

Colonel GROBICKI. Me? I am working in a wine shop.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where?

Colonel GROBICKI. In Toronto, Canada, 526 Palmesteron Boulevard.

Mr. MITCHELL. I have one question. Where is that picture you were shown in London? Do you think that picture is still in the files in London?

Colonel GROBICKI. Sure. It must be with General Kukiel or those people who wrote the book about Katyn, a Polish book about Katyn.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, you just mentioned a little while ago the fact that small groups were taken out of Kozielsk and disappeared during November 1939. Did you personally know some of these officers who were being taken out, their names?

Colonel GROBICKI. No; it was not possible, because they were taken out during the night, and we only saw trucks full of people which were brought out. But as we were not allowed to visit the other barracks, we did not know the name.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Counsel, I think we ought to call the attention of the committee at this time to some similarities between the testimony being presented here today and yesterday's testimony. The colonel states that these small parties were taken out early in November 1939, and apparently disappeared. The witness yesterday, if you will remember, stated that he arrived in Katyn early in November, I believe, of 1939. Now, all the previous knowledge we have of the Katyn massacre seems to place the dates of the massacre at approxi-

mately March and April, the spring of 1940, and here is, I think, about the first time we are having testimony or evidence that these killings apparently started much earlier than the spring. The murders were not in 1 or 2 months, it apparently was a cumulative process.

We failed to bring that out in questioning our witness yesterday, and we probably should have brought that out.

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe your point is very well taken at this particular time, and there will be additional meetings later on that will probably verify that.

Mr. FURCOLO. Colonel, beginning from the time you left Kozielsk, which was, as I understand it, about May 1, 1940—

Colonel GROBICKI. I left Kozielsk in May 1940, yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. And at that time there were not very many Polish officers or men left in Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. I was one of the last transports. There were very few left.

Mr. FURCOLO. After you had left there, as I understand it, you still were, naturally, interested in what had happened to the men that had gone before you?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. From that time on, did you ever hear from any of the families or friends of those men?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. What I am getting at is this, and it may help you in your answer: We have been interested in knowing whether or not any of the families of those men contacted any of the people who had been prisoners with them to find out what had happen to their husbands and sons and so on.

Colonel GROBICKI. I can give you a very plain explanation. When we were in the camp of Gryazovets, about the month of September 1940, we got the permission to write letters to our families. And already, in the first letters, which came as an answer to our letters, were questions about other officers who were with us in Kozielsk. And all the time we were in correspondence with our families in Poland, until 1 month before the German-Soviet war, always in every letter came questions about different people who were with us in Kozielsk. And they were asking, "Why only from the Kozielsk camp, there are letters?" And we were only very few. So there were questions about I don't know how many other thousands of men. "Why only you write letters, and the others don't write them?"

Mr. FURCOLO. That is the point I want to get to.

The evidence we have had so far has been that the families and friends of most of the Polish officers and men, in other words, all those other than those that had been sent to a camp such as yours—that all those families and friends constantly were writing letters and inquiring what had happened to their husbands and sons and were pointing out that they had not heard from them in any way in 1940 and after that. They had simply disappeared.

To make it short, did you have the same experience? Is that about the way it happened, from your own experience and that of your friends?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, when the prisoners were taken from Kozielsk, different shipments went out while you were there?

Colonel GROBICKI. That's right.

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to know how they were dressed when they were shipped out, and if there was any change in their clothing when they were shipped out.

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. What were they wearing when they were shipped out?

Colonel GROBICKI. Everybody was dressed as he was caught, as he was taken prisoner. Most people were in overcoats.

Mr. FURCOLO. Tell us what kind of overcoats, and if they had anything on their feet, what they had on their feet.

Colonel GROBICKI. Boots.

Mr. FURCOLO. And what kind of overcoats? Polish Army overcoats?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes, Polish Army overcoats. The infantry had the lower boots, and the others had the long boots, cavalry boots.

Mr. FURCOLO. And what was the condition of those boots with reference to whether they were worn or not worn.

Colonel GROBICKI. That's difficult to say. One might be new, and one old.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did they look as if they were relatively new?

Colonel GROBICKI. No, some people had new boots which they took when they were going to war. For instance, myself, when I went to war, I took quite new boots.

Mr. FURCOLO. Can you tell us whether they had worn those boots in the camp while they were there as prisoners?

Colonel GROBICKI. No, it was not possible, because they were too short—

Mr. FURCOLO. At any rate, when you saw them for the last time, they had on the overcoats of Polish soldiers and officers, and boots?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Only very few were in civilian clothing. Those that were taken from homes direct, not taken prisoners as troops but were taken out of homes, civilians—there were those.

Mr. FURCOLO. Can you tell us from your observations while you were at Kozielsk whether or not the Russians, not the Polish, but the Russians, seemed to have plenty of overcoats for their own men?

Colonel GROBICKI. No; they were clothed as ordinary soldiers are clothed. But the difference between the Russian uniform and the Polish uniform is so great that you cannot mistake them.

Mr. FURCOLO. I understand that, but the point at which I was getting is this: I want to know whether the Russians seemed to have plenty of warm clothing for their own men and whether they seemed to have plenty of boots and shoes for their own men. And to make clear why I ask the question, it is this:

A good many of these bodies that were found, of the Polish soldiers and men, were apparently clothed in overcoats, boots, and shoes that were in very good condition, and I was interested in knowing whether or not the Russians had enough clothing and shoes for their own men.

You have answered that they apparently did have enough. If they did not, I want you to tell me.

Colonel GROBICKI. The difference between Russian and Polish clothing is so great that you cannot compare them.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is right. There is a vast difference.

Now, Colonel, I wanted to ask you this: When you were in the train, or the conveyance, that took you from Kozielsk, as I understand it, some of the men who had left before you had apparently way up high in the conveyance either written or scratched some messages. And I have read some literature that indicates that there was at least one message that was written there that told exactly where those Polish men had gotten off the train or the conveyance.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, I am trying to locate this, here, and may ask you a little later, but as I recall it from my reading, it says that they got off at a station two stations west of some other place.

Does that refresh your mind?

Colonel GROBICKI. The inscription told us that they were taken out of the train at the station of Gniezdowo.

Mr. FURCOLO. There were such messages that apparently had been written way up high, where you men could see them?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Because some of the windows were scratched out, and you could look through them. You could read the name of the station.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, were any of those signed, or was there any sort of identification on them, so that you could tell, "Oh, yes; that was So and So, who I knew"? Do you get what I am driving at?

I want to find out if you can tie that in with anybody who was at the camp.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Because some of these inscriptions were signed with some names.

Mr. FURCOLO. Good. Did you recognize the names of any of those that were signed as being the names of any people who had been there at Kozielsk at the time you were there?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, I want to ask you this, too. Do you, by any chance, recognize the name of Jan Furtek or Lieutenant Colonel Prokop, P-r-o-k-o-p?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; they were together with me in Gryazovets.

Mr. FURCOLO. Had they been at Kozielsk, too?

Colonel GROBICKI. Furtek? I don't know, because he was a second lieutenant, and I could not contact him. But Lieutenant Colonel Prokop, yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, Colonel, can you help me out in connection with this? I read the London report of 1946 of the massacre, and in it, it referred, on page 51, I believe, to the diary of a man named Maj. A. Solski, S-o-l-s-k-i, and there was a date in there of April 7.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, did you by any chance know anyone in Kozielsk by the name of Maj. A. Solski?

Colonel GROBICKI. I know him very good, because he was in 1920 my subordinate officer. I know him very good. And when he left Kozielsk, I shook hands with him and said to him, "I hope to see you in some weeks in some camp in Germany."

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, I want to ask you this question. I don't assume that you saw this diary, but this same report referred to a diary Major Solski apparently had kept, and it had some dates in there, and one date was April 7. I will get this later on for the record,

the exact wording, but later on he outlined the fact that they were on a train, and they were getting off, and they could see the forest of Katyn apparently in the distance.

You knew a man named Maj. A. Solski, and you are able to tell us under oath here today that there was such a man who was in Kozielsk, apparently in April of 1940?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. And who left Kozielsk some time in April of 1940, to your best recollection?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, one other question; there was another young man, who testified the other day. He is here today; Mike Gawiak. Do you know him?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you hear his testimony the other day?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do you see him sitting back there?

Mike, would you stand up?

Chairman MADDEN. Stand up, please, Mr. Gawiak.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, you saw him in Kozielsk when you were there?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. He was at that camp?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. What is the difference in color between the Polish uniform and the Russian uniform?

Colonel GROBICKI. The Polish uniform is uniformly of yellow green color, like khaki color, like the British color.

Mr. DONDERO. What is the Russian?

Colonel GROBICKI. The Russians have dark blue trousers, a green blouse, and a butternut overcoat.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you see the graves at Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you see among the prisoners who were taken away and who never returned any priests or clergymen or ministers with their robes on?

Colonel GROBICKI. There were about a hundred priests in Kozielsk.

Mr. DONDERO. And they were prisoners with you?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. There were priests of all denominations, Roman Catholic and Protestants and Jews.

Mr. DONDERO. But you do not know what happened to them?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. DONDERO. Never heard from them?

Colonel GROBICKI. No. There were two priests with us in Gryazovets.

Mr. FLOOD. When you got to Kozielsk, in 1939, and during the period of time you were at Kozielsk, you tell us that in round numbers there were about 5,000 officers at Kozielsk, between November of 1939 and May 1, of 1940, when you left Kozielsk by convoy.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many Polish officers were left at Kozielsk on May 1, 1940, when you left, about?

Colonel GROBICKI. As I say, it is very difficult for me to say the exact number, because we were not allowed to visit the barracks.

Mr. FLOOD. I don't want an exact number. About.

Colonel GROBICKI. Not more than a hundred.

Mr. FLOOD. Not more than a hundred left on May 1, 1940?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What reason do you give, if you have any—why do you think you survived during all those months?

Colonel GROBICKI. I survived by accident.

Mr. FLOOD. By accident?

Colonel GROBICKI. by accident; yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Of course, you had only been lined up against the wall three times.

Colonel GROBICKI. Oh, that is quite a different story. But my surviving at Katyn is another thing.

About the 15th of April, I was ill and was taken to the hospital.

Mr. FLOOD. About the 15th of April 1940?

Colonel GROBICKI. About the 15th. I was taken to the hospital, and after 3 days came a guard and wrote some names of us who were in the hospital, to take them away to leave Kozielsk. And the doctor said to him, "This man cannot go, because he is seriously ill, and he has to stay in the hospital."

Mr. FLOOD. At the time you were in the hospital in Kozielsk, was your name on this list to leave Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And it was taken off the list?

Colonel GROBICKI. Then the guard went to the office and came back and said, "Yes, this man can stay."

Mr. FLOOD. And the reason you were taken off the list is because the doctor said you weren't fit to go?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That was in April?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you ever placed on any other list, if you know, after April 1, 1940, until May 1, 1940?

Colonel GROBICKI. After 2 weeks, I left the hospital, and was taken away in the next transport.

Mr. FLOOD. During the time you were at Kozielsk, did the Russians make any attempt to convert you or your colleagues to communism?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; everyone.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the method used? How was it done, generally?

Colonel GROBICKI. They explained to us that our life, bourgeois, is a bad one, that the right way to live is the Communist, all kinds of stupidity.

Mr. FLOOD. During all the time these 5,000 officers were in prison, during the time you were there, and in face of this Russian effort to propagandize you in favor of communism, do you know of any success that they had with these 5,000 Polish officers?

Did they make any converts at that time?

Colonel GROBICKI. Sure, there were some; but very few.

Mr. FLOOD. Very few?

Colonel GROBICKI. Very few.

Mr. FLOOD. You left on May 1, 1940, and you ultimately got to Pavlishchev Bor. Did you know that you were going to Pavlishchev Bor when you left Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. During the period of time you were at Kozielsk, and during that period of time you told us periodically or daily or weekly small and large groups were taken out of Kozielsk, what was the conversation, if any, among the remaining officers as to what was being done or what was happening to your brother officers?

Colonel GROBICKI. As I said before, the Bolsheviks inspired all kinds of ideas about the goal of the departure of the groups. Some said that they were brought to other smaller camps, and others said, "They are exchanged for the Germans." These were the two versions we knew.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there any conversation or talk or rumors going around the camp at Kozielsk among the Polish officers that any of their brother officers being removed from Kozielsk were being executed?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. During none of the time you were there did you hear such kind of talk?

Colonel GROBICKI. No. But I heard personally some remarks told between the Bolsheviks, which at this time I did not understand; but at present, as I know about the Katyn Massacre, I interpret very clearly.

Mr. FLOOD. You understood the Russian language?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard Russians at Kozielsk talking about the disposition of Polish officers?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you construe or deduct from any or all of that talk?

Colonel GROBICKI. At that time I understood it not at all.

Mr. FLOOD. What do you understand at this point?

Colonel GROBICKI. For instance, when one of the parties was leaving, they were very happy to leave Kozielsk, because they thought that they were going to a German camp, and everybody preferred to stay in the German camps rather than to be in the Soviet camps. Therefore, the people were happy to leave Kozielsk. And I was just looking at the party when it was leaving, and before me stood two political Soviet officers, one a political commissar, Colonel Urbanowicz, and also a Jew from Moscow called Sirotky. And I heard such a conversation, when Sirotky said to Urbanowicz: "Oh, yes. They are laughing. They are laughing. They are happy. But if they knew"——

Chairman MADDEN. Say that a little slower.

Colonel GROBICKI. "Oh, they are very happy. They are laughing. But if they knew where they are going, they would not laugh."

And therefore we discussed the question, but we could not get what it meant. We thought that the Bolsheviks meant we would have a worse life in the German camp.

Mr. FLOOD. Up to this day, have you ever had any information from any source whatsoever that any of the Polish officers at Kozielsk, during the time you were there, and removed from there, ever were transferred or transported to German Army camps within the German zone?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your answer?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the nature, the description, the kind of convoy that you were taken in from Kozielsk to Pavlishchev Bor? Describe the kind of vehicle.

Colonel GROBICKI. I will describe to you the full procedure of leaving Kozielsk. The guard came into the barrack and called the people who have to leave. Then they were assembled and taken into a special barrack, where they were searched. The search was very inquisitive. They took away nearly all we have. For instance, I had a fountain pen, which I cherished very much, because it was a gift. It was a very good fountain pen. And it escaped the former searches. This time the Soviet soldier who was performing the search took the pen away.

Mr. FLOOD. These were NKVD, and not army troops?

Colonel GROBICKI. No, NKVD. And I complained to the major of the NKVD, who was presiding over the search. And he looked at me with scorn and said, "There where you are going, you don't need any fountain pen."

Mr. FLOOD. Then they took you out of the barracks?

Colonel GROBICKI. Then we were taken into trucks, and by these trucks we were brought to the railway station of Kozielsk, and in the railway station we were put into prison cars, which I described.

Mr. FLOOD. Prison cars on a railway train?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. In Soviet Russia, there are special prison cars, railway cars for transporting prisoners. They are big cars, with iron bars, and compartments for six men.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, if you recall, about how many brother officers of yours left Kozielsk with you at that time, about?

Colonel GROBICKI. I can't say exactly. About 96.

Mr. FLOOD. Ninety-six. You left Kozielsk. The first stop you made was at the railway station for Katyn, the village of Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. I left Kozielsk for destination unknown.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes?

Colonel GROBICKI. And then we proceeded.

Mr. FLOOD. How long did you stop at the first stop?

Colonel GROBICKI. Half an hour.

Mr. FLOOD. Then you went on to the second stop?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; and so on.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the second stop?

Colonel GROBICKI. Oh, I don't know. I don't remember.

Mr. FLOOD. How long was it before you reached the railway station for the village of Katyn, after you left Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. After we left Kozielsk, about 24 hours.

Mr. FLOOD. About 24 hours?

Colonel GROBICKI. About 24 hours. We were stopped at a station called Babuvino. Babuvino is a railway station southeast of Smolensk.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that the railway station for Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Well, how long did it take you to get from Kozielsk to Gniezdowo, the station for Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. I was never at Gniezdowo, because that is behind Babuvino.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the name of the railway station for Katyn village?

Colonel GROBICKI. Gniezdowo.

Mr. FLOOD. You never reached it?

Colonel GROBICKI. No. We were stopped at Babuvino, which is not so far before.

Mr. FLOOD. And then you went from that station to the next station?

Colonel GROBICKI. No; from Babuvino, we were brought by trucks to Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. Oh, they took you off the train, and then you were taken by truck to the camp at Pavlishchev Bor?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, when you got to Pavlishchev Bor, which was about the second or third of May 1940, did you meet there any Polish officer prisoners from any other Russian camps?

Colonel GROBICKI. When we arrived at the camp of Pavlishchev Bor, there was nobody there. The camp was not prepared to admit prisoners.

Mr. FLOOD. How long did you remain at Pavlishchev Bor?

Colonel GROBICKI. About 6 weeks. And during these 6 weeks, there arrived a party from the Starobel'sk camp.

Mr. FLOOD. Starobel'sk?

Colonel GROBICKI. Starobel'sk. And a party from the Ostashkov camp.

Mr. FLOOD. Ostashkov. About how many arrived from both camps during the 6 weeks you were at Pavlishchev Bor?

Colonel GROBICKI. I don't know how many arrived from Starobel'sk or how many arrived from Ostashkov, but when we were leaving Pavlishchev Bor, about the 15th of June 1940, we were about 450.

Mr. FLOOD. About 450. So during the period of 6 weeks that you were at Pavlishchev Bor, with you there were about 450 brother Polish officers, the survivors, if I could use that word, of Kozielsk and the other two camps.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. During the period of time you were at Pavlishchev Bor, you had conversations with your brother officers, naturally, from the other two camps. Can you tell us, first, how many Polish officers, if they said, did they say were at either of the other two camps? Take the second one, now. Ostashkov—how many were there?

Colonel GROBICKI. There were about 5,000 people in Starobel'sk and more than 5,000 in Ostashkov.

Mr. FLOOD. Could it be 7,000 at Ostashkov?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. During the period of time you were at Pavlishchev Bor, did you meet—Mike, will you stand up again—did you meet this young man at Pavlishchev Bor?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. During the period of time you were there?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And that was during the months of May and June?

Colonel GROBICKI. May and June of 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the percentage, if you know, or can give us a reasonable percentage, of reserve officers, as contrasted to regular

army officers, of the Polish officers at Kozielsk, during all the period of time you were there?

Colonel GROBICKI. The percentage of regular officers was, I think, about 25 percent.

Mr. FLOOD. 25 percent which way?

Colonel GROBICKI. For regular officers.

Mr. FLOOD. 25 regular?

Colonel GROBICKI. And 75 reserve officers.

Mr. FLOOD. About 75 percent of the 5,000 officers at Kozielsk, during the period of time you were there, were reserve officers of the Polish army?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, from the time you were captured, in September of 1939, until you were dismissed at Gryazovets, in 1941, Russia had never declared war on Poland and was not at war with Poland legally; is that correct?

Colonel GROBICKI. They said all the time we were not prisoners of war.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the answer to my question? "Yes," or "no?"

Colonel GROBICKI. I can't answer this question in that way, because it is more complicated.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me ask you this one. As far as you know, there had been no actual declaration of formality of war? What is the answer to that?

Colonel GROBICKI. Therefore, they said——

Mr. FLOOD. Wait a minute. What is your answer? Had there been, or had there not been?

Colonel GROBICKI. I cannot answer it that way.

Mr. FLOOD. You do not know? Then go ahead.

Colonel GROBICKI. No, excuse me, sir. I can't answer it in this way, as you ask me. It is quite complicated.

Mr. FLOOD. You go ahead in your way.

Colonel GROBICKI. Russia never declared war on Poland, but they meant to make war on us, and there were big fights. And therefore officially, they said, we were not prisoners of war. For instance, on our letters, we were not allowed to write "such and such prisoner of war camp." They told us to write, "contained in the NKVD——"

Mr. MITCHELL. Say it in Polish.

Colonel GROBICKI. I will say it in Russian. Miesto otdyda. It means a place of a holiday resort, a rest house.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask one question? In other words, Poland was no more at war with Russia at that time than we are at war with Korea now. Is that right?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. And officially, we were not prisoners of war. But inside the camp they called us prisoners of war, and they said to us that we are prisoners of war. When we say "on one side you say we are not prisoners of war, and on the other side you say we are prisoners of war, and why is this?"—they answered so: "We were not at war with Poland, but you were at war with us. Because we crossed the Polish border to liberate Poland, and you opposed us. Therefore, you personally were in war with us, and therefore you are a prisoner."

Mr. FLOOD. We are finding out all about that kind of reasoning. That's why I wanted to go back to the beginning of it with you.

But you, and, as you saw, other Polish officers were mistreated. You were threatened with death.

Colonel GROBICKI. We were mistreated before we came to the prisoner of war camps. But inside the prisoner of war camps, we were not mistreated in the physical way. We were mistreated morally.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me ask you this: During the weeks before you were taken to Kozielsk and were being interrogated and examined by the NKVD, you were threatened with death, as you testified, on several occasions. At least you were stood up against the wall three or four times and had the very definite impression you were going to get shot.

Is that right?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, I want to ask you this. I want your opinion. Did you think this was merely torture technique by the NKVD, putting you up and taking you down, putting you up and taking you down? Was that torture technique? Or did you think they were actually going to kill you?

You were a colonel, an intelligent man. What did you think was going on?

Colonel GROBICKI. It was 50-50. It might be so and so, and it might be so.

Mr. FLOOD. It was uncomfortable, anyhow, was it not?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. But at this moment, I thought I would be shot.

Mr. FLOOD. By the way, during the period of time you were at Kozielsk, were there any female Polish prisoners there of any category, women?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. There was one woman higher officer, a flyer.

Mr. FLOOD. A flyer, a Polish flyer?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Military, or civilian?

Colonel GROBICKI. A woman lieutenant.

Mr. FLOOD. Was she in Polish uniform?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; she was in Polish uniform. I know her name; Mrs. Lewandowska. She was the daughter of a very well known Polish general.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you know what ever happened to her?

Colonel GROBICKI. She was found in the graves of Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. The body was found in the graves of Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, you will recall that yesterday I said at the time that Colonel Grobicki was the individual who told me about the type of revolver that was given to him when General Anders' army was being formed in Soviet Russia.

I would like to hand this gun to the colonel and ask him to describe it, since he is a military man and I am not, for the benefit of the committee, the type of gun this is, the ammunition that can be used in it, and where the ammunition comes from, as well as who in Russia usually has such a gun in their possession.

Colonel GROBICKI. This is a Negan revolver.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you spell that "Negan"?

Colonel GROBICKI. N-e-g-a-n. It is a type of revolver which is generally used by the Russian troops.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do the enlisted men have such a gun?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. The noncommissioned officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you hold that up in the air, so that we can see it?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

And after we left Gryazovets and started for Tatishchevo, the Polish troops, the officers, were issued these guns, with about 21 rounds of ammunition and some more rounds for target practice.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to hand the witness one piece of live ammunition. And would he identify it, please, to the best of his ability, as to whether this was the general type of bullet used in such a gun, or not?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. This is the type of ammunition for the Negan revolver.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was that manufactured by? Do you know?

Colonel GROBICKI. The main ammunition factory in Russia is the Tula factory.

But for the Negan revolver they used also foreign ammunition. I don't know why, but they used Belgian and German ammunition. And especially when we were in Tatishchevo, during the target practice, our ammunition officer told us, "The ammunition which was used by us was not of Russian production. It was foreign ammunition. And therefore, the gun was not shooting as straight as it should."

Mr. DONDERO. Is that a Russian gun?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you hold up both the gun and the bullet? Because the bullet isn't the type used in America.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Is that the kind of a gun you play Russian roulette with?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Colonel, you spoke of the Russian officer taking your fountain pen away from you.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. I can tell you that I sold my fountain pen to a Russian officer when I was over there. They wanted to buy two things from us, fountain pens and wrist watches.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, I have several questions I would like to put to you.

You mentioned in talking to Congressman Flood, that at Kozielsk, there were roughly 5,000 prisoners, of which, you stated, the regular officers were about 25 percent and the reserves 75 percent. Now, as to these reserve officers, who were they composed of? Were they doctors, or priests, or teachers, or who were they?

Colonel GROBICKI. There were about 400 doctors, specialists from all kinds of hospitals. There were all kinds of professors, university men; I would say about 100 priests; and there were teachers, and so on; all kinds of professions.

Mr. SHEEHAN. We have heard these men referred to quite frequently in our hearings here and in our readings as the intelligentsia of Poland. Would you agree with that statement?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. The Russians took prisoner the rear of the armies; and the rear of the armies has all these kinds of installa-

tions. So therefore, in Kozielsk there was concentrated the brain of the Polish nation.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, the death or the massacre of this so-called brain of the Polish nation would really affect the Polish nation.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. A case of genocide. Because by killing these men, they wanted to put away the brain of the Polish nation.

It is much easier to handle the people when the intelligentsia, the brain of the nation, is put away.

Mr. FURCOLO. They were eliminating the leadership.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Would you say in your opinion that the Communists are practicing genocide in the sense you talk about it in any of the other nations of Europe?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; especially in the Baltic States—Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia—and in Bulgaria, and Albania, all those states that had about 120 millions of population.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I just interject one thought in connection with that? I might say that only today, I received a request from the Slovenians to investigate a like killing of 10,800 anti-Communist Slovenians in the Forest Slovetzky Ruk, near the capital of Slovenia. So evidently that has been practiced not only in Poland but in other countries.

Mr. SHEEHAN. To pursue that a little further, we do know that in Korea our soldiers have been found murdered in a manner similar to the way the Polish officers were massacred in Katyn.

Would you say it was similar to what you would describe as the Communist practice of genocide?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Do you think it will have any important effect on the citizens of the United States?

Colonel GROBICKI. I think their purpose may be a little other than as done with the peoples in Europe, because the United States and America is in another situation. But the technique of genocide is quite the same in Korea as in the other states, in Europe. And my opinion is that it is done with the purpose of frightening the American people. The Russians, looking at it themselves, as Asiatic people, want the Americans to be out of Asia.

And therefore, by this means, they want to terrorize the people of the United States, especially the families of the soldiers who are in Korea, and therefore to make an influence on the brain of the Americans and to force them to leave Asia.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Were you ever stationed in Asia yourself, Colonel?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. When and where?

Colonel GROBICKI. I was military attaché in Persia, 1932 to 1936. Then I was military attaché in China in 1945. I was for a period of time in the Middle East, too, with the Polish forces.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you, Colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to refer to the questioning of Congressman Flood with regard to the number of officers who were convinced by the Russian propaganda. And I would like to ask you, in connection with that: Did you know Lieutenant Colonel Berling?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he was a lieutenant colonel of the Polish Army?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is B-e-r-l-i-n-g; correct?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he with you at Kozielsk?

Colonel GROBICKI. No; he was not with me at Kozielsk. I don't know. He arrived at Pavlishchev Bor with one of these groups. I think he was in Starobel'sk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I might tell you that according to the records he was at Starobel'sk. And did you contact him at any time? Were you in contact with him while he was in the prison camp?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. I carried it on many times with him at Pavlishchev Bor, and also at Gryazovets.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And did he give any indications as to whether or not he was agreeable to the Russian propaganda?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. He wanted us to join the Bolshevik forces and to become Bolsheviks.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he later became an officer of the puppet Russian Government of Poland; is that correct?

Colonel GROBICKI. He did not leave Russia with the troops which went to the Middle East. He remained in Russia and organized the army that was led to Poland by the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you have heard, have you not, the reports that as a compensation for his loyalty to the Communist cause he now has been or is about to be purged in Poland?

Colonel GROBICKI. I cannot say quite assuredly, but it is said that he was imprisoned and maybe he is shot.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to read to you a paragraph from the so-called white book of the Polish London Government, the Polish Government in London, and ask you what you know, if anything, about the facts stated here.

I am reading from page 99 of the official so-called white book of the Polish Government in London:

Whilst preparations for the convoy that left Starobel'sk in the night of April 25-26, 1940, were under way, a "special group" of sixty-three prisoners was selected, who were to leave the camp on the same day, but separately from the normal convoy. Some of the prisoners noticed that among this special group there was a comparatively high proportion of those who had claimed German extraction, and of those who had evinced a more favorable attitude towards the propaganda in the camp conducted by the Soviets. (Among these was Lieutenant Colonel Berling.)

Do you know anything about this special convoy of 63 prisoners who showed themselves amenable to the Communist propaganda?

Colonel GROBICKI. As it is a transport from Starobel'sk, I know nothing about it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Anyway, it would be quite significant, would it not, to you, that of the total large number of prisoners that you recited, they were able to find only 63 whom they could trust to take with them to some other place?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes—than the place where the men were killed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Another thing which I think is of interest to this committee and some others, as being strange, is why you were spared and why you were not sent to Kozielsk but to some other

location. I would like to read to you also another section of this same report, on page 102, which seems to bear out your testimony.

After a comparatively long delay, which lasted from the end of April 1940, the Polish POW camps in Kozielsk, Starobel'sk, and Ostashkov were finally closed in the middle of May 1940. Only the last convoys of prisoners from each camp, like the "special" convoys of April 26th-28th, were directed to the camp at Pavlishchev Bor. All the other convoys, which preceded them in May, vanished like those of April, without trace. And the correspondence, which the prisoners had up to then maintained with their families in Poland, ceased from that time.

That is correct, is it not, that for some reason which neither you nor anyone else apparently can explain, other than the Russians, it was in the latter part of April that they stopped sending them to Katyn and sent them to Pavlishchev Bor?

Colonel GROBICKI. We thought many times about this problem, why these last transports were spared. There are three explanations.

The first one is that in the last month they wanted to have some specimens of the Polish officers, to show them to the people outside of Russia if the necessity would appear.

The second one is that from the beginning they tried to organize a Polish army, a Polish communistic army. Therefore, they spared some hundreds of men. They thought maybe at some time they would use them. And their problem at this time was the German offensive in France. The German offensive started much quicker than they thought. And they were afraid a little about it. Therefore, they tried to spare some Polish for a case they did not know of, when they might be used. And because, as I told you before, the stopping of the train at Babuvino was quite unexpected, unexpected for the guards at Kozielsk, and for the train guards that are quite independent from Kozielsk, and it was quite unexpected for the guards at Pavlishchev Boro. Therefore, it was a great command from Moscow, which came suddenly and unexpectedly by anyone.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you mean that you think personally that at the time the last convoy came, the one you were in, you were actually on the way to Katyn, to meet the fate these other officers met, but en route the orders were changed?

That is what you think?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Colonel, I wanted to ask you specifically now a couple of questions with reference to quotations I was giving from memory a few minutes ago.

Again quoting from this Polish white book, page 101, it refers to the fact that when the graves at Katyn were discovered, diaries were found on some of the bodies. This was in 1943, and it quotes from the last sentence of two such diaries.

One was from the diary of Maj. Adam Solski. That is the officer you said you knew quite well.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, I want to read something from the diary, and then I will want to ask you a question about it.

April 8, 1940, 3:30 a. m., departure from Kozielsk station, moving west.

9:30 a. m., at Yel'mia station.

April 8. Since 12 noon we have been standing in a railway siding at Smolensk.

April 9. In the morning some minutes before five, reveille; in the prison trucks and preparations to leave. We are to go somewhere by car, and what next?

April 9. It has been a strange day so far. Departure in prison coach in cells, terrible; taken somewhere into a wood, something like a country house. Here a

special search. I was relieved of my watch, pointing to 8:30 a. m. Asked about a wedding ring. Rubles, belts, and pocket knife taken away.

That is the end of the quotation in the book, and there the diary breaks off. Is that the Maj. Adam Solski that you knew?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Then there is another diary here that we probably will put in the record later on, but before that I want to ask you another question. I referred in my original questioning of you to some inscriptions that had been written in the railway coaches. Now, with reference to that, I want to read now from a book called *Death at Katyn*, where the author of the book refers to certain writings. He says:

Lying on one of the top bunks, I saw scribbled on the wall with a match or a pencil, "the second stop after Smolensk we get out and climb into trucks."

Then that is the end of the writing.

It then says:

There was a date, but it was hard to make out the second figure. It might have been April 12th or perhaps April 17th. This inscription aroused a great deal of discussion among us, and we tried to find out what it meant. Lieutenant Colonel Prokop, who was with us, thought it might have been written by Colonel Lukia, who had promised to leave clues if he could.

You testified, you had known, I think, of a Lieutenant Colonel Prokop, who was with you at the camp in Kozielsk at the same time you were there.

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes; he was there at the same time.

Mr. FURCOLO. What I was interested in was finding out if you had heard of any person named Kuyba, K-u-y-b-a, or whether you can tell us of your own knowledge whether some of the men who left the camp before you, did leave word with some of the men, "Well, we will try to leave some sort of a clue one way or the other."

What I am trying to do is to see whether I can establish by some witness who is here before us today whether there is any authenticity to these statements that we find written by people who have made a close study of this matter.

Can you help us, as a witness who is here under oath?

Colonel GROBICKI. I personally saw those writings.

I cannot remember their names, and it is quite clear that the people did not quite clearly sign their names under these inscriptions. But I know that some of my friends in Pavlishchev Bor and Gryazovets recognized the writing of other people that they knew.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, may I leave it this way: Are you willing to have the record show that under oath you are morally certain and are swearing that you yourself had seen some writings such as that, and that you yourself firmly believe it was written there by one of the men who had been at Kozielsk about the same time you had been, in 1940, and that that was written in the railroad coaches in which you traveled in that direction?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Then I want to ask you this.

One of the witnesses who had been at the camp, the young man named Mike, whom you said you saw there, and who testified here the other day, in answer to questions, testified that when he and other prisoners were first brought there, the Russians went to great length to make sure they were identified properly. They took their age,

where they were born, what they were doing, and a general description. They also took photographs of them and even fingerprints.

Your testimony would be about the same on that point?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, can you help us any further on it along these lines: As you know, from your own experience and also from what you have read, the Russians had given varying stories as to what had happened, and they had also indicated that due to wartime stress or strain they were not able to keep too accurate records on prisoners they took. But as I understand it, your testimony, as an eye witness who was there, and to whom this happened, was that your name and other information was taken in full, together with photographs and fingerprints. And did the Russians keep good records of the prisoners they took?

Colonel GROBICKI. Absolutely. In every hearing they had to testify again from the beginning.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, the usual experience of all prisoners was that time after time after time they would be called in to give data, and the Russians were very careful to keep good and accurate data?

Colonel GROBICKI. It was absolutely impossible, with the system of the NKVD, to lose somebody who is imprisoned in Russia. It is absolutely impossible.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

I would like to have the record show that Congressman Radwan, of New York; Congressman Kluczynski, of Chicago, Ill.; and Congressman Clemente, of New York, are at the hearing.

Mr. FLOOD. This may not be a question, Mr. Chairman, but this is such an intelligent witness that I would like to get his reaction to this observation, this suggestion, this theory.

It is inconceivable to the mind of an American citizen, a citizen of the United States of America, how this kind of mass killing could take place. We cannot think of any reason for it, other than these facts that are being developed.

Now, we know that in 1939, when the Russians crossed the Polish border, we don't know of any reason for that at the time it happened. They just moved in, as you know.

Now, this testimony, and the investigations of this Katyn business, have developed a lot of facts showing capture, imprisonment, mistreatment of Polish officers, with no reason we can understand. Then all of these facts that you tell us and other witnesses tell us, and the investigations have developed, show a pattern, an object. So it begins to look to us as though this was a plan. "Genocide" is the word used now; that the Russians had in mind taking over, acquiring, annexing Poland or any part of it they could get in a deal with the Germans, later fighting them and taking them all. And the NKVD moved in.

I made a point in your examination of pin-pointing the NKVD, as you noticed, as contrasted to regular army troops. Knowing that they were going to take over Poland, knowing it would be important to accelerate or speed up its propagandizing, the Katyn massacre, 75 percent of the troop officers being reservists, and reservists generally in any nation being doctors, lawyers, businessmen, professors, the middle class and the intelligentsia, the backbone of the economy and

the politics and the government of a nation, appears in the light that they destroyed the reserve officer corps for the purpose of accelerating and aiding their conquest of Poland.

Had that occurred to you, that kind of thinking?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. Absolutely. By destroying the intelligent people in a nation, they try to facilitate the taking over of a country. Because it is much easier for the rule over a people without intelligentsia, without brain, than to rule over a people with some class there which has been ruling, directing the nation.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that the kind of thinking that would produce this atrocity at Katyn, other than mere frightfulness and mere terror, more than just that?

Colonel GROBICKI. Absolutely.

In the first place, they tried to convert us to communism. After they saw they could not do it, then they said, "These are people that are not only not necessary for us but are dangerous for us. Therefore, we will annihilate them. Because if there are less intelligent men of the higher class in Poland, it will be easier for us to rule the masses."

Mr. FLOOD. And our experiences and the information we have from behind the iron curtain down through the years since Katyn, do you feel indicates a pattern, a continuing conspiracy, a continuity of thought and conduct, predicated upon the same object and purpose with other nations as well?

Colonel GROBICKI. Absolutely. They did the same in Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Czechoslovakia, and especially in the Baltic States. The Baltic States lost, I think, about 40 percent of their full upper classes.

Mr. FURCOLO. From your own observations, this apparently was a very carefully calculated and cold-blooded plan to deprive Poland not only of her best leadership but also of every effective means of resistance.

Now, would you be willing to say that that had been done to some extent because through the terrible crimes at Katyn a great part of the potential leadership and the most effective leadership of the Polish people had been, in effect, destroyed and done away with?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. When you got to this camp where they were organizing this Polish army, and all these people came from various camps, you were all naturally concerned about the disappearance and the nonreporting of some ten or twelve thousand Polish officers?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Naturally, many questions were asked of you in the various camps; is that right?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Was it the general consensus of opinion of everybody questioned that those ten or twelve thousand Polish officers were executed by the Russians? Was there any other belief by anybody?

Colonel GROBICKI. At this time, we thought they might have been in Siberia, in Franz Joseph land, or somewhere. We did not think they were shot. We thought some individuals might have been shot by some small groups, but we did not think of such a colossal massacre. We only realized it after the first news we got in the Middle East, after the Germans found the graves.

Chairman MADDEN. In furthering the question of Congressman O'Konski, did you see the names of the people that were killed or buried at Katyn?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. There is a full list of about 4,000 names of the corpses, that were identified.

Chairman MADDEN. Men that you knew that were in the prison camps with you?

Colonel GROBICKI. Yes. And one thing which startled us was that in Egypt, in 1943 and 1944, when we read the lists of the men, of the corpses, which were brought out of the graves, we found out that they were put into the graves in such groups as they were leaving Kozielsk.

For instance, such a group as you men here have, left Kozielsk; and they were taken from the grave quite in the same group. This startled us very much, and at once we said, "They were shot just a short time after they left Kozielsk. Otherwise it was not possible to put them together in such a way."

Chairman MADDEN. Colonel, after this testimony of yours today, which was very factual and enlightening, from your opinion, who would you say was responsible for killings or massacre at Katyn.

Colonel GROBICKI. From my point of view, I have no slightest hesitation to say that it was the Soviet.

Chairman MADDEN. We want to thank you, and I speak for the whole committee when I say this, for coming down here from your business up in Canada and spending this time to present your testimony; your evidence was indeed very valuable, and you not only have the thanks of this committee but the thanks of the Congress and the thanks of the free countries of the world generally for presenting this evidence here today.

Colonel GROBICKI. Mr. Chairman, it is a very happy day for me, because I waited 10 years to have the possibility to testify and to say what I said today. I feel it not only is my duty to the free countries of the world to warn them against all these things which happened, but also a duty to my comrades that are now in their graves.

Chairman MADDEN. Thank you.

The committee will now adjourn and reconvene at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

The first witness this afternoon will be Father Leopold Braun.

Will you take the witness chair, please, Father Braun? Will you state your full name, please?

Father BRAUN. Father Leopold Braun, Augustinian of the Assumption, presently stationed in New York City.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearings now being held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Father BRAUN. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Father Braun, it is my understanding that you were stationed in Moscow as the representative of the Roman Catholic Church.

Will you kindly tell us when you went to Moscow, and under what conditions?

TESTIMONY OF FATHER LEOPOLD BRAUN, A. A., NEW YORK, N. Y.

Father BRAUN. Mr. Chairman, could I be allowed to make a short preliminary statement?

Chairman MADDEN. Yes, you may proceed with your statement.

Father BRAUN. I just want to say that I am here of my own volition, and I volunteer very gladly, to help to the extent of my possibility in clearing up the question of the Katyn Forest massacre. I am not representing any church or any body of any kind. I am here purely as an American citizen, as an individual who spent 12 consecutive years in Moscow, and I shall gladly cooperate with the committee to the extent that I can. Thank you.

Mr. MITCHELL. Father Braun, will you tell the committee when and under what conditions you first went to Moscow?

Father BRAUN. I was allowed, as a clergyman, entrance into the Soviet Union, thanks to a religious protocol signed at the time of recognition between President Roosevelt and Maxim Maximovich Litvinov, on the 16th of November 1933.

I entered the Soviet Union as chaplain to the American Catholics who were from that time on to reside temporarily or on a permanent basis in the Soviet Union.

I remained in Moscow from the 1st of March 1934, uninterruptedly, until the 27th of December 1945.

Mr. MITCHELL. With relation to the Katyn massacre affair, it is my understanding that you knew most of the allied press correspondents who were taken to the graves at the time of the Russian investigation. Is that correct?

Father BRAUN. That's right. I knew them.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you know them personally?

Father BRAUN. I knew them all. I don't know if I can recall the names of all the correspondents who were there at the time, but I shall attempt to name those that come back to my memory at the present moment.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you kindly do so, Father?

Father BRAUN. I remember distinctly Bill Lawrence, I think, who was with the New York Times, Ed Aingley, who has now departed this world a short while ago. I think he was with the Chicago Tribune. I don't quite recall.

There was Dick Lauterbach, who departed this world since that time. There was Henry Cassidy of the Associated Press. There was Eddie Gilmore of the AP. I don't quite remember if Myer Handler was there at that time. There was Henry Shapiro from the United Press, Alexander Worth from the Manchester Guardian, Jean Champenois of the former Havas agency, Mr. King of the Reuter's agency, and at the present moment I can't recall any other names.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was James Fleming there?

Father BRAUN. James Fleming was there. That's right.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was his capacity?

Father BRAUN. He was Radio Broadcaster for the CBS, if I recall correctly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Do you remember the name of another correspondent, a Russian name, which I cannot just recollect, who was later expelled from Moscow?

Father BRAUN. Oh, Robert Magidoff was there also.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was Professor Davies of the Toronto Star there?

Father BRAUN. I didn't know him under the name of "professor." I knew him under the name of Raymond Arthur Davies, Toronto Star correspondent, and CBS man for the Canadian Broadcasting System. Incidentally, this last one was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was Mr. Duncan Hooper of Reuter's there?

Father BRAUN. As I recall, he was.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was Miss Kathleen Harriman present in Moscow at the time of this Russian investigation?

Father BRAUN. Most certainly she was present, but not in the capacity of a newspaper reporter, as I recall it.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was Henry Cassidy, the New York Times representative, there?

Father BRAUN. I believe I mentioned him. Yes, he was.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was Henry Salisbury there?

Father BRAUN. Harrison Salisbury, I believe.

Mr. MITCHELL. Ralph Parker?

Father BRAUN. Ralph Parker of the London Times; yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Jean Champernois?

Father BRAUN. Yes, I mentioned him. He was from the Havas agency, later AFI, Agence Francaise Independante.

Mr. MITCHELL. Harold A. King?

Father BRAUN. Of Reuter's; yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Henry Shapiro?

Father BRAUN. Of the United Press; yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Eddie Gilmore?

Father BRAUN. Yes; I named him.

Mr. MITCHELL. Edward Stevens?

Father BRAUN. Ed Stevens, Christian Science Monitor, yes; who wrote a very beautiful book, Pulitzer prize.

Mr. MITCHELL. Father, this committee is also interested in any conversations that you may have had with Ambassador S. Kot, who, this committee understands, was the Polish ambassador stationed in Moscow, from the time of the resumption of relations between Poland and Russia, August 1, 1941, through July 1942.

Could you tell us what discussions you may have had with him in connection with the missing Polish officers or the Katyn affair?

Father BRAUN. Yes, I believe I can. If the Chair will allow me, I will give a short preliminary historical résumé, because there is a question of resumption of diplomatic relations with Poland.

Chairman MADDEN. Just proceed in your own words.

Father BRAUN. Thank you.

On August 23, 1939, Vyacheslav Molotov signed a pact of non-aggression with Joachim von Ribbentrop of the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin. The pact was signed in Moscow. Almost immediately fol-

lowing that, as you will recall, the war started, and Poland was invaded by the German Army.

On the 17th of September of that year, after the collapse, the military collapse, of Poland, Molotov launched a public proclamation saying that he was sending into Poland a detachment of the Red Army "to establish order." I am quoting from his words. From that time on, in that part of Polish territory occupied by the Russian Red Army, the rank and file soldiers of the Polish Army were peacefully disarmed and allowed to return home.

The officers were treated differently. They were picked up and arrested, to the best of my knowledge, piecemeal, some in a body.

Apart from that, the Soviet Government proceeded to evacuate from its section of occupied Poland a sum total of 1,750,000 Poles, civilian Poles. They were brought into Moscow, and they were not allowed to penetrate the city, but they were shunted on railroad tracks outside the capital and sent from there to various points of the concentration and deportation and exile, not particularly and specifically, not exclusively, in Siberia, but a great number were sent to the Kazakhstan.

Chairman MADDEN. What is that?

Father BRAUN. The Kazakhstan, one of the very expanded territorial regions of Russia, bordering on the Caspian and Black Seas.

In that number were doctors, professors, innumerable members and representatives of the clergy, people high up in the social and administrative government of Poland.

Following the pact of nonaggression with Germany, there was a rupture of diplomatic relations, and the Polish Ambassador of the time was forced to leave the U. S. S. R. His name was His Excellency Pan Grzybowski. There were no diplomatic relations between Russia and Poland from that time on.

Mr. MITCHELL. What time was that?

Father BRAUN. Shortly after the collapse of Poland, after the military collapse of Poland. The military collapse of Poland, as you will recall, took place in the weeks that followed the German invasion.

Mr. MITCHELL. What month and year?

Father BRAUN. September 1941—I am sorry, I meant 1939.

Across the street from the church I operated, there eventually arrived a delegation, of course under NKVD escort, of some remnants of the Polish Army. In the number was General Anders, who subsequently commanded the seven divisions of Poles formed on Russian territory, and allowed to be formed only after the U. S. S. R. had been attacked by the Wermacht.

Mr. MITCHELL. Does that place have any name, where they were taken to, these Polish prisoners?

Father BRAUN. It sure does. The place where these Polish officers, a hand-picked few of them, were relegated, under duress, was called the Malay, Lubianka. That is the name of the street on which this building is located. It is only a stone's throw, less than a stone's throw, from the church that I operated in Moscow. In it, was put Anders and a small hand-picked group that turned out to be his chief staff group, after the Poles were allowed to form the first seven divisions.

There arrived in Moscow after that, Stanislaus Kot, who was representing the Polish Government in exile in London, and he resumed diplomatic relations with the Kremlin.

Mr. MITCHELL. About what time?

Father BRAUN. In August, if I recall well, July or August 1941. Because the Soviet Union was attacked, as you know, on the 22d of June 1941.

Now, I know, if you will allow me to continue, please, from direct personal conversations with Stanislaus Kot, the Polish Ambassador, that his greatest preoccupation, and one of the biggest and most important objectives of his mission at that time, was to find out what the Soviet Government had done with a group of Polish reservist officers that had been lost complete track of since the collapse of Poland. He told me personally that he had had successive dealings with Vyacheslav Molotov, with General Antonov. Antonov was the military liaison officer of the U. S. S. R. And Kot, the Polish ambassador, did everything on earth to find out what had become of these Polish officers. Never at any time, and this is important for the committee to know—never at any time did the Soviet Government nor the military liaison give Stanislaus Kot a definite answer. They told him that since General Anders had been allowed to form seven Polish divisions on Soviet soil, they assumed that these Polish officers were among the new divisions being formed.

The Polish ambassador actually became almost mentally ill, obsessed with the idea of finding these Polish officers, of whom he had a list.

He spoke to me of a list, numbering a certain number of thousand of these officers, and at one time they thought perhaps these officers had been relegated to the Franz Josef Islands up in the Arctic Circle. That was never established.

In the meanwhile, there came into Moscow a young Polish officer by the name of Jan Czapski, Jan in Polish meaning John, as you know, John Joseph, but I knew him under the name of Jan Czapski, who was allowed to go through the U. S. S. R. in search of these Polish officers.

In my estimation, and this is the expression of a personal opinion, Jan Czapski was given what is called in vernacular the merry-go-round. He was never allowed to find out what had happened. But, as the search progressed, no progress was being made whatever.

All of a sudden, during the war, Herr Doktor Goebbels of the DNB, Deutsche Nachristen Buro, the German news agency, came forth with a startling broadcast, announcing that several graves had been found in the forest of Katyn.

Chairman MADDEN. Mass graves?

Father BRAUN. Mass graves. But this is according to the German broadcast. Mass graves had been found in a forest area not far from the city of Smolensk, which had fallen into German hands as early as July 1941, less than a month and a half after the invasion.

The Germans claimed that they had discovered thousands of bodies, and that these represented the Polish officers that had been lost track of.

The German Government invited an international investigation, which would be conducted partly by the International Red Cross of Geneva and also with the collaboration of nonbelligerent nations. Because the Poles listened to that broadcast, and because they had

been obsessed with the idea of finding their men, they paid heed to this broadcast, to the extent of finding out what truth there was in it.

Now, it is important for the committee to know that immediately the London Polish Government found out about these graves, they began, of course, to be a little bit excited about it. And that was quite natural. They were looking for their own men. And because they got excited about it and began diplomatic procedures to find out where these people were, immediately Vyacheslav Molotov accused the Polish Government in exile in London of having collusion with the enemy; and on the basis of that assumption, there was a second rupture of diplomatic relations, under the administration of His Excellency Tadeus Romer, who at that time was the Polish Ambassador.

By that time, Stanislaus Kot had returned to London and been replaced by Tadeus Romer. That is what allows me to speak to a certain extent about the Katyn Forest. I was never there myself, but I knew the people who went there at the time, and I knew that Molotov lied to the world when he said that instead of listening to the German broadcast they should have come to him to find out what had happened to these Polish officers. They had been doing it for several months without any success whatever.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was the American Ambassador at the time Ambassador S. Kot, representing the Polish Government, was there?

Father BRAUN. At the time Stanislaus Kot was representing the Polish Government in exile in London, to my recalling, it was Ambassador Lawrence A. Steinhardt, who was Ambassador at the time. This was 1941, when the war started in the Soviet Union.

Steinhardt was in turn replaced by William Harrison Standley, admiral of the United States Navy, ex-Chief of Naval Operations.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know if the American Ambassador ever had any knowledge of these missing prisoners of war?

Father BRAUN. Yes; because in intimate conversations with the Ambassador, we of course exchanged news once in a while, and he had certain indications about these things, but they were not official, because the Soviet Government were systematically keeping mum about the entire question of imprisoned Polish officers.

There is one point which I will ask the Chair permission to elucidate.

The Polish officers were captured not by the Red Army. That thing has to be exploded completely.

The Polish officers were captured by special detachments of the NKVD.

NKVD, as you know, stands for Narodny Kommissariat Vnoutirennix Del.

Mr. MITCHELL. If you speak a little louder, it will be easier to understand, Father.

Father BRAUN. I am speaking of the NKVD, a special detachment of the governmental security in the U. S. S. R., which deals with political prisoners, Politicheski Zakliouchonny.

Nobody who ever falls into the hands of the NKVD, as a general rule, lives to tell his experiences. As a general rule.

Mr. MITCHELL. How do you know that, Father?

Father BRAUN. I know it from direct dealings intimately with the families of victims, thousands of them, that I encountered in Russia during my 12 years.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many American citizens were there in Moscow in 1941, in July 1941?

Father BRAUN. I cannot give you an exact answer as to the number of Americans who were in Moscow in 1941. At the beginning of the war, in 1941, the American Embassy had its normal staff, approximately 35 to 40 people. There were no wives, as I recall, very few wives, in Russia at the time. This took in the Ambassador, the counselor of the Embassy, the Navy, military, and air attachés, and the code clerks and the various people connected with the consular section of the Embassy. These were the American Embassy people.

Now, there were a few, a handful, of American engineers who were carrying on industrial jobs, and of course there was the body of the Anglo-American press, very few residents in Moscow.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was there an American general by the name of John R. Deane in Moscow in 1941?

Father BRAUN. To my knowledge, Gen. John R. Deane—which is his correct name—who eventually turned out to be Chief of the American supply lend-lease mission, did not arrive in Moscow that early. He must have come in in 1942, if I recall correctly. I am not sure about that, but we did have an MA, a military attaché, there, previous to General Deane's arrival.

Mr. MITCHELL. Of your own personal knowledge, did you ever have information, or did you have any conversations with General Deane, with respect to the missing Polish prisoners of war?

Father BRAUN. Only in a casual manner. Never was the question officially discussed.

I had, of course, no official capacity to discuss the question in the first place.

Mr. MITCHELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. FURCOLO. Father, as I understand it, the Russians have given different answers as to what happened to these Polish officers and men, ranging from the fact that they didn't know what happened to them, or they may have left through Manchuria.

Father BRAUN. No, never. The answers were all identical. One stereotyped answer was given at all times. At no times were the Poles informed that these Polish officers might eventually escape through Manchuria. That is a thing unheard of in the Soviet Union. No one escapes the Soviet Union that easily.

Mr. FURCOLO. Here is what I am getting to, Father. One of the answers, at least, that I read some place was that they had accounted for the various Polish prisoners. But I read also that there was a bulletin that was issued on April 18, 1943, a Soviet Information Bureau bulletin, which said:

There were some former Polish prisoners in 1941 in the area west of Smolensk. They fell into the hands of the Germans.

That comes from page 31 of the book Rape of Poland, by former Premier Mikolajczyk.

Father BRAUN. Stanislaus Mikolajczyk, yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Now, here is what I am interested in. If at one time the Russians indicated they had no knowledge of that, and later on they issued a booklet, that would contradict their statement, and I am wondering whether you ever heard of such an information bulletin, of April 18, 1943, or if you ever saw a copy of the Tass bulletin of April 18.

Father BRAUN. No; I don't recall having seen any such bulletin. But I will tell you this: that following the German invasion of Russia, the confusion inside the U. S. S. R. was so terrific, to give you an example of it, that supply trains, on the strength of the pact of non-aggression between Ribbentrop and Molotov, Soviet supply trains, were still leaving the U. S. S. R. in the direction of Germany after the Germans had begun their occupation of the U. S. S. R. That is an example of the confusion that existed inside the country.

Now, let me amplify that, please, by telling you this. The innumerable concentration camps that exist in Russia felt a lot of that repercussion. They felt a lot of that confusion. Because the Soviets were extremely busy transporting from one region to another the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners that they had when the Germans entered Russia, to get them out of the German hands and to get them away deep into the country.

And, as you know, they had a lot of territory to run on and a lot of places to hide in.

There may have been certain instances where one or two or three or small groups of Polish officers might have escaped in the confusion that followed the German invasion; yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. No. What I was interested in, and I think you have answered the question by saying you have never seen any such bulletin, was brought out for this reason.

If, on the one hand, the Soviets had said at one time that they did not know anything about this, and then later on they had issued the bulletin, it would at least tend to contradict this story. That is what I was interested in.

The other question I would like to ask you is this: You probably have heard or read, as I have, in various books, of a conversation that is reported to have taken place between Marshall Stalin and some representatives, apparently, of the Polish Government and the Polish people, when they were looking for these Polish officers. And Stalin is supposed to have made a telephone talk, and then later on the report was that at some time previously, Stalin is supposed to have written out the word "liquidate" with respect to the Polish officers, which meant one of several things.

Now, do you know, or have you heard anything about that, from anyone who was present?

In other words, what I am driving at is that I know I have seen books about that, but I am anxious to find some witness who talked to some one there or who was there himself.

Father BRAUN. No; I have no direct or indirect knowledge with regard to that matter whatever.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to pursue that line of questioning. Did you know General Sikorski while you were in Moscow?

Father BRAUN. I only saw him, without meeting him personally.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were there in 1941, in December?

Father BRAUN. Indeed, I was. Never left the city at all.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know that on December 23, 1941, General Sikorski conferred with Stalin with regard to the whereabouts of these Polish deportees?

Father BRAUN. I know only indirectly, through the chaplain general of the Polish Army, who was the Bishop Joseph Gawlina, that Marshal Sikorski had had direct conversations with Stalin with regard to the

Polish officers, but had had no better results as a consequence of these conversations than his predecessors or the Ambassador or anybody else officially charged with finding out where these officers were.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. We might state for the record that General Sikorski has since, on September 23, 1941, when he conferred with Stalin on the whereabouts of these prisoners, told this:

When he stated that it was rumored that these prisoners were being kept in the extreme north, Stalin replied, "That is impossible. They have fled."

Where could they have fled to?

Well, to Manchuria. They have certainly been released. It is just that they have not yet arrived. The Soviet Government has no reason for detaining even a single Pole.

Have you ever heard that statement made?

Father BRAUN. I never heard it made that way. I heard from general hearsay that conversations of that nature had taken place between Generalissimo Stalin and Marshal Sikorski, but I didn't know it had been worded that way.

And I still maintain my assertion, my declaration, that it is physically impossible for anyone to get out of the hands of the NKVD in Russia.

Mr. FURCOLO. Father, I would not want to have you feel that the members of the committee were perhaps questioning what you said. I think what these questions are intended to indicate is perhaps that what the Soviet Government had said would indicate one thing one time and another thing another time. I more or less share your views as to the NKVD.

Father BRAUN. I understand that you do. Because you must take not with a grain of salt but with a mountain of salt words coming out from the mouth of Stalin. It is time to realize that little piece of wisdom now. If he said it, it doesn't necessarily mean that it is true.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Father, at the time that this Polish Army was being organized, the seven divisions, or right before that, prior to that, when these questions were being raised, of the Russian Government, as to the fate of these missing Polish officers, at that time according to your recollection was there considerable consternation in Russia as to the success of the German drive, that something might happen to them? Was there considerable consternation at that time as to the outcome of the war?

Father BRAUN. In the layers of the Russian population, do you mean?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes.

Father BRAUN. Not quite so much in the Russian population, but there was a great deal of concern manifested, naturally, in that part of the population of Polish origin. And that is quite understandable.

Mr. O'KONSKI. At that time, in the formation of those armies, Russia was really more or less in a position where they wanted military help, were they not?

Father BRAUN. I should say they were.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Therefore, if at that time they could have produced these 12,000 or 10,000 missing Polish officers, they were in a psychological position at that time where they should have done so, because they needed the help.

Father BRAUN. As far as cannon fodder is concerned, yes. As far as directing heads and influential officers are concerned, I don't quite

agree with that, because it was always the policy of the Soviet Union in its general attitude of genocide of potential enemies to do away with the heads. They decapitated the heads of the nations that they tried to absorb.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you any idea, Father, where that chaplain bishop of the Polish Army who had a conversation with Stalin might be today, if he is alive?

Father BRAUN. The chaplain bishop who had a conversation with Stalin? Well, the one I referred to had a conversation with Marshal Sikorski.

Mr. FLOOD. Oh. You do not know whether or not that Polish chaplain had a conversation with any Russians in Moscow?

Father BRAUN. Yes, he did have, a whole series of conversations with Russians in Moscow, but not on an official level.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have any idea if he is alive today?

Father BRAUN. Yes, very much.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know where he is?

Father BRAUN. Yes, he is at the Via Botteghe Oscure in Rome at the Church of Santa Susanne. I don't know if it is Santa Susanne or Santa Clara. At any rate, it is the Polish national church of Rome. He has been stationed there ever since.

Mr. FLOOD. Because of your calling, I do not want to get you involved in any political discussions here this afternoon, and if I seem to, just stop talking, which you would do anyhow, I am sure.

We have difficulty in trying to understand how any people would commit such a heinous offense as this thing was; or is; outside of sheer frightfulness, or terror, for some purpose. And having been so long in Moscow, and knowing the Soviet, the Bolsheviki, and the NKVD generally, maybe you can tell us: Why would they do this thing at that time to these officers?

Father BRAUN. What I will say now, of course, is a matter of personal opinion.

Mr. FLOOD. Entirely.

Father BRAUN. But it is based on what you just said yourself, on my 12 years of uninterrupted stay in Russia. I have seen them, these Soviet NKVD, act with equal ruthlessness with regard to their own people. All the more so will they act in a similar manner with people whom they consider as a potential enemy. I have seen, during the purges of 1936 and 1937, under the administration of Comrade Yezhov, for example, NKVD, succeeded by Yagoda, also NKVD, Beria's predecessor—I have seen the Russians do away with their own people in the most unthinkable cold-blooded manner that you can think of. And for me it is no cause for surprise to see them act in a similar manner with people whom they want to absorb in any case.

Don't forget what the clauses of the pact of nonaggression were between Ribbentrop and Molotov. And having in the Soviet Union the concentration camps that they do, writing off the lists of the living thousands of people, and thinking nothing of it, it is a very small matter, a very small matter, for them to act likewise with a group of influential Poles who were doctors, lawyers, professors, teachers, clergymen, and people of organizational power in Poland, to do away with them. That is part of their general plan of genocide.

Mr. FLOOD. Had you been in Moscow or in Russia any place during the years of the Cheka? Were you there that early, before their successors came in? They changed the name generally.

Father BRAUN. They sure did.

Mr. FLOOD. But under the other name, were you there?

Father BRAUN. I entered Russia when the former OGPU was in existence.

Mr. FLOOD. It started with the Cheka?

Father BRAUN. It started with the Cheka. Then it became the OGPU, then NKVD, and in 1946 MVD. And the Russians keep saying, "The more it changes, the more it's the same thing."

But nevertheless, I was there all the time from 1934, when they changed the name from OGPU to NKVD. Yes, I was.

Mr. FLOOD. And this concept, this pattern typical of this kind of police work, was a continued pattern, a continued course of conduct, during the years you were there?

Father BRAUN. It is a prototype to which they adhered without any reservation or restriction. It carries on. The only change is in the amplification and development of the methods. They also are using electronics, you know, and a few other things in their police work, and they also use machine guns, and whatever science develops they apply to their torturing methods, of course.

Mr. FLOOD. And from that time, meaning the time of the Katyn incident, and from your time, which was before Katyn, down until the present time, is there indicated by what we know and/or have heard that the Soviet are continuing the same pattern, the same continuity of conduct, in the captive nations or the satellite nations as was perpetrated in Poland, without declaration of war, when they crossed the border into Poland?

Father BRAUN. Undoubtedly the answer is in the affirmative. Yes, most emphatically yes. And to amplify your own statement, I will tell you that 2 weeks before the war started in the Soviet Union——

Mr. FLOOD. What war?

Father BRAUN. The war in Soviet Russia, 2 weeks before June 22, 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Before the Russo-German war?

Father BRAUN. Before the Russo-German war. Two weeks before that time, 36,000 Lithuanians were taken out of their homes—this is in one of the Baltic countries, as you know—were taken out of their homes, the cream of the population, and sent into Siberia, and the Kazakhstan—in peacetime.

Mr. FLOOD. That is before the German hostilities broke out?

Father BRAUN. Exactly. But it is part of the genocide program.

Mr. FLOOD. We have had witnesses indicate, and of course you know, that at the time the Russians crossed the Polish border, while the Poles were fighting the Germans in the west, and moved toward the German troops, these atrocities, the Katyn incident, these imprisonments, these cruelties, this arresting wholesale of intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie, officers corps, of the Poles, all through eastern Poland, where the Russians were moving, continued. That pattern was followed, you say, in the Baltic provinces about the same time?

Father BRAUN. Antecedent to that. It had already been started. The operation of that program began before.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in Moscow during this period?

Father BRAUN. I never left the city, even during the siege.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there anything in your conversations with any Russian which indicated to you that they expected the Germans to attack them in July or 1951?

Father BRAUN. Most assuredly.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes?

Father BRAUN. Yes. The answer is yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there anything in your conversations or your analysis of the Russian scene, drawing upon your experiences, which would indicate to you that the Germans jumped the gun on the Russians and that if the Germans had not struck, the Russians were going to?

Father BRAUN. In a certain way, the Russians jumped the gun on the Soviets. I am establishing the distinction here between the Russians and the Soviets. And here is my basis for arriving at that conclusion.

After the 17th of September 1939, when the Red army invaded Poland, there came a time when the Red army came nose to nose with the Deutsche Wermacht, the German Army. The Soviets trusted the Germans so much that they evacuated part of the common frontier territory to the depth of 40 kilometers, I would say approximately 25 miles. They evacuated that territory entirely and began forthwith establishing military fortifications in anticipation of the German attack. And through that area, a few Poles managed to escape. They were accepted in a friendly manner by the Germans. But from that empty territory that resulted from that sudden evacuation—I mean, these people were taken lock, stock, and barrel out of their houses overnight. This is where the 1,750,000 Poles came from.

Mr. FLOOD. And you feel that this action of the Russians at Katyn, if this was done by the Russians at Katyn, was an incident in an overall plan of annexation of Poland? And this was part of what we now call the practice of genocide, to eliminate whatever resistance would be most likely to retard the annexation? This was a liquidation process, and the Katyn massacre is merely one phase of a whole general scheme? Is that correct?

Father BRAUN. Decidedly so. Furthermore, the Chair and the committee probably like to know another trick that the Soviets pulled off in that general evacuation of these three quarter million Poles. They gave them the choice of two things. Either 2 years in political imprisonment, or the acceptance on the spot of a Soviet passport, whereby they were requested to renounce their Polish nationality.

I saw with my own eyes passports given out by the Soviet Government to these Poles, who had to accept them willy-nilly, who received passports antedated 1935 and '36; so that later on, when the Lublin government was established, and they came to a treaty allowing Russians living in Poland to return to Russia and vice versa, Poles living in Russia to return to Poland, many of these evacuated Poles went to the so-called Polish Embassy in Moscow, thinking they would get a ticket back home where they came from, where they belonged. They were asked to show their passports, and they had these fake, phony, artificial passports given them by the NKVD. And the Poles were told, "What business have you got coming into this Polish Embassy? You are not a Pole. You are a Russian."

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have any idea, and if you do not, I would like to have it on the record at this point, of the total population in round numbers of the Republic of Poland in September of 1949?

Father BRAUN. The entire nation?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Father BRAUN. Approximately 34 to 36 million.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have any idea from all causes, what the loss was at the end of the war to that population, in round numbers?

Father BRAUN. Of killed, you mean?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Father BRAUN. Some say seven, others eight, others nine.

Mr. FLOOD. Nine what?

Father BRAUN. Million. Of killed. You must also consider a loss for Poland of the number of Poles who were taken out of their homes and brought into Russia against their will.

Mr. FLOOD. I am speaking only of casualties in the category of dead.

Father BRAUN. I see. Well, I would imagine it would run up to that, about.

Mr. FLOOD. You spoke of the Lublin government.

Father BRAUN. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you identify for our record the Lublin government, at that time?

Father BRAUN. You mean nominally identify it?

Mr. FLOOD. As distinguished from the Republic of Poland, in September 1939; as distinguished from the London free Polish Government; as distinguished from the existing regime. What was the Lublin government?

Father BRAUN. As distinguished from the existing regime, Mr. Chairman, I don't think there is much difference between the Lublin government and the existing regime.

The Lublin government, as everyone knows, is the puppet government installed by Stalin, after the throwing overboard, shall I say, of the true Polish Government in exile that had been forced to go to London and was operating from there.

The Lublin government, today, is not recognized by the Polish people as being their true government.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Father, the genocide at Katyn was, then, according to your knowledge, and on the basis of your 12 years in Russia, one of a series? They had already completed one genocide in Lithuania before that time. They had completed another in Estonia. They had completed another in Latvia.

Father BRAUN. Not with the same violence. There were no mass graves discovered, to my knowledge, of Lithuanians, Latvians, or Kerelians or Lithuanians.

Mr. O'KONSKI. They were more in the category of deportations, were they not?

Father BRAUN. Yes. And I believe you will agree with me that that general consideration enters into the concept of genocide. Because people who are put into a concentration camp in the U. S. S. R. under NKVD or MVD government are stricken off the books of the living. And what is called in Russian the Michelnik is the only one answering for their disappearance.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, they merely stepped up the tempo and the mercilessness of their executions, but they have followed a similar pattern of breaking down the opposition in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, before they started on Poland. Is that not right?

Father BRAUN. That would be my deduction from the facts as I understand them.

Mr. FURCOLO. Father, I had one more question. I do not know whether you can help us on this or not. I was trying to find someone who perhaps can. I want to read you very briefly from a book, *Death at Katyn*, page 46. It refers to a conversation that took place apparently in the early part of 1941. I had better read you this introductory part first.

Several months before the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict, the Bolsheviks transferred a number of Polish staff officers, including Colonel Berling, to a new camp, and suggested to them that they organize a Polish army to fight against the Germans. Berling was willing, in principle, to accept the proposal. However, he set one condition: such an army was to include all officers and men, irrespective of their political creed. A conference was held with Beria and Merkulov.

You know Beria from the NKVD.

"Of course," they agreed; "Poles of all political parties will be able to join the Army." "Well," said Berling, "we have excellent army cadres in the camps of Starobiel'sk and Kozielsk." Whereupon Merkulov replied with some constraint: "No, not these men; we have made a great blunder in connection with them."

Then it goes on to say:

Three witnesses have testified to hearing this remark of Merkulov.

Now, Father, what I have been interested in finding, and I do not want you to mention any names here at all: Do you have any knowledge either of such a conversation, or, if you yourself do not have any personal knowledge, do you perhaps, without mentioning any names, know of any one who might be alive today and available to this committee who heard or could testify to such a conversation?

Father BRAUN. I believe I do. But you asked me not to give any names, and I refrain from doing so.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all I want to ask you.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Father, one of the purposes of this investigation of the Katyn Massacre is to eventually get to the American people the lessons or the implications which it might bring to us as United States citizens. And along that line, I want to ask you a question which will affect the citizens here, and yet you may not be able to answer it offhand. If you cannot, I would as soon have you not answer it, and think about it, insofar as it affects our people here, and on the basis of your 12 years' experience in Russia. In 1933, when we recognized Russia, one of the stipulations of said recognition, according to a letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Mr. Litvinov, in 1933, was the question that they expected the following:

We will expect that religious groups or congregations composed of nationals of the United States of America in the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be given the right to have their spiritual needs ministered to by clergymen, priests, rabbis, or other ecclesiastical functionaries who are nationals of the United States of America.

In the light of your experience, has that part of the treaty been kept? Or would you prefer not to answer that question?

Father BRAUN. On the contrary, I am very glad you came forth with the question. That treaty has been to a certain extent observed with a certain amount of rigor. But there is a sad interruption that occurred in 1950, when the American chaplain officially named to Moscow, who had an official entrance visa stamped with the Soviet Embassy approval, had that visa unilaterally canceled by the Soviet Embassy here in Washington, and was not allowed to return to his

post for a period of 11 months approximately; and for the period of that time, the American people, that is, of the faith that I have the honor of representing outside this court here, were damaged you might say by the nonapplication of that treaty for that period of time.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, insofar as representation of the Americans by an ecclesiastical representative of their own nationality is concerned, that act really abrogates the treaty.

Father BRAUN. It does not abrogate it. It interrupts it.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Do you suppose, Father, that there is a certain connection between the murders at Katyn and the murder of our American boys in Korea, or is it just a happenstance that the circumstances surrounding each appear similar?

Father BRAUN. I don't know whether that question has a direct bearing on Katyn, but the procedure employed is very similar.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Father, when you were in Russia in these 12 years, did you in Moscow ever come across the name of Boleslav Bierut?

Father BRAUN. Boleslav Bierut. Yes; indeed.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Where was he when the Germans attacked Poland?

Father BRAUN. As far as I recall, he was one of the secret emissaries of the Comintern, which is now called the Cominform, which has never been dissolved, operating in Moscow.

Mr. O'KONSKI. During all this time that this genocide was going on of the Polish nationals, Boleslav Bierut, the present President of Poland, was in Moscow helping the Russians carry on this genocide of the Polish nationals; is that correct?

Father BRAUN. To my knowledge; yes. To my knowledge.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, the present President of Poland had a direct hand with the Russians in this criminal genocide that was going on?

Father BRAUN. As far as I can understand; yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did you ever come across the name of Klement Gottwald in Moscow?

Father BRAUN. Oh, heavens, yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did you ever come across the name of Togliatti, from Italy?

Father BRAUN. Oh, yes, Togliatti, and Anna Pauker of Rumania, and Earl Browder and William Z. Foster of the United States.

Mr. O'KONSKI. During all this time these people were in Moscow helping carry on the genocide program and being schooled in the art of going in there and taking over after the war was over; is that correct?

Father BRAUN. They were not permanently in Moscow. The last time those people were together in Moscow was for the Seventh World Congress of the Cominform in the summer of 1935. That was the last world conference on the record. Earl Browder was there, and William Z. Foster was there.

Mr. O'KONSKI. But particularly with respect to Poland, it should be known, and the world should know, that the present President of Poland was in Moscow, that he never helped Poland fight the Germans, that he never helped Poland fight the Russians when they came in from the other side. He was in Moscow helping the NKVD deport these people and helping the acts of genocide among these people, and he is at the present time the President of the country of Poland.

That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Father Braun, the date of discovery of the mass graves at Katyn was April 13, 1943. Previous to the discovery of these graves, representatives of the Polish Government in exile, representatives of General Anders, and representatives of his army, had conferences with Stalin and the Russian leaders regarding the disappearance of thousands of Polish officers. Is that not true?

Father BRAUN. Very true.

Chairman MADDEN. For how long a period of time were those conferences continuing previous to April 13, 1943, when the Nazis announced the discovery of the graves?

Father BRAUN. To my knowledge, Mr. Chairman, the Polish Government in London never ceased looking for these people.

Chairman MADDEN. I know, but I am talking about previous to April 13, 1943, when the Germans announced the discovery; these conferences and requests from the Soviet as to the whereabouts of these men had progressed then for a year and a half approximately; is that not true?

Father Braun. Very true.

Chairman MADDEN. And how long, how many days, after the German radio announced the discovery of these graves did the Moscow radio announce their disappearance?

Father BRAUN. I am unable to recall the lapse of time that took place between.

Chairman MADDEN. I mean, was it a day, a week, a month, a year, after the Germans announced the discovery of these Katyn graves?

Did not Moscow announce that these Polish officers might have been murdered by the Germans during their occupation of that particular territory around Katyn?

Father BRAUN. It was later in the year, several months after, that the Soviet government made any official statement.

Chairman MADDEN. I know, but there was an announcement over the radio immediately afterward. Is that not true?

Father BRAUN. To my recalling, yes; but I don't remember how many days.

Mr. FURCOLO. They spoke about archeological excavations at the time, I think, if that is any help.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Out of that group of names I mentioned, Klement Gottwald, Togliatti, and so on, I think I omitted one. Tito was there at that time, too?

Father BRAUN. Broz Tito, yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Along with Dimitrov, the butcher of Bulgaria.

Father BRAUN. And Dimitrov.

Mr. SHEEHAN. One question which I would like to ask you, as a matter of personal opinion: Do you suppose Russia permits anyone to come into her country to study anything, unless they are friendly?

Father BRAUN. I have seen several cases where scientists have been invited to Russia on a purely scientific basis, but where propaganda had a large role to play.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Let us say, maybe, for the sake of argument, there is a labor union man or a religious man. Is he allowed in if he is unsympathetic?

Father BRAUN. Certainly not.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I mean, to study in their universities.

Father BRAUN. As a method of general procedure, the Soviet Government allows into that country people on whom they can rely for propaganda purposes exclusively.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Father, do you believe the Soviets would permit representatives of this committee to go to Moscow to hear the Russian side of the Katyn massacre?

Father BRAUN. Under no circumstances will they do such a thing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to say I do not want to be included in that committee, if it goes.

I would like to ask you, Father: While you were in Moscow, were you acquainted with Mr. Averell Harriman there?

Father BRAUN. Yes, indeed. Mr. Harriman succeeded William Harrison Stanley as American Ambassador.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that was in what year?

Father BRAUN. As far as I recall, it was in 1942, close to 1942, perhaps, that Harriman arrived.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were there at the time?

Father BRAUN. I was. Mr. Harriman made an earlier appearance in Moscow, but not in the capacity of an ambassador.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you knew his daughter, Kathleen Harriman?

Father BRAUN. I knew them very well.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did she have any diplomatic post at the time?

Father BRAUN. To my knowledge, Miss Harriman had no diplomatic post as such.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did she hold office, any office that you know of, in Moscow?

Father BRAUN. I am inclined to think that she was employed in some undetermined manner in the OWI, which was the Office of War Information.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You say you are inclined to think that she was. Do you know whether she was?

Father BRAUN. I don't definitely know whether or not she was officially employed, and if she was, in plain English, on the payroll, if that is what you mean.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What leads you to that conclusion?

Father BRAUN. Well, because she was the Ambassador's daughter, you see.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Other than that, was there anything else about her activity that led you to that conclusion?

Father BRAUN. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right. Now, I believe you testified that you knew of the delegation of foreign correspondents who were taken to the Katyn Forest.

Father BRAUN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did Kathleen Harriman join that group?

Father BRAUN. I know that when the press body was invited to go to the Soviet demonstration, shall we call it, or investigation, the Ambassador's daughter got to know about it and manifested an interest in accompanying this press body there. That I happened to know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything else that you know that you can tell this committee of any value relative to that group that went to the Katyn Forest?

Father BRAUN. Not having been there myself, personally, I have nothing to say that could elucidate that question.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything you know on the basis of any conversations you had with any of the group that went to the Katyn Forest?

Father BRAUN. For example?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, did any of the group indicate to you its conclusions?

Father BRAUN. I know this, that practically every one of the American gentlemen who represented the American press, having returned from this trip—not a single one was convinced of the Soviet demonstration. That I know. I talked to those people directly. But I never talked to Miss Harriman following her trip, and I have nothing to say with regard to her testimony, not having spoken to her directly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is exactly what I wanted to know. You have answered my question.

Mr. O'KONSKI. To proceed a little further, do you know, Father, if officially the American Government, through the Ambassador's office, was asked to designate a representative to go on this trip in an official capacity representing the United States of America?

Father BRAUN. I don't know the answer to that question.

Mr. O'KONSKI. This young lady that went there, then, did not go at the request of the Russian Government to the American Government or at the request of the American Government?

Father BRAUN. I don't know, but I wouldn't think so.

Mr. O'KONSKI. But you think she was employed by the Office of War Information, which I have always heard referred to as the Office of Wrong Information.

Father BRAUN. That is your statement, sir, not mine.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Father Braun, we want to thank you for coming here to testify. Your testimony has been very valuable to this committee. And I might ask, and of course, I do not know whether you are in a position to make a suggestion or a recommendation or not, but considering your long residence and experience over in the Soviet Union, would you have, offhand, any suggestions as to possible witnesses that might be of value to this committee that we have not heard already, Father Braun?

If you have any suggestions along those lines, we would be glad to receive them.

Father BRAUN. Have you contacted Captain Czapski?

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have him just list the names of the individuals he thinks testimony should be received from.

Chairman MADDEN. He probably can give that to the counsel.

Father BRAUN. In a private manner.

Chairman MADDEN. I want to thank you, Father Braun, for coming here. Your testimony has been very valuable, and the committee thanks you.

Father BRAUN. I thank you very much for your courtesy in conducting this hearing the way you did.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Harry Cassidy?

Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. CASSIDY. Henry Clarence Cassidy.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearing now in session will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CASSIDY. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY CLARENCE CASSIDY

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Cassidy, would you kindly tell the committee when and in what official capacity you were sent to Moscow?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. I went to Moscow on August 3, 1940, as AP correspondent, and remained there until August 3, 1944.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you the chief of the AP delegation?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes; I was a AP chief of bureau and also broadcasting for NBC.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you make the trip to the Katyn Forest graves at the time of the Russian investigation?

Mr. CASSIDY. I did.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Cassidy is probably one of the most outstanding newspapermen in the country. I might even say internationally.

I think the committee might be interested in just hearing his narrative without interruption as to what led up to this trip and what took place, and any information he might have to give the committee.

Mr. CASSIDY. All right. Yes.

It was a standard performance, there had been a great many trips to the front to occupied cities, to regions behind the lines. This was the first atrocity trip conducted for foreign correspondents by the Russians.

We received notice, as was the usual manner, by telephone call to each correspondent from the press department of the Foreign Office that we were to be taken to Smolensk in Katyn Forest, and that we were to get food together for 2 days, and we were going to take cars and drive there.

As I recollect it, when the notice came from the Foreign Office, several of us were at Spasselhouse, the Embassy residence.

We received notice of the trip. We were with Ambassador Harriman, as I recollect it, when the notice came, and Miss Harriman, herself, expressed interest in going along. That word was conveyed to the press department of the Foreign Office and then we were told that we would not go at the original time fixed, but would go a couple of days later by train, which we were very pleased to hear, because it is a rough ride in winter from Moscow to Smolensk.

We took the train in the evening, as I recollect, in January of 1944, rode overnight to Smolensk, and got there in the morning. The trip was organized, as they always were, in a well organized manner. We took a brief trip around the city, went to the region called Goat Hill, which is Katyn Forest, saw the open graves, saw work being done on the bodies, and then were taken back into town for what was set forth to be a meeting of the Soviet Atrocities Commission investigating the Katyn Forest massacre.

We were shown documents, buttons, personal possessions which we were told had been taken from the bodies in the graves.

We were put back on the train that night, arrived in Moscow the next morning, and wrote our stories. They were held for about 2 days without censorship, and were then released without much change. The stories appeared in the press here, and I am sure they were available to the committee.

That is a very quick and summary report as to what happened. I am not sure as to what part of it interests you, so I think perhaps from here on, if you would like to ask me, what part interested you, I can then answer any questions.

Chairman MADDEN. You may proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like, for purpose of the record, to have you enumerate, to the best of your ability, the other members who went with you on this trip.

Mr. CASSIDY. That is very difficult. I believe you have the names from Ed Angly.

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, yes. Ed Anglely gave me names.

May I run it down just to have it verified by you?

William H. Lawrence, New York Times.

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. James Fleming, CBS.

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Eddie Gilmore?

Mr. CASSIDY. No, Eddie and I worked together. He stayed in Moscow and I went to Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. Eddie Gilmore did not go to Katyn?

Mr. CASSIDY. Did not. He was in Moscow at the time, but did not take this trip.

Mr. MITCHELL. Henry Shapiro?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Harrison Salisbury?

Mr. CASSIDY. No. At that time, Shapiro and Salisbury both worked for UP, so only one or the other would have taken the trip. Salisbury is now back there for the New York Times, but at this time they worked together.

Mr. MITCHELL. Ralph Parker?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. He is with the London Times?

Mr. CASSIDY. Early in the war he was with London Times and New York Times. He has changed his affiliation several times since.

Mr. MITCHELL. Jean Champernois?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Harold King?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Edward Angly?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Lauterbach?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Alex Worth?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Edward Stevens?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. John Melbe?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, but not as a correspondent.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was his official position?

Mr. CASSIDY. I believe John was third secretary of the Embassy and came along as a sort of chaperon for Miss Harriman.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know if he had any official capacity in OWI?

Mr. CASSIDY. Well, I would be inclined to think that as third secretary of the Embassy, he would not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What about Kathleen Harriman?

Mr. CASSIDY. As Father Braun told you, she was working for OWI.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. She was working for OWI?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. We, as correspondents, would visit Spassel-house. The OWI, at that time, had its offices, as I recollect it, in the gallery of this mansion, and Kathleen was working in the office there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did they join you on this trip to Katyn?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. And then when you visited the graves——

Chairman MADDEN. I think we ought to establish the date of your visit as compared with when the graves were originally found.

The graves were discovered on April 13, 1943.

Mr. CASSIDY. By the Germans.

Chairman MADDEN. When was your visit?

Mr. CASSIDY. In January 1944.

Chairman MADDEN. In January 1944?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Your visit was subsequent to these numerous visits that were made to the graves, and under the auspices of the Germans?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. The Germans were in control of this area in April 1943, the Katyn area?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. And when did the Russians first get control of the area where the Katyn graves were discovered?

Mr. CASSIDY. In September 1943, in the counteroffensive.

Chairman MADDEN. September?

Mr. CASSIDY. September of 1943.

Chairman MADDEN. September 1943; yes.

Now, will you proceed, Mr. Cassidy?

Mr. FURCOLO. To clear up the record, Mr. Chairman, I think it should be clear that the Russians had control of that territory before.

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe, for the record, you will find that the Russians got control of this territory on about August 1, 1943.

Mr. FURCOLO. For the second time.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, for the second time. They had the territory from the day war started until July 1941. I believe the Germans moved into the territory in late July or early August 1941.

When you were taken to these graves, did you have the privilege of selecting a body?

Mr. CASSIDY. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is, one found in the graves?

Mr. CASSIDY. No. The performance that we saw was entirely staged. When we drove out to this Goat Hill——

Chairman MADDEN. I did not understand you.

Mr. CASSIDY. It was entirely staged. When we drove out to the Goat Hill area, which is what the Russians called the actual scene of the burials, there was, as I recollect, about four open graves. Russian Red army labor troops were at that moment in the act of taking bodies out of the graves, but we did not see or examine those bodies.

We were taken to a tent, a heated tent, in which Red army doctors were in the process of—I can only phrase this crudely, because it was crude—in the process of slicing the brains of the bodies that were exposed in the tent.

Mr. MITCHELL. You had no opportunity or any member of your party had no opportunity to walk into the grave and select a body?

Mr. CASSIDY. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were any documents taken from any body in your presence?

Mr. CASSIDY. Not that I recollect. I do recollect that the pockets on all the uniforms that we saw had been cut, whether by the Germans or Russians, I do not know. But we saw no documents being removed from uniforms, and we didn't examine them as they were found.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were any documents that might have been shown to you?

Mr. CASSIDY. In a sort of museum that was set up in a building in the town, adjoining a room in which we had seen the Soviet Atrocities Commission at work.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know of any medical commission composed of anything but Russian doctors which may or may not have been taken to these graves during the period September 1943 through January 1944?

Mr. CASSIDY. No; I don't know.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you have an opportunity to interrogate witnesses?

Mr. CASSIDY. As I recollect, we did not do the interrogation but we attended a meeting of the Soviet Atrocities Commission consisting, I must say, of the most distinguished people that could be found in Soviet society at that time, and we listened to them interrogating witnesses.

Mr. MITCHELL. But you people had no opportunity to interrogate these witnesses?

Mr. CASSIDY. No; and my recollection is reinforced by the fact that what we were supposed to be witnessing was not a press conference but the Soviet Commission actually at work. Therefore, I am quite sure that we would have intruded into its operations.

Mr. MITCHELL. Could you testify as to anything with respect to the quality of the shoes, the boots, or overcoats?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes; we all thought that they were in remarkably good condition.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did the members of your commission or press group come to any definite conclusions, either at the time, on the train on the way back, or later among your own group, as to who you think committed the massacre?

Mr. CASSIDY. I will say this, that we were not convinced by what the Russians showed us that the Germans had done it.

On the other hand, we could not be expected to be convinced by what the Russians showed us that the Russians had done it. Therefore, I believe that I, I know, among American correspondents, we came back with the feeling that what the Russians had shown us had not proved their case.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you have the feeling that it was planted testimony or a staged demonstration? I believe you said that.

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many bodies did you actually see—approximately?

Mr. CASSIDY. I think we were told that about 400 had been exposed, but that the Russians estimated there were 11,000 in the area, and that at that time there were still graves that they had not yet found, they thought, and there were graves that had been discovered that had not been opened.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The Russians did estimate the number of bodies in those graves at 11,000?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was in your presence?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So then, that figure corresponds with the figure or estimate given by Colonel Van Vliet and Colonel Stewart?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I believe you referred to this performance, as you called it, as staged. The performance was staged. I think those were the words you used.

Would you explain what you meant by that?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. I think there is a precedent in Russian history, and that is the Pamshunkin village.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you explain that?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. I have forgotten what it is, but the Czarina, I think, was traveling to the south of Russia, and since she was to be convinced that her people lived beautifully, villages were constructed by one of her ministers, Pamshunkin, along the road, so that she would see beautiful scenery. That is an accepted practice, perhaps not only of the Soviet Union, but of Russia of all times, to create illusions.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that is the analogy which you want to bring to this committee, is that correct?

Mr. CASSIDY. That practice was followed in this case.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In this particular instance?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was your conclusion, was it?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that as far as you have been able to determine the conclusion of the others who accompanied you?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you find among the correspondents who accompanied you any who did not come to that conclusion?

Mr. CASSIDY. I don't remember any.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. First of all, let me ask you this: You were not here when Colonel Van Vliet testified?

Mr. CASSIDY. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Or when Colonel Stewart testified?

Mr. CASSIDY. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I might inform you, then, that they testified that when they came to the Katyn graves where they were brought by the Germans, the Germans permitted them to select at random any body in the grave and inspect it. Was that opportunity given you members?

Mr. CASSIDY. It was not. I read that particular testimony, and it struck me as one of the most interesting points of difference between the trip they took and the trip we took.

I would say, though, that as an explanatory factor, we were reporters who might not have been too desirous of getting into this thing, whereas a scientist or military man might handle it a bit differently.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But at any rate, you were not given that opportunity, were you?

Mr. CASSIDY. We were not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The only bodies that you saw were those that the Russians brought to you?

Mr. CASSIDY. The only bodies we examined were those that were already there, and we were brought to them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As compared to the situation before the German committee where the people who were brought to the graves were permitted to select at random any body?

Mr. CASSIDY. Exactly. That was not done in this case.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, how were these Polish officers clothed? Did you find any in overcoats?

Mr. CASSIDY. I remember that was a moot point, and I have forgotten whether they were.

My recollection is that they were not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you note whether any were in winter uniforms? Do you recollect the fact that one of the correspondents asked the Russians how it happened to be that they were not in uniforms?

Mr. CASSIDY. That is too important a point for me to pass on without recollecting, and I frankly don't remember which way the point went.

The question that seemed more to the point to some of us, at the time, was the question of the boots.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes; I will get to that.

Now, do you want to explain the question of the boots?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

On the way back, on the train, we discussed what had been presented to us very frankly with the Russian censors and conducting officers, and told them that we had not been convinced by the case they presented. We told them more or less as a joke that if there was any one thing we were shown that would convince us this had been done by the Germans, that all these bodies had boots on, and that they had been killed by the Russians, it would be quite possible that the boots would be removed.

Now, we told them, more or less ribbing them. The fact was that we all realized that this murder, had it been done by the Russians, it would have been done by the NKVD which is quite a different matter than being killed on the battlefield.

On the battlefield, you lose your boots when you lose your life. In this case, it would have been quite possible for the Russians to do it and have the boots remain.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the point I wanted to make. As you probably know, the Russians have made some point of the fact that some of the correspondents—I do not know whom—that were on that trip, made a point of the fact that these Polish officers wore good boots and good clothing; and that if the Russians had done it they would have undoubtedly removed those boots and clothing.

Mr. CASSIDY. It is true that some of us made that point.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But that was said jokingly?

Mr. CASSIDY. It was done perhaps as much jokingly as a form of irritant.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a form of what?

Mr. CASSIDY. Irritant, because we anticipated struggles with the censorship over our stories. But it was not meant as a serious judgment on the merits of the case.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know of any member of your committee that took that position seriously?

Mr. CASSIDY. I do not. In fact, I would say that I know that none took it seriously.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And just as you have pointed out a while ago, your theory is that if it was on the field of battle undoubtedly the Russians would have taken the boots and everything else of value, is that correct?

Mr. CASSIDY. That we have seen; yes. I have seen.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But that from your experience, is not the instance in case of deaths or massacres by the NKVD?

Mr. CASSIDY. That would be my theory. I have never seen any bodies apart from these, executed by the NKVD.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So then-you, yourself, do not consider the fact that these Polish officers had boots and shoes on as indicative of the fact that it was not the Russians?

Mr. CASSIDY. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. O'KONSKI. You made a statement that interested me quite a bit. You said it was more or less of a result of being irritated and anticipating difficulty with the censorship on your story.

In that respect, I would like to ask you, concerning the stories and the findings that you saw at this visit to the Katyn Forest, was your story censored?

Mr. CASSIDY. It was held by censorship for about 2 days, but my recollection is that it was not cut badly, if at all.

Mr. O'KONSKI. But, it was cut?

Mr. CASSIDY. I do not recollect.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You read the story subsequently, since you have gotten back. That did finally arrive in America?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did that more or less fully represent your point of view?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, because the only two points I made in the story were as an objective reporter, A, that we had seen the graves, and had

seen the bodies, and, B, that we were told by the Russians the following things. I drew no conclusions in the story.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That story was censored by the OWI?

Mr. CASSIDY. Certainly not.

Mr. O'KONSKI. By what agency?

Mr. CASSIDY. By the press department of the Soviet Foreign Office.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The Soviet Foreign Office?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. The OWI in Moscow had no censorship function on American dispatches.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That answers my question. Thank you very much.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman Sheehan.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Cassidy, I have a couple of questions I would like to put to you.

No. 1: In your investigation there, while you were there, did they allow you as reporters to roam around and look around, and do whatever you wanted, or was it more or less a closely watched or controlled affair?

Mr. CASSIDY. We stayed in a group because, as we moved around, there were explanations being given through an interpreter. We stayed in the group to hear what we were being told.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Did anybody try to get away?

Mr. CASSIDY. No.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have one other thing. In the papers and so forth that you said they showed you as evidence, were these in a state of good repair or condition, or were they more or less as if they were taken from bodies being in the grave for a while?

Mr. CASSIDY. They were stained, weatherbeaten. Certainly, they would have not shown us anything that would tend to disprove anything they wanted us to believe. It was a fairly convincing looking set of relics that we were shown.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have one other question. After this was all through and you went back to Moscow and you were ready to send out your reports, of course, you did say, I believe, that they gave you the facts and you just reported what they gave you.

Were you allowed to then write whatever you wanted and send it out right away?

Mr. CASSIDY. No. As far as writing what we wanted was concerned, I for one certainly didn't try, and I don't think anybody else did, because as practical reporters we knew what could go through Soviet censorship and what could not, so we did not write anything that we knew would not go through and would antagonize them any more than they were at that point, anyway.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, you practically wrote the statement that they gave you?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. None of your own personal observations?

Mr. CASSIDY. No; except a description of what we had seen.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Now, when you got to Moscow, I assume, as a reporter, you were able, like all the reporters do, to rush out and try to beat everybody to the scoop and get the material out as fast as possible. Did you do that?

Mr. CASSIDY. We all wrote our stories, as I recollect it. We started writing them on the train on the way up. We turned them in,

as was the normal custom then, to the censorship, and waited until they were passed back to us from the censorship.

My recollection is that we had pointed out some of the loopholes in the case that they had shown us.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You pointed this out to the Russians, you mean?

Mr. CASSIDY. To the Russians, in discussing with them the kind of stories we were going to write when we got back.

Thereupon, the text of the Soviet Atrocities Commission report, which was to be released simultaneously with our dispatches, was held up for a couple of days, I suppose to be rewritten, and our dispatches were released when that report was finally ready, and it was then that we got our copy into the telegraph office.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, as I understand the situation, after you got through kidding or talking to those Soviet boys, and showing them where the loopholes were, they probably decided to rewrite it, held it up a couple of days, and allowed you to send it out 2 or 3 days later after they got their versions set?

Mr. CASSIDY. No, I believe our version went when theirs was released.

Mr. SHEEHAN. It went as released?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Mr. Cassidy, the Soviet commission's report referred at one place either to a diary or some newspapers that were supposed to have been found on some of the bodies that were dated as late as 1941, August and September of 1941.

Now, they are supposed to have had that in this exhibit to which you referred.

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did they show that to you?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes; they did.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did they show you more than one paper document that would be dated some time after July of 1941?

Mr. CASSIDY. As I recollect, there was one on which they placed most emphasis, and that was a letter, an unmailed letter.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did they have that under glass some place?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. We did not see these things taken from graves or from uniforms. They were in cases.

Mr. FURCOLO. I understand that. They were already in a glass case somewhere?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. But what I want to know is, did you people see that?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. What did it look like, and how many of such documents were there?

Mr. CASSIDY. There were very few. That was one of the points we made to them in saying we had not been convinced. I recollect one that seemed to be, to them, quite important, and very few others.

Mr. FURCOLO. When Colonel Stewart and Colonel Van Vliet were at Katyn, they, of course, also saw various papers and documents that had been taken from bodies right at that time, and they testified about the odor of such documents that indicated to them that they had just been taken from bodies.

What I want to know is, this paper or document that you people saw, being under glass, was there anything at all about it that would let you associate it in any way with the bodies of the Polish officers? In other words, I am trying to see if you had any sort of test as to whether it was genuine or not. I realize that both sides may have staged it.

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. Well, I believe that they did try to establish the connection between this letter that we saw and a body, because it was signed by a man whose name was on the list of the dead, a letter he had written, I believe, to his wife, and had not mailed.

But we had no way of establishing that it had actually come either from the graves or from a uniform.

Mr. FURCOLO. And was there anything at all, actually, that you were able to see that meant anything to you, other than the boots that you mentioned?

Mr. CASSIDY. No, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman Machrowicz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In connection with the inquiry just made, I want to point again to the lack of similarity between the way your group was treated and the way the other group was treated.

In your instance, as I believe you have testified, you did not see any documents taken from the bodies of any prisoners?

Mr. CASSIDY. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Whereas, Colonel Van Vliet and the others testified that they were permitted to take documents right from the bodies of the prisoners.

Mr. FURCOLO. And even select the body, and this group did not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were aware, were you not, of the fact that between the time that the first committee went there, of which Colonel Van Vliet was a member, and the time you went there, the Polish Red Cross had been working on exhuming these bodies?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And they had exhumed something over 4,000 bodies?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. I would like to say there, on the point that you raised with Father Braun, that almost immediately after the Germans announced the findings of the graves, it was known in Moscow because the clamor immediately arose against the Polish Government in London for having paid heed to the German charges. So it was known in Moscow almost immediately.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes. Now, the point I want to get is this: There were about 4,200 bodies exhumed before you got there. That was the figure that was told to you, is that right?

Mr. CASSIDY. When the Germans had possession of the territory.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is right.

Mr. CASSIDY. That, of course, I would have no way of establishing in Moscow. I was on the other side of a front.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Put it this way. Did you see anything about the condition of these bodies in the graves which would indicate that they had been placed back in the graves?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Explain that to the committee.

Mr. CASSIDY. Of the four open graves I think we saw, one or two of them had the bodies stacked up, like cordwood.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In an orderly way?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. The other two or three were a jumble, as though the bodies had been tossed in. My own impression was that the graves containing orderly bodies had been opened, closed, and opened again, whereas perhaps the ones that were jumbled were being opened for the first time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that these bodies had quite obviously been under the control of whoever it was who was exhuming them and putting them back in order?

Mr. CASSIDY. In the orderly graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that was done during the German's time?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, these documents that were presented to you, you do not know where they came from, do you?

Mr. CASSIDY. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman O'Konski.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The group was there, under German supervision, I think, and selected something like 400 bodies at random so they had 400 opportunities to observe.

Did this supervisory group under which you went permit you to take pictures?

Mr. CASSIDY. I believe the pictures were taken by Red army photographers. But there were no American photographers in the Soviet Union.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did they give you any pictures after the trip was over?

Mr. CASSIDY. That was not the normal process. We did not handle pictures. American news bureaus in Moscow were excluded from the film business and any pictures taken, and there were some, I recollect quite well, would be distributed in the usual way by Self-foto.

Mr. O'KONSKI. But they did not give you any as observers, any pictures?

Mr. CASSIDY. Not that I recollect. I recollect never having received any.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In contrast with the other group, they gave them a full and complete set of pictures of everything they observed.

Mr. CASSIDY. I believe there was a Soviet photo organization of pictures of us at the graves, but we at no time had anything to do with taking them or distributing them.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman Sheehan.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Cassidy, I ask this question in reference to trying to establish or find out the credence that we as American citizens can attach to the copy or to the coming out of Russian dominated areas and Russia itself, in this respect: That when you answered the question before about how you wrote the story, you were careful to state that you put in your story the facts that the Russians told you, No. 1; and, No. 2, you put in your story the things you thought the Russian censorship would pass.

Was that statement right, up to that point?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Therefore, is it then generally true that you, as a very good correspondent, you know you can only get certain things through, therefore we might say that all of the American correspondents in Russian territory are careful not to state the facts as they know them but the things that are given to them, and the things that they know will pass censorship?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. I would say, as a rule, as an absolute rule, that American correspondents in Soviet dominated areas do not tell untruths, that everything they say is true. But it cannot possibly be all the truth.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, just what the Russians want to go out as the truth?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you. It is very good for the American people to know that.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman Furcolo.

Mr. FURCOLO. This committee, of course, has the duty of trying to hear all of the evidence in an impartial and unbiased way.

As nearly as I can determine, from what you and other correspondents who were there saw, when Russia and the Soviets were attempting to justify their position in this matter, and were attempting to show to you evidence that would indicate that these men had been killed when the Germans had control of the territory, I gathered from your testimony that what it all comes down to is that the most they could show you in that light was under glass, some paper bearing a date, when you had no way of knowing where that paper came from, whether it was authentic or not.

Now, is that about what it comes down to?

Mr. CASSIDY. That is so, and I would say that their case had an added disadvantage, and that was that what we were shown by their own admission had been arranged and rearranged so many times that even had they taken documents from bodies in our presence, we could not be convinced that those documents were there originally.

Mr. FURCOLO. Yes. But, of course, you testified that they did not take anything from bodies in your presence. So that their case, as it stood, the best that they could make out as a case in trying to convince you of their side of the story was, in effect, showing you, under glass, paper that you people had no way of knowing where it came from, whether it had just been put there or not.

That is what it comes down to, is it not?

Mr. CASSIDY. They went into their own evidence a good deal farther than that; for example, medical evidence, which I would be in no position to judge, the state of the body, also testimony by not eyewitnesses but secondary witnesses.

Mr. FURCOLO. I am familiar with their case that way, but I am talking now with reference to what they showed you, that you could see and determine for yourself. That seems to me, from your testimony, to come down more or less to one or more documents that you have no way of knowing where they came from.

Mr. CASSIDY. They put much more emphasis on the medical evidence, in other words, the state of the bodies as shown to us was such that they must have been buried at a certain time. Those are things that I couldn't judge, that none of us could judge.

There we were taking their doctors' testimony.

Mr. FURCOLO. No; I am talking with reference to documentary evidence, not the evidence of the bodies themselves.

In other words, I am trying to draw some kind of a parallel that the committee later on will make between documentary evidence that was shown in the examination by Colonel Stewart and Colonel Van Vliet, and the type of documentary evidence that you people saw.

I gather from your testimony that the type of documentary evidence that you people saw, the best that the Russians, apparently, could present to you, I gather, was a couple of these documents under glass that you had no way of knowing where they came from or how they got there.

Mr. CASSIDY. That is correct.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Cassidy, these Katyn graves were discovered on April 13, 1943. How long were you in Moscow previous to the discovery of those graves in April 1943?

Mr. CASSIDY. I arrived there on August 3, 1940.

Chairman MADDEN. You were familiar, as a newspaper man there, with the various requests and conferences that the Polish Government in exile and the representatives of the Polish Government made upon Stalin, Molotov, and the leaders of the Soviet regarding the disappearance of these thousands of Polish officers. Were you familiar with that?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. I will ask you if you remember how long, a day or 2 days, or a week, or a month, whatever it was, after the German radio announced the discovery of these Katyn graves, was it when Moscow announced their theory of the existence of the mass graves?

Mr. CASSIDY. I think that it was as early as the next morning or perhaps a day after.

Chairman MADDEN. Immediately after?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes. But it was not presented in a positive form. It was presented, as I recollect, as a Tass dispatch denouncing the Poles for having—perhaps I am wrong about that time. My first information, as I recollect it, was a Tass dispatch published in Moscow papers, denouncing the Poles for having gone along with an atrocity charged by the Germans to the Russians, which the Russians said had been done by the Germans.

Chairman MADDEN. But as I recollect it, the record shows that the Moscow radio announced or explained the disappearance of these Polish officers who were found in these graves, and accused the Germans of killing them, and this announcement came out of Moscow within 24 hours after the Germans announced these findings of the graves.

Mr. CASSIDY. That is my recollection, too, because, you see, there was a continuing press campaign in Russia then against the investigation that was conducted at Katyn.

Chairman MADDEN. And for almost a year and a half prior to that time, the Moscow authorities said that they knew nothing about the whereabouts of those bodies?

Mr. CASSIDY. That was my understanding as a reporter.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Along those same lines, before the discovery of these graves, you knew, as a journalist, that the explanation given by the Soviet authorities to the Polish Ambassador and to various Polish representatives was either that these prisoners had been released or that their whereabouts was unknown. Is that correct?

Mr. CASSIDY. My earlier recollection was that the Poles were getting no answer whatsoever, and their first efforts were to try to get some answers.

Father Braun's information about that goes beyond what I remember.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did it not occur to you that if they knew that these officers were taken prisoners by Germans, that they would have said so to the Polish authorities sooner than they did?

Mr. CASSIDY. Of course, at this period that you are talking about now, we in Moscow, as I said, the diplomatic corps and the press corps, did not know that these men were dead. The effort then was to find out where were the missing men.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What I want to bring out is the significant fact that the first time that the Soviet authorities informed anyone that these Polish officers were taken prisoner by Germans was the first or second day after the announcement by Goebbels of the finding of the graves?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes; I would consider that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is true, is it not?

Mr. CASSIDY. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Cassidy, the committee wants to thank you for coming here today, and we feel somewhat guilty in insisting upon your presence here because of the value of your testimony and the knowledge that you have of this Katyn incident. We feel guilty for this reason, because it has denied you a trip for your broadcasting company to go over to England and report the crowning of the Queen of England.

Mr. CASSIDY. I will still hope to do that later.

Chairman MADDEN. You made a special sacrifice by coming here today. But if you can still go on the trip, we will all be happy.

I want to announce that during the hearings, Congressman Clemente, of New York, Denton, of Indiana, Canfield, of New Jersey, and Busbey, of Illinois, were here as attending the hearings.

This week is the second period of hearings that this committee has held. The committee will now adjourn and further hearings will be held later on at a date set by the members of the committee.

As time passes, there are additional witnesses and evidence made known to the committee, and we are unable now to determine when the next meeting will be held. But it will be announced at a future date.

So, with that, the meeting is now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:58 p. m., Thursday, February 7, 1952, the hearing was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS, EVIDENCE
AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER OF THOUSANDS OF
POLISH OFFICERS IN THE KATYN FOREST NEAR
SMOLENSK, RUSSIA

PART 3

(CHICAGO, ILL.)

MARCH 13 AND 14, 1952

Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation
of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre



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**SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
FACTS, EVIDENCE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE KATYN FOREST
MASSACRE**

RAY J. MADDEN, Indiana, *Chairman*

DANIEL J. FLOOD, Pennsylvania

GEORGE A. DONDERO, Michigan

FOSTER FURCOLO, Massachusetts

ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, Wisconsin

THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, Michigan

TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, Illinois

JOHN J. MITCHELL, *Chief Counsel*

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THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Chicago, Ill.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a. m., room 247, United States Courthouse, Hon. Ray J. Madden, chairman, presiding.

Present: Representatives Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Furcolo, O'Konski, and Sheehan.

Also present: Representative Kluczynski; John J. Mitchell, chief counsel, and Roman Pucinski, investigator.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might state at the opening that this series of hearings in Chicago is the third in a series of hearings held by this committee. This committee was created by the Congress last September 18, to investigate the Katyn Forest massacre.

I might introduce the members of the committee. On my right is Congressman Flood, of Pennsylvania. Next to Congressman Flood is Congressman Machrowicz, of Detroit, Mich. On my left is Congressman O'Konski, of Wisconsin, and on his left is Congressman Sheehan, of Chicago.

Congressman Dondero, of Michigan was unable to be present at the Chicago hearings, and Congressman Furcolo, of Massachusetts, will be here later today for the hearings.

I might further state that this is the first time in the history of Congress where a committee has been organized or authorized to investigate an international crime committed beyond the borders of our own country. The committee has maintained since its opening hearings a firm desire to hear everyone, including representatives of any organization or the representatives of any nation, who has any factual testimony to offer which will contribute to the solution of the murder massacre of approximately 14,000 Polish officers and civilians in the Katyn Forest in the Smolensk area of Russia during the early phases of World War II.

People have inquired or asked why are these hearings being held at this late date. Let me say that the world in the future will wonder why an effort had not been made by some government or international authority long ago, to officially determine the mass murderers.

They ask "Why Katyn?" There were mass murders, helpless people burned in ovens, wholesale tortures, and other kinds of killings of human beings by both Nazi dictators and Communist dictators. The Nuremberg trials were held. Some of the international criminals have received their penalties. This committee is trying to make an honest effort to assemble all the possible evidence in order that the

responsibility for the Katyn killings can be placed where it rightly belongs.

Our hearings are not anywhere near complete. We will have further hearings before the Congress finally adjourns, not only in this country but also we hope, across the ocean. Since our committee has been organized there have been a great number of letters and information regarding numerous witnesses, approximately 50 to 60, who want to testify regarding the Katyn massacres, in the London, Berlin, and Paris areas, and in other parts of the world. This committee has issued an invitation to the Russian Government to testify and present any evidence about Katyn it may possess. That invitation, as most of you know, was rejected. Nevertheless our committee feels that at any time the Russian Government or the present Polish Communist Government, or any other Nation has any evidence to offer to our committee on solving these mass murders, they are welcome to testify.

If any members of the committee have any statements to make, we would be glad to have them made at this time. If not, we will proceed with the first witness.

At this time I will submit House Resolution 539 to be recorded in the record of this hearing. It is an amended copy of House Resolution 390, Eighty-second Congress, first session.

(H. R. 539 is as follows:)

[H. Res. 539, 82d Cong., 2d sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the second, third, and fourth paragraphs of H. Res. 390, Eighty-second Congress, are amended to read as follows:

"The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the facts, evidence, and extenuating circumstances both before and after the massacre of thousands of Polish officers buried in mass graves in the Katyn Forest on the banks of the Dnieper River in the vicinity of Smolensk, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was then a Nazi-occupied territory formerly having been occupied and under the control of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"Upon completing the necessary hearings, the committee shall report to the House of Representatives (or the Clerk of the House, if the House is not in session) before January 3, 1953, the results of its investigation and study, together with any recommendations which the committee shall deem advisable.

"For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within or outside the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

Chairman MADDEN. I will ask counsel to submit further information for the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of documentation I would like to put on the record and read in open session your letter which represents the committee's letter of invitation to the Soviet Government to testify.

Chairman MADDEN. It will be accepted in the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. The letter is dated February 21, 1952, addressed to His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Chairman MADDEN. The letter will be made part of the record.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1" and is as follows:)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C., February 21, 1952.

His Excellency the AMBASSADOR OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: The House of Representatives of the United States of America on September 18, 1951, unanimously passed House Resolution 390; a copy of this resolution is attached for your information.

This resolution authorizes and directs a committee of Congress to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the facts, evidence, and extenuating circumstances both before and after the massacre of thousands of Polish officers buried in a mass grave in the Katyn Forest on the banks of the Dnieper in the vicinity of Smolensk, U. S. S. R.

This official committee of the United States Congress respectfully invites the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to submit any evidence, documents, and witnesses it may desire on or before May 1, 1952, pertaining to the Katyn Forest massacre.

These hearings and the taking of testimony from witnesses are being conducted in accordance with the rules and regulations of the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

Very truly yours,

RAY J. MADDEN, *Chairman.*

[H. Res. 390, 82d Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the facts, evidence, and extenuating circumstances both before and after the massacre of thousands of Polish officers buried in a mass grave in the Katyn Forest on the banks of the Dnieper in the vicinity of Smolensk, which was then a Nazi-occupied territory formerly having been occupied and under the control of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Upon completing the necessary hearings, the committee shall report to the House of Representatives (or the Clerk of the House, if the House is not in session) before the adjournment of the Eighty-second Congress the results of its investigation and its study, together with any recommendations which the committee shall deem advisable.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to read your letter addressed to Mr. Acheson, Secretary of State.

FEBRUARY 21, 1952.

Hon. DEAN G. ACHESON,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On behalf of the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee, it is requested that the attached note be delivered to the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is further requested that the committee be advised when the letter has been delivered.

Sincerely yours,

RAY J. MADDEN, M. C., *Chairman.*

The CHAIRMAN. That will be made part of the record.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2," and is as follows:)

FEBRUARY 21, 1952.

HON. DEAN G. ACHESON,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On behalf of the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee, it is requested that the attached note be delivered to the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is further requested that the committee be advised when the letter has been delivered.

Sincerely yours,

RAY J. MADDEN, M. C., *Chairman.*

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to read the letter dated February 25 to the Honorable Ray J. Madden from the Department of State.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Reference is made to your letter of February 21, 1952, in which you request the Department to deliver a letter from the Select Committee To Investigate the Katyn Forest Massacre to the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The committee's letter was delivered to the Soviet Embassy at 2:21 p. m. today.

Sincerely yours,

JACK K. MCFALL,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Acting Secretary of State).

Chairman MADDEN. This will be made a part of the record.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 3" and is as follows:)

HON. RAY J. MADDEN,
*Chairman, Select Committee To Investigate the Katyn Forest Massacre,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 25, 1952.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Reference is made to your letter of February 21, 1952, in which you request the Department to deliver a letter from the Select Committee To Investigate the Katyn Forest Massacre to the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The committee's letter was delivered to the Soviet Embassy at 2:21 p. m. today.

Sincerely yours,

JACK K. MCFALL,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Acting Secretary of State).

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read the memorandum from the U. S. S. R. to the Department of State, dated February 20, 1952. This memorandum was in Russian, and it has been translated by the Department of State. It states as follows:

The Embassy is herewith returning Madden's letter transmitted by the Department of State with the text of the resolution of the House of Representatives of September 18, 1952, enclosed therewith, as violating the generally accepted rules of international relations and as an insult to the Soviet Union. The Embassy points out that—

1. The question of the Katyn crime has been investigated in 1944 by an official commission and it was established that the Katyn case was the work of the Hitlerite criminals, as was made public in the press on January 26, 1944.

2. For 8 years the Government of the United States of America did not raise any objections to such conclusion of the commission, until very recently.

In view of this, the Embassy considers it necessary to state that the raising of the question of the Katyn crime 8 years after the decision of the official commission can be solely for the purpose of slandering the Soviet Union and thus rehabilitating the generally recognized Hitlerite criminals.

The above-mentioned report of the official commission on the Katyn crime is enclosed herewith.

That memorandum was merely initialed when it was sent to the Department of State. The attachment was in Russian and consisted of a great number of pages which have been translated and are being made part of this record. This attachment, Mr. Chairman, is the document which was submitted by the Soviets at the Nuremburg trials in support of their allegation that Germans were responsible for the Katyn massacre. Included in this exhibit, Mr. Chairman, are the two documents in their original Russian language.

Chairman MADDEN. They will be accepted as part of the record.

(The letters and translation referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 4" and are as follow:)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

[Translation]

TC No. 48660

T-18/R-XIII
Russian

[Seal of the U. S. S. R.]

No. 12

The Embassy is herewith returning Madden's letter transmitted by the Department of State with the text of the resolution of the House of Representatives of September 18, 1951, enclosed therewith, as violating the generally accepted rules of international relations and as an insult to the Soviet Union.

The Embassy points out that—

1. The question of the Katyn crime had been investigated in 1944 by an official commission, and it was established that the Katyn case was the work of the Hitlerite criminals, as was made public in the press on January 26, 1944.

2. For 8 years the Government of the United States of America did not raise any objections to such conclusion of the commission until very recently.

In view of this, the Embassy considers it necessary to state that the raising of the question of the Katyn crime 8 years after the decision of the official commission can be solely for the purpose of slandering the Soviet Union and thus rehabilitating the generally recognized Hitlerite criminals.

The above-mentioned report of the official commission on the Katyn crime is enclosed herewith.

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

(Initialed) A. P.

WASHINGTON, February 29, 1952.

I hereby certify that the foregoing translation bearing TC No. 48660 was prepared by the Division of Language Services of the Department of State and that it is a true and correct translation to the best of my knowledge and belief.

JOHN W. PERKINS,
Chief, General Section,
Division of Language Services.

MARCH 19, 1952.

№ 13

При этом Посольство возвращает препровожденное Госдепартаментом письмо Мэддена с приложенным к нему текстом резолюции палаты представителей от 18 сентября 1951 года, как нарушающее общепринятые нормы международных отношений и оскорбительное для Советского Союза.

Посольство напоминает, что:

1. Вопрос о катынском преступлении еще в 1944 году был расследован официальной комиссией, и было установлено, что катынское дело является делом гитлеровских преступников, о чем было опубликовано в печати 26 января 1944 года;

2. Против такого заключения Комиссии Правительством США не заявляло никаких возражений в течение восьми лет, вплоть до последнего времени.

Посольство считает, ввиду этого, необходимым заявить, что возбуждение вопроса о катынском пре-

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ступлений через восемь лет после заключения официальной Комиссии может преследовать лишь цели оклеветать Советский Союз и реабилитировать, таким образом, общепризнанных гитлеровских преступников.

При сем прилагается вышеупомянутое сообщение официальной Комиссии о катынском преступлении.

Посольство Союза Советских Социалистических Республик
г. Вашингтон

"29" февраля 1952 года



REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR ASCERTAINING AND INVESTIGATING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SHOOTING OF POLISH OFFICER PRISONERS BY THE GERMAN-FASCIST INVADERS IN THE KATYN FOREST

The Special Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating the Circumstances of the Shooting of Polish Officer Prisoners by the German-Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest (near Smolensk) was set up on the decision of the Extraordinary State Committee for Ascertaining and Investigating Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Associates.

The Commission consists of Academician N. N. Burdenko, member of the Extraordinary State Committee (chairman of the Commission); Academician Alexei Tolstoy, member of the Extraordinary State Committee; Metropolitan Nikolai, member of the Extraordinary State Committee; Lt. Gen. A. S. Gundorov, president of the All-Slav Committee; S. A. Kolesnikov, chairman of the executive committee of the Union of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Academician V. P. Potemkin, People's Commissar of Education of the Russian SFSR; Col. Gen. E. I. Smirnov, Chief of the Central Medical Administration of the Red Army; P. E. Melnikov, chairman of the Smolensk Regional Executive Committee.

To accomplish the task assigned to it the Commission invited the following medico-legal experts to take part in its work: V. I. Prozorovsky, chief medico-legal expert of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R., director of scientific research in the Institute of Forensic Medicine; Doctor of Medicine V. M. Smolyaninov, head of the faculty of forensic medicine of the Second Moscow Medical Institute; P. S. Semenoysky and Docent M. D. Shvaikova, senior staff scientists of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health of the U. S. S. R.; and Prof. D. N. Voropayev, chief pathologist of the front, major of Medical Service.

The special Commission had at its disposal extensive material presented by the member of the Extraordinary State Committee Academician N. N. Burdenko, his collaborators, and the medico-legal experts who arrived in Smolensk on September 26, 1943, immediately upon its liberation, and carried out preliminary study and investigation of the circumstances of all the crimes perpetrated by the Germans.

The special Commission verified and ascertained on the spot that 15 kilometers from Smolensk, along the Vitebsk highway, in the section of the Katyn Forest named Kozy Gory, 200 meters to the southwest of the highway in the direction of the Dnieper, there are graves in which Polish war prisoners shot by the German occupationists were buried.

On the order of the special Commission, and in the presence of all its members and of the medico-legal experts, the graves were excavated. A large number of bodies clad in Polish military uniform were found in the graves. The total number of bodies, as calculated by the medico-legal experts, is 11,000. The medico-legal experts made detailed examinations of the exhumed bodies and of documents and material evidence discovered on the bodies and in the graves.

Simultaneously with the excavation of the graves an examination of the bodies, the special Commission examined numerous witnesses among local residents, whose testimony establishes with precision the time and circumstances of the crimes committed by the German occupationists.

The testimony of witnesses reveals the following:

THE KATYN FOREST

The Katyn Forest had for a long time been the favorite resort of Smolensk people, where they used to rest on holidays. The population of the neighborhood grazed cattle and gathered fuel in the Katyn Forest. Access to the Katyn Forest was not banned or restricted in any way. This situation prevailed in the Katyn Forest up to the outbreak of war. Even in the summer of 1941 there was a Young Pioneers' Camp of the Industrial Insurance Board in this forest, which was not disbanded until July 1941.

An entirely different regime was instituted in the Katyn Forest after the capture of Smolensk by the Germans. The forest was heavily patrolled. Notices appeared in many places warning that persons entering without special passes would be shot on the spot.

The part of the Katyn Forest named Kozy Gory was guarded particularly strictly, as was the area on the bank of the Dnieper, where 700 meters from the graves of the Polish war prisoners there was a country house—the rest home of the Smolensk Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal

Affairs. When the Germans arrived this country house was taken over by a German institution named Headquarters of the Five Hundred and Thirty-seventh Engineering Battalion.

POLISH WAR PRISONERS IN THE SMOLENSK AREA

The Special Commission established that, before the capture of Smolensk by the Germans, Polish war prisoners, officers and men, worked in the western district of the region, building and repairing roads. These war prisoners were quartered in three special camps named: Camp No. 1 O. N., Camp No. 2 O. N., and Camp No. 3 O. N. These camps were located 25 to 45 kilometers west of Smolensk.

The testimony of witnesses and documentary evidence establish that after the outbreak of hostilities, in view of the situation that arose, the camps could not be evacuated in time and all the Polish war prisoners, as well as some members of the guard and staffs of the camps, fell prisoner to the Germans.

The former Chief of Camp No. 1 O. N., Major of State Security V. M. Vetoshnikov, interrogated by the Special Commission, testified: "I was waiting for the order on the removal of the camp, but communication with Smolensk was cut. Then I myself with several staff members went to Smolensk to clarify the situation. In Smolensk I found a tense situation. I applied to the chief of traffic of the Smolensk section of the Western Railway, Ivanov, asking him to provide the camp with railway cars for the evacuation of the Polish war prisoners. But Ivanov answered that I could not count on receiving cars. I also tried to get in touch with Moscow to obtain permission to set out on foot, but I failed.

By this time Smolensk was already cut off from the camp by the Germans, and I do not know what happened to the Polish war prisoners and guards who remained in the camp."

Engineer S. V. Ivanov, who in July 1941 was acting Chief of Traffic of the Smolensk section of the Western Railway, testified before the Special Commission: "The Administration of Polish War Prisoners' Camps applied to my office for cars for evacuation of the Poles, but we had none to spare. Besides, we could not send cars to the Gussino line, where the majority of the Polish war prisoners were, since that line was already under fire. Therefore, we could not comply with the request of the camps' administration. Thus the Polish war prisoners remained in Smolensk region."

The presence of the Polish war prisoners in the camps in Smolensk region is confirmed by the testimony of numerous witnesses who saw these Poles near Smolensk in the early months of the occupation up to September 1941 inclusive.

Witness Maria Alexandrovna Sashneva, elementary schoolteacher in the village of Zenkovo, told the Special Commission that in August 1941 she gave shelter in her house in Zenkovo to a Polish war prisoner who had escaped from camp.

"The Pole wore Polish military uniform, which I recognized at once, as during 1940 and 1941 I used to see groups of Polish war prisoners working on the road under guard. * * * I took an interest in the Pole because it turned out that, before being called up, he had been an elementary schoolteacher in Poland. Since I had graduated from a pedagogical institute and was preparing to be a teacher, I started to talk with him. He told me that he had completed normal school in Poland and then studied at some military school and was a junior lieutenant of the reserve. At the outbreak of war between Poland and Germany he was called up and served in Brest-Litovsk, where he was taken prisoner by Red Army units. * * * He spent over a year in the camp near Smolensk.

"When the Germans arrived they seized the Polish camp and instituted a strict regime in it. The Germans did not regard the Poles as human beings. They oppressed and outraged them in every way. On some occasions Poles were shot without any reason at all. He decided to escape. Speaking of himself, he said that his wife, too, was a teacher and that he had two brothers and two sisters. * * *

On leaving next day the Pole gave his surname, which Sashneva put down in a book. In this book, Practical Studies in Natural History, by Yagodovsky, which Sashneva handed to the Special Commission, there is a note on the last page: "Juzeph and Sofia Loek. House 25, Ogorodnaya St., town, Zamostye." In the lists published by the Germans, under No. 3796, Lt. Juzeph Loek is put down as having been shot at Kozy Gory in the Katyn Forest in the spring of 1940.

Thus, from the German report, it would appear that Juzeph Loek had been shot 1 year before the witness Sashneva saw him.

The witness, N. V. Danilenkov, a farmer of the Krasnaya Zarya collective farm of the Katyn Rural Soviet stated: "In August and September 1941 when the Germans arrived, I used to meet Poles working on the roads in groups of 15 to 20."

Similar statements were made by the following witnesses: Soldatenkov, former headman of the Village of Borok; A. S. Kolachev, a Smolensk doctor; A. P. Ogloblin, a priest; T. I. Sergeyev, track foreman; P. A. Smiryagin, engineer; A. M. Moskovskaya, resident of Smolensk; A. M. Alexeyev, chairman of a collective farm in the village of Borok; I. V. Kutseyev, waterworks technician; V. P. Gorodetsky, a priest; A. T. Bazekina, a bookkeeper; E. N. Vetrova, a teacher; I. V. Savvateyev, station master at the Gnezdovo station, and others.

ROUND-UPS OF POLISH WAR PRISONERS

The presence of Polish war prisoners in the autumn of 1941 in Smolensk districts is also confirmed by the fact that the Germans made numerous round-ups of those war prisoners who had escaped from the camps.

Witness I. M. Kartoshkin, a carpenter, testified: "In the autumn of 1941 the Germans not only scoured the forests for Polish war prisoners, but also used police to make night searches in the villages."

M. D. Zakharov, former headman of the village of Novye Bateki, testified that in the autumn of 1941 the Germans intensively combed the villages and forests in search of Polish war prisoners.

Witness N. V. Danilenkov, a farmer of the Krasnaya Zarya collective farm, testified: "Special round-ups were held in our place to catch Polish war prisoners who had escaped. Some searches took place in my house two or three times. After one such search I asked the headman, Konstantin Sergeyev, whom they were looking for in our village. Sergeyev said that an order had been received from the German Kommandantur according to which searches were to be made in all houses without exception, since Polish war prisoners who had escaped from the camp were hiding in our village. After some time the searches were discontinued."

The witness collective farmer T. E. Fatkov testified: "Round-ups and searches for Polish war prisoners took place several times. That was in August and September 1941. After September 1941 the round-ups were discontinued and no one saw Polish war prisoners any more."

SHOOTINGS OF POLISH WAR PRISONERS

The above-mentioned Headquarters of the Five Hundred and Thirty-seventh Engineering Battalion quartered in the country house at Kozy Gory did not engage in any engineering work. Its activities were a closely guarded secret. What this headquarters engaged in, in reality, was revealed by numerous witnesses, including A. M. Alexeyeva, O. A. Mikhailova, and Z. P. Konakhovskaya, residents of the village of Borok of the Katyn Rural Soviet.

On the order of the German Commandant of the settlement of Katyn, they were detailed by the headman of the village of Borok, V. I. Soldatenkov, to serve the personnel of headquarters at the above-mentioned country house.

On arrival in Kozy Gory they were told through an interpreter about a number of restrictions: they were absolutely forbidden to go far from the country house or to go to the forest, to enter rooms without being called and without being escorted by German soldiers, to remain on the grounds of the country house at night. They were allowed to come to work and leave after work only by a definite route and only when escorted by soldiers.

This warning was given to Alexeyeva, Mikhailova, and Konakhovskaya, through an interpreter, personally by the Chief of the German Institution, Oberstleutnant [Lt. Col.] Arnes, who for this purpose summoned them one at a time.

As to the personnel of the headquarters, A. M. Alexeyeva testified:

"In the Kozy Gory country house there were always about 30 Germans. Their chief was Lieutenant Colonel Arnes, and his aide was First Lieutenant Rekst. Here were also a Second Lieutenant Hott; Sergeant Major Lumert; noncommissioned officer in charge of supplies Rose; his assistant Isikes; Sergeant Major Grenewski, who was in charge of the power station; the photographer, a corporal whose name I do not remember; the interpreter, a Volga German whose name

seems to have been Johann, but I called him Ivan; the cook, a German named Gustav; and a number of others whose names and surnames I do not know."

Soon after beginning their work Alexeyeva, Mikhailova, and Konakhovskaya began to notice that "something shady" was going on at the country house.

A. M. Alexeyeva testified:

"The interpreter Johann warned us several times on behalf of Arnes that we were to hold our tongues and not chatter about what we saw and heard at the country house.

"Besides, I guessed from a number of signs that the Germans were engaged in some shady doings at this country house. * * *

"At the close of August and during most of September 1941 several trucks used to come practically every day to the Kozy Gory country house.

"At first I paid no attention to that, but later I noticed that each time these trucks arrived at the grounds of the country house they stopped for half an hour, and sometimes for a whole hour, somewhere on the country road connecting the country house with the highway.

"I drew this conclusion because some time after these trucks reached the grounds of the country house the noise they made would cease. Simultaneously with the noise stopping, single shots would be heard. The shots followed one another at short but approximately even intervals. Then the shooting would die down and the trucks would drive up right to the country house.

"German soldiers and noncommissioned officers came out of the trucks. Talking noisily they went to wash in the bathhouse, after which they engaged in drunken orgies. On those days a fire was always kept burning in the bathhouse stove.

"On days when the trucks arrived more soldiers from some German military units used to arrive at the country house. Special beds were put up for them in the soldiers' casino set up in one of the halls of the country house. On those days many meals were cooked in the kitchen and a double ration of drinks was served with the meals.

"Shortly before the trucks reached the country house armed soldiers went to the forest, evidently to the spot where the trucks stopped, because in half an hour or an hour they returned in these trucks, together with the soldiers who lived permanently in the country house.

"Probably I would not have watched or noticed how the noise of the trucks coming to the country house used to die down and then rise again were it not for the fact that whenever the trucks arrived we (Konakhovskaya, Mikhailova, and myself) were driven to the kitchen if we happened to be in the courtyard near the house; and they would not let us out of the kitchen if we happened to be in it.

"There was also the fact that on several occasions I noticed stains of fresh blood on the clothes of two lance corporals. All this made me pay close attention to what was going on at the country house. Then I noticed strange intervals in the movement of the trucks and their pauses in the forest. I also noticed that bloodstains appeared on the clothes of the same two men—the lance corporals. One of them was tall and red-headed, the other of medium height and fair.

"From all this I inferred that the Germans brought people in the truck to the country house and shot them. I even guessed approximately where this took place as, when coming to and leaving the country house, I noticed freshly thrown-up earth in several places near the road. The area of this freshly thrown-up earth increased in length every day. In the course of time the earth in these spots began to look normal."

In answer to a question put by the Special Commission—what kind of people were shot in the forest near the country house—Alexeyeva replied that they were Polish war prisoners, and in confirmation of her words, stated:

"There were days when no trucks arrived at the country house, but even so soldiers left the house for the forest from which came frequent single shots. On returning the soldiers always took a bath and then drank.

"Another thing happened. Once I stayed at the country house somewhat later than usual. Mikhailova and Konakhovskaya had already left. Before I finished the work which had kept me there, a soldier suddenly entered and told me I could go. He referred to Rose's order. He also accompanied me to the highway.

"On the highway 150 or 200 meters from where the road branches off to the country house I saw a group of about 30 Polish war prisoners marching along the highway under heavy German escort.

"I knew them to be Poles because even before the war, and for some time after the Germans came, I used to meet Polish war prisoners on the highway wearing the same uniform with their characteristic four-cornered hats.

"I halted near the roadside to see where they were being led, and I saw that they turned toward our country house at Kozy Gory.

"Since by that time I had begun to watch closely everything going on at the country house, I became interested in this situation. I went back some distance along the highway, hid in bushes near the roadside, and waited. In some 20 or 30 minutes I heard the familiar, characteristic single shots.

"Then everything became clear to me and I hurried home.

"I also concluded that evidently the Germans were shooting Poles not only in the daytime when we worked at the country house, but also at night in our absence. I understood this also from recalling the occasions when all the officers and men who lived in the country house, with the exception of the sentries, woke up late, about noon.

"On several occasions we guessed about the arrival of the Poles in Kozy Gory from the tense atmosphere that descended on the country house * * *

"All the officers left the country house and only a few sentries remained in it, while the sergeant major kept checking up on the sentries over the telephone. * * *

O. A. Mikhailova testified: "In September 1941 shooting was heard very often in the Kozy Gory Forest. At first I took no notice of the trucks which arrived at our country house, which were closed at the sides and on top and painted green. They used to drive up to our country house always accompanied by noncommissioned officers. Then I noticed that these trucks never entered our garage, and also that they were never unloaded. They used to come very often, especially in September 1941."

"Among the noncommissioned officers who always sat with the drivers I began to notice one tall one with a pale face and red hair. When these trucks drove up to the country house, all the noncommissioned officers, as if at a command, went to the bathhouse and bathed for a long time, after which they drank heavily in the country house.

"Once this tall red-headed German got down from the truck, went to the kitchen and asked for water. When he was drinking the water out of a glass I noticed blood on the cuff of the right sleeve of his uniform."

O. A. Mikhailova and Z. P. Konakhovskaya witnessed the shooting of two Polish war prisoners who had evidently escaped from the Germans and had been caught.

Mikhailova testified:

"Once Konakhovskaya and I were at our usual work in the kitchen when we heard a noise near the country house. On coming out we saw two Polish war prisoners surrounded by German soldiers who were explaining something to Noncommissioned Officer Rose. Then Lieutenant Colonel Arnes came over to them and told Rose something. We hid some distance away, as we were afraid that Rose would beat us up for being inquisitive. We were discovered, however, and at a signal from Rose the mechanic Grenewski drove us into the kitchen and the Poles away from the country house. A few minutes later we heard shots. The German soldiers and Noncommissioned Officer Rose, who soon returned, were engaged in animated conversation. Wanting to find out what the Germans had done to the detained Poles, Konakhovskaya and I came out again. Arnes' aide, who came out simultaneously with us from the main entrance of the country house, asked Rose something in German, to which the latter answered, also in German, "Everything is in order." We understood these words because the Germans often used them in their conversation. From all that took place I concluded that these two Poles had been shot."

Similar testimony was given by Z. P. Konakhovskaya.

Frightened by the happenings at the country house, Alexeyeva, Mikhailova, and Konakhovskaya decided to quit work there on some convenient pretext. Taking advantage of the reduction of their wages from 9 to 3 marks a month at the beginning of January 1942, on Mikhailova's suggestion they did not report for work. In the evening of the same day a car came to fetch them, they were brought to the country house and locked up in a cell by way of punishment—Mikhailova for 8 days and Alexeyeva and Konakhovskaya for 3 days each.

After they had served their terms all of them were discharged.

While working at the country house Alexeyeva, Mikhailova, and Konakhovskaya had been afraid to speak to each other about what they had observed of

the happenings there. Only after they were arrested, sitting in the cell at night, did they share their knowledge.

At the interrogation on December 24, 1943, Mikhailova testified:

"Here for the first time we talked frankly about the happenings at the country house. I told all I knew. It turned out that Konakhovskaya and Alexeyeva also knew all these facts but, like myself, had been afraid to discuss them. I learned from them that it was Polish war prisoners the Germans were shooting at Kozy Gory, since Alexeyeva said that once in the autumn of 1941, when she was going home after work, she saw the Germans driving a large group of Polish war prisoners into Kozy Gory Forest and then she heard shooting."

Similar testimony was given by Alexeyeva and Konakhovskaya.

(On comparing notes Alexeyeva, Mikhailova, and Konakhovskaya arrived at the firm conviction that in August and September 1941 the Germans had engaged in mass shootings of Polish war prisoners at the country house in Kozy Gory.

The testimony of Alexeyeva is confirmed by the testimony of her father, Mikhail Alexeyev, whom she told as far back as in the autumn of 1941, during her work at the country house, about her observations of the Germans' activities at the country house. "For a long time she would not tell me anything," Mikhail Alexeyev testified. "Only on coming home she complained that she was afraid to work at the country house and did not know how to get away. When I asked her why she was afraid she said that very often shooting was heard in the forest. Once she told me in secret that in Kozy Gory Forest the Germans were shooting Poles. I listened to my daughter and warned her very strictly that she should not tell anyone else about it, as otherwise the Germans would learn and then our whole family would suffer."

That Polish war prisoners used to be brought to Kozy Gory in small groups of 20 to 30 men escorted by five to seven German soldiers, was also testified to by other witnesses interrogated by the Special Commission: P. G. Kisselev, peasant of Kozy Gory hamlet; M. G. Krivozertsev, carpenter of Krasny Bor station in the Katyn Forest; S. S. Ivanov, former station master at Gnezdo in the Katyn Forest area; I. V. Savvateyev, station master on duty at the same station; M. A. Alexeyev, chairman of a collective farm in the village of Borok; A. P. Ogloblin, priest of Kuprino Church, and others.

These witnesses also heard shots in the forest at Kozy Gory.

Of especially great importance in ascertaining what took place at Kozy Gory country house in the autumn of 1941 is the testimony of Professor of Astronomy B. V. Bazilevsky, director of the Smolensk Observatory.

In the early days of the occupation of Smolensk by the Germans, Professor Bazilevsky was forcibly appointed assistant burgomaster, while to the post of burgomaster they appointed the lawyer, B. G. Menshagin, who subsequently left together with them, a traitor who enjoyed the special confidence of the German command and in particular of the Smolensk Commandant von Schwetz.

Early in September 1941 Bazilevsky addressed to Menshagin a request to solicit the Commandant von Schwetz for the liberation of the teacher Zhiglinsky from war prisoners' camp No. 126. In compliance with this request Menshagin approached von Schwetz and then informed Bazilevsky that his request could not be granted since, according to von Schwetz, "instructions had been received from Berlin prescribing that the strictest regime be maintained undeviatingly with regard to war prisoners without any easing up on this matter.

"I involuntarily retorted," witness Bazilevsky testified, "'Can anything be stricter than the regime existing in the camp?' Menshagin looked at me in a strange way and bending to my ear, answered in a low voice: 'Yes, there can be. The Russians can at least be left to die off, but as to the Polish war prisoners, the orders say that they are to be simply exterminated.'

"How is that? How should it be understood?' I exclaimed.

"This should be understood literally. There is such a directive from Berlin,' answered Menshagin, and asked me 'for the sake of all that is holy' not to tell anyone about this. * * *

"About a fortnight after this conversation with Menshagin, when I was again received by him, I could not keep from asking: 'What news about the Poles?' Menshagin paused for a moment, but then answered: 'Everything is over with them. Von Schwetz told me that they had been shot somewhere near Smolensk.'

"Seeing my bewilderment Menshagin warned me again about the necessity of keeping this affair in the strictest secrecy and then started 'explaining' to me the Germans' policy in this matter. He told me that the shooting of Poles was one link in the general chain of anti-Polish policy pursued by Germany, which

became especially marked in connection with the conclusion of the Russo-Polish Treaty."

Bazilevsky also told the Special Commission about his conversation with Hirschfeld, the Sonderführer of the Seventh Department of the German Commandant's Office, a Baltic German who spoke good Russian:

"With cynical frankness Hirschfeld told me that the harmfulness and inferiority of the Poles had been proved by history and therefore reduction of Poland's population would fertilize the soil and make possible an extension of Germany's living space. In this connection Hirschfeld boasted that absolutely no intellectuals had been left in Poland, as they had all been hanged, shot, or confined in camps."

Bazilevsky's testimony is confirmed by the witness I. E. Yefimov, professor of physics, who has been interrogated by the Special Commission and whom Bazilevsky at that time, in the autumn of 1941, told about his conversation with Menshagin.

Documentary corroboration of Bazilevsky's and Yefimov's testimony is supplied by notes made by Menshagin in his own hand in his notebook.

This notebook, containing 17 incomplete pages, was found in the files of the Smolensk Municipal Board after the liberation of Smolensk by the Red Army.

Menshagin's ownership of the notebook and his handwriting have been confirmed both by Bazilevsky, who knew Menshagin's hand well, and by expert graphologists.

Judging by the dates in the notebook, its contents relate to the period from early August 1941 to November of the same year.

Among the various notes on economic matters (on firewood, electric power, trade, etc.) there are a number of notes made by Menshagin evidently as a reminder of instructions issued by the German commandant's office in Smolensk.

These notes reveal with sufficient clarity the range of problems with which the Municipal Board dealt as the organ fulfilling all the instructions of the German command.

The first three pages of the notebook lay down in detail the procedure in organizing the Jewish "ghetto" and the system of reprisals to be applied against the Jews.

Page 10, dated August 15, 1941, contains the following note:

"All fugitive Polish war prisoners are to be detained and delivered to the commandant's office."

Page 15 (undated) contains the entry: "Are there any rumors among the population concerning the shooting of Polish war prisoners in Kozy Gory (for Umnov)."

It transpires from the initial entry, firstly, that on August 15, 1941, Polish war prisoners were still in the Smolensk area and, secondly, that they were being arrested by the German authorities.

The second entry indicates that the German command, worried by the possibility of rumors circulating among the civilian population about the crime it had committed, issued special instructions for the purpose of checking this surmise.

Umnov, mentioned in this entry, was the chief of the Russian police in Smolensk during the early months of its occupation.

BEGINNING OF GERMAN PROVOCATION

In the winter of 1942-43 the general military situation changed sharply to the disadvantage of the Germans. The military power of the Soviet Union was continually growing stronger. The unity between the U. S. S. R. and her allies was growing in strength. The Germans resolved to launch a provocation, using for this purpose the atrocities they had committed in the Katyn Forest, and ascribing them to the organs of the Soviet authorities. In this way they intended to set the Russians and Poles at loggerheads and to cover up the traces of their own crimes.

A priest, A. P. Ogloblin, of the village of Kuprino in the Smolensk district, testified:

"After the events at Stalingrad, when the Germans began to feel uncertain, they launched this business. The people started to say that 'the Germans are trying to mend their affairs.'

"Having embarked on the preparation of the Katyn provocation, the Germans first set about looking for 'witnesses' who would, under the influence of persuasion, bribes, or threats, give the testimony which the Germans needed.

"The attention of the Germans was attracted to the peasant Parfen Gavrilovich Kisselev, born in 1870, who lived in the hamlet nearest to the country house in Kozy Gory."

Kisselev was summoned to the Gestapo at the close of 1942. Under the threat of reprisals, they demanded of him fictitious testimony alleging that he knew that in the spring of 1940 the Bolsheviks shot Polish war prisoners at the country house of the administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in Kozy Gory.

Kisselev testified before the commission:

"In the autumn of 1942 two policemen came to my house and ordered me to report to the Gestapo at Gnezdovo station. On that same day I went to the Gestapo, which had its premises in a two-story house next to the railway station. In a room I entered there were a German officer and interpreter. The German officer started asking me through the interpreter how long I had lived in that district, what my occupation and my material circumstances were.

"I told him that I had lived in the hamlet in the area of Kozy Gory since 1907 and worked on my farm. As to my material circumstances, I said that I had experienced some difficulties since I was old and my sons were in the war.

"After a brief conversation on this subject, the officer stated that, according to information at the disposal of the Gestapo, in 1940, in the area of Kozy Gory in the Katyn Forest, staff members of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shot Polish officers, and he asked me what testimony I could give on this score. I answered that I had never heard of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shooting people at Kozy Gory, and that anyhow it was impossible, I explained to the officer, since Kozy Gory is an absolutely open and much frequented place, and if shootings had gone on there the entire population of the neighboring villages would have known.

"The officer told me I must nevertheless give such evidence, because he alleged the shootings did take place. I was promised a big reward for this testimony.

"I told the officer again that I did not know anything about shootings, and that nothing of the sort could have taken place in our locality before the war. In spite of this, the officer persistently insisted on my giving false evidence.

"After the first conversation about which I have already spoken, I was summoned again to the Gestapo only in February 1943. By that time I knew that other residents of neighboring villages had also been summoned to the Gestapo and that the same testimony they demanded of me had also been demanded of them.

"At the Gestapo the same officer and interpreter who had interrogated me the first time again demanded of me evidence that I had witnessed the shooting of Polish officers, allegedly carried out by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in 1940. I again told the Gestapo officer that this was a lie, as before the war I had not heard anything about any shootings, and that I would not give false evidence. The interpreter, however, would not listen to me, but took a handwritten document from the desk and read it to me. It said that I, Kisselev, resident of a hamlet in the Kozy Gory area, personally witnessed the shooting of Polish officers by staff members of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in 1940.

"Having read this document, the interpreter told me to sign it. I refused to do so. The interpreter began to force me to do it by abuse and threats. Finally he shouted: 'Either you sign it at once or we shall destroy you. Make your choice.'

"Frightened by these threats, I signed the document and thought that would be the end of the matter."

Later, after the Germans had arranged visits to the Katyn graves by various "delegations," Kisselev was forced to speak before a "Polish delegation" which arrived there.

Kisselev forgot the contents of the protocol he had signed at the Gestapo, got mixed up, and finally refused to speak.

The Gestapo then arrested Kisselev, and by ruthless beatings, in the course of 6 weeks again obtained his consent to make "public speeches."

In this connection Kisselev stated:

"In reality things went quite a different way.

"In the spring of 1943 the Germans announced that in the Kozy Gory area in Katyn Forest they had discovered the graves of Polish officers allegedly shot in 1940 by organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

"Soon after that the Gestapo interpreter came to my house and took me to the forest in the Kozy Gory area.

"When we had left the house and were alone together, the interpreter warned me that I must tell the people present in the forest everything exactly as it was written down in the document I had signed at the Gestapo.

"When I came into the forest I saw open graves and a group of strangers. The interpreter told me that these were 'Polish delegates' who had arrived to inspect the graves.

"When we approached the graves the 'delegates' started asking me various questions in Russian in connection with the shooting of the Poles, but as more than a month had passed since I had been summoned to the Gestapo I forgot everything that was in the document I had signed, got mixed up, and finally said I did not know anything about the shooting of the Polish officers.

"The German officer got very angry. The interpreter roughly dragged me away from the 'delegation' and chased me off.

"The next morning a car with a Gestapo officer drove up to my house. He found me in the yard, told me that I was under arrest, put me into the car and took me to Smolensk Prison. * * *

"After my arrest I was interrogated many times, but they beat me more than they questioned me. The first time they summoned me they beat and abused me mercilessly, stating that I had let them down, and then sent me back to the cell.

"The next time I was summoned they told me I had to state publicly that I had witnessed the shooting of Polish officers by the Bolsheviks, and that until the Gestapo was convinced that I would do this in good faith I would not be released from prison. I told the officer that I would rather sit in prison than tell people lies to their faces. After that I was badly beaten up.

"There were several such interrogations accompanied by beatings, and as a result I lost all my strength, my hearing became poor and I could not move my right arm.

"About 1 month after my arrest a German officer summoned me and said: 'You see the consequences of your obstinacy, Kisselev. We have decided to execute you. In the morning we shall take you to Katyn Forest and hang you.' I asked the officer not to do this, and tried to convince him that I was not fit for the part of 'eyewitness' of the shooting as I did not know how to tell lies and therefore I would mix everything up again. The officer continued to insist. Several minutes later soldiers came into the room and started beating me with rubber clubs.

"Being unable to stand the beatings and torture, I agreed to appear publicly with a fallacious tale about the shooting of the Poles by the Bolsheviks. After that I was released from prison on condition that at the first demand of the Germans I would speak before 'delegations' in Katyn Forest. * * *

"On every occasion, before leading me to the open graves in the forest, the interpreter used to come to my house, call me out into the yard, take me aside to make sure that no one would hear, and for half an hour make me memorize by heart everything I would have to say about the alleged shooting of Polish officers by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in 1940.

"I recall that the interpreter told me something like this: 'I live in a cottage in Kozy Gory area not far from the country house of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. In the spring of 1940, I saw Poles taken to the forest on various nights and shot there.' And then it was imperative that I must state literally that 'this was the doing of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.'

"After I had memorized what the interpreter told me, he would take me to the open graves in the forest and compel me to repeat all this in the presence of 'delegations' which came there. My statements were strictly supervised and directed by the Gestapo interpreter.

"Once when I spoke before some 'delegation' I was asked the question: 'Did you personally see these Poles before they were shot by the Bolsheviks?' I was not prepared for such a question and answered the way it was in fact, i. e., that I saw Polish war prisoners before the war, as they worked on the roads. Then the interpreter roughly dragged me aside and drove me home.

"Please believe me when I say that all the time I felt pangs of conscience, as I knew that in reality the Polish officers had been shot by the Germans in 1941. I had no other choice, as I was constantly threatened with the repetition of my arrest and torture."

P. G. Kisselev's testimony regarding his summons to the Gestapo, subsequent arrest, and beatings are confirmed by his wife Aksinya Kisseleva, born in 1870, his son Vasili Kisselev, born in 1911, and his daughter-in-law Maria Kisseleva, born in 1918, who live with him, as well as by track foreman Timofey Sergeyev, born in 1901, who rents a room in Kisselev's hamlet.

The injuries caused to Klisselev at the Gestapo (injury of shoulder, considerable impairment of hearing) are confirmed by a report of medical examination.

In their search for "witnesses" the Germans subsequently became interested in railway workers at the Gnezdovo station, 2½ kilometers from Kozy Gory. In the spring of 1940 the Polish prisoners of war arrived at this station, and the Germans evidently wanted to obtain corroborating testimony from the railwaymen. For this purpose, in the spring of 1943, the Germans summoned to the Gestapo the ex-station master of Gnezdovo station, S. V. Ivanov, the station master on duty, I. V. Savvateyev, and others.

S. P. Ivanov, born in 1882, gave the following account of the circumstances in which he was summoned to the Gestapo:

"It was in March 1943. I was interrogated by a German officer in the presence of an interpreter. Having asked me through the interpreter who I was and what post I held at Gnezdovo station before the occupation of the district by the Germans, the officer inquired whether I knew that in the spring of 1940 large parties of captured Polish officers had arrived at Gnezdovo station in several trains.

"I said that I knew about this.

"The officer then asked me whether I knew that in the same spring, 1940, soon after the arrival of the Polish officers, the Bolsheviks had shot them all in the Katyn Forest.

"I answered that I did not know anything about that, and that it could not be so, as in the course of 1940-41, up to the occupation of Smolensk by the Germans, I had met captured Polish officers who had arrived in spring, 1940, at Gnezdovo station, and who were engaged in road-construction work.

"Then the officer told me that if a German officer asserted that the Poles had been shot by the Bolsheviks it meant that this was the case. 'Therefore,' the officer continued, 'you need not fear anything, and you can sign with a clear conscience a protocol saying that the Polish officers who were prisoners of war were shot by the Bolsheviks and that you witnessed it.'

"I replied that I was already an old man, that I was 61 years old, and did not want to commit a sin in my old age. I could only testify that the Polish prisoners of war really arrived at Gnezdovo Station in the spring of 1940.

"The German officer began to persuade me to give the required testimony, promising that if I agreed he would promote me from the position of watchman on a railway crossing to that of station master of Gnezdovo Station, which I had held under the Soviet Government, and also to provide for my material needs.

"The interpreter emphasized that my testimony as a former railway employee at Gnezdovo Station, the nearest station to Katyn Forest, was extremely important for the German command, and that I would not regret it if I gave such testimony.

"I understood that I had landed in an extremely difficult situation, and that a sad fate awaited me. However, I again refused to give false testimony to the German officer.

"After that the German officer started shouting at me, threatening me with beating and shooting, and said I did not understand what was good for me. However, I stood my ground.

"The interpreter then drew up a short protocol in German on one page, and gave me a free translation of its contents.

"This protocol recorded, as the interpreter told me, only the fact of the arrival of the Polish war prisoners at Gnezdovo Station. When I asked that my testimony be recorded not only in German but also in Russian, the officer finally was beside himself with fury, beat me up with a rubber club, and drove me off the premises. * * *

I. V. Savvateyev, born in 1880, stated:

"In the Gestapo I testified that in spring 1940, Polish war prisoners arrived at the station of Gnezdovo in several trains and proceeded further by car, and I did not know where they went. I also added that I repeatedly met these Poles later on the Moscow-Minsk highway, where they were working on repairs in small groups.

"The officer told me I was mixing things up, that I could not have met the Poles on the highway, as they had been shot by the Bolsheviks, and demanded that I testify to this. I refused.

"After threatening and cajoling me for a long time, the officer consulted with the interpreter in German about something, and then the interpreter wrote a short protocol and gave it to me to sign. He explained that it was a record of

my testimony. I asked the interpreter to let me read the protocol myself, but he interrupted me with abuse, ordering me to sign it immediately and get out. I hesitated a minute. The interpreter seized a rubber club hanging on the wall and made a move to strike me. After that I signed the protocol shoved at me. The interpreter told me to get out and go home, and not to talk to anyone or I would be shot. * * *

The search for "witnesses" was not limited to the above-mentioned persons. The Germans strove persistently to locate former employees of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and extort from them false testimony.

Having chanced to arrest E. L. Ignatyuk, formerly a laborer in the garage of the Smolensk Regional Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the Germans stubbornly, by threats and beatings, tried to extort from him testimony that he had been a chauffeur and not merely a laborer in the garage and had himself driven Polish war prisoners to the site of the shooting.

E. L. Ignatyuk, born in 1903, testified in this connection:

"When I was interrogated for the first time by Chief of Police Alferchik, he accused me of agitating against the German authorities, and asked what work I had done for the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. I replied that I had worked in the garage of the Smolensk Regional Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs as a laborer. At this interrogation, Alferchik tried to get me to testify that I had worked as a chauffeur and not as a laborer.

"Greatly irritated by his failure to obtain the required testimony from me, Alferchik and his aide, whom he called George, bound up my head and mouth with some cloth, removed my trousers, laid me on a table and began to beat me with rubber clubs.

"After that I was summoned again for interrogation, and Alferchik demanded that I give him false testimony to the effect that the Polish officers had been shot in Katyn Forest by organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in 1940, of which I allegedly was aware, as a chauffeur who had taken part in driving the Polish officers to Katyn Forest, and who had been present at their shooting. Alferchik promised to release me from prison if I would agree to give such testimony, and get me a job with the police, where I would be given good living conditions—otherwise they would shoot me. * * *

"The last time I was interrogated in the police station by examiner Alexandrov, who demanded from me the same false testimony as Alferchik about the shooting of the Polish officers, but at this examination, too, I refused to give false evidence.

"After this interrogation I was again beaten up and sent to the gestapo. * * *

"In the gestapo, just as at the police station, they demanded from me false evidence about the shooting of the Polish officers in Katyn Forest in 1940 by Soviet authorities, of which I as a chauffeur was allegedly aware."

A book published by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and containing material about the "Katyn Affair," fabricated by the Germans, refers to other "witnesses" besides the above-mentioned P. G. Kisselev; Godesov (alias Godunov), born in 1877; Grigori Silverstov, born in 1891; Ivan Andreyev, born in 1917; Mikhail Zhigulev, born in 1915; Ivan Krivozertsev, born in 1915; and Matvey Zakharov, born in 1893.

A check-up revealed that the first two of the above persons (Godesov and Silverstov) died in 1943 before the liberation of the Smolensk region by the Red army; the next three (Andreyev, Zhigulev, and Krivozertsev) left with the Germans, or perhaps were forcibly abducted by them, while the last—Matvey Zakharov—formerly a coupler at Smolensk Station, who worked under the Germans as headman in the village Novye Bateki, was located and examined by the special commission.

Zakharov related how the Germans obtained from him the false testimony they needed about the "Katyn Affair":

"Early in March 1943 an employee of the Gnezdovo gestapo, whose name I do not know, came to my house and told me that an officer wanted to see me.

"When I arrived at the gestapo a German officer told me through an interpreter: 'We know you worked as a coupler at Smolensk Central Station and you must testify that in 1940 cars with Polish war prisoners passed through Smolensk on the way to Gnezdovo, after which the Poles were shot in the forest at Kozy Gory.' In reply, I stated that in 1940 cars with Poles did pass Smolensk westward, but I did not know what their destination was. * * *

"The officer told me that if I did not want to testify of my own accord he would force me to do so. After saying this he took a rubber club and began to beat me up. Then I was laid on a bench, and the officer, together with the interpreter, beat me. I do not remember how many strokes I had, because I soon fainted.

"When I came to, the officer demanded that I sign a protocol of the examination. I had lost courage as a result of the beating and threats of shooting, so I gave false evidence and signed the protocol. After I had signed the protocol I was released by the gestapo. * * *

"Several days after I had been summoned by the gestapo, approximately in mid-March 1943, the interpreter came to my house and said I must go to a German general and confirm my testimony in his presence.

"When I came to the general he asked me whether I confirmed my testimony. I said I did confirm it, as on the way I had been warned by the interpreter that if I refused to confirm the testimony I would have a much worse experience than I had on my first visit to the gestapo.

"Fearing a repetition of the torture, I replied that I confirmed my testimony. Then the interpreter ordered me to raise my right hand, and told me I had taken an oath and could go home."

It has been established that in other cases also the Germans used persuasion, threats, and torture in trying to obtain the testimony they needed, for example, from N. S. Kaverznev, former deputy chief of the Smolensk Prison, and V. G. Kovalev, former staff member of the same prison, and others.

Since the search for the required number of witnesses failed to yield any success, the Germans posted the following handbill in the city of Smolensk and neighboring villages, an original of which is in the files of the Special Commission:

"Notice to the population.

"Who can give information concerning the mass murder of prisoners, Polish officers and priests, by the Bolsheviks in the forest of Kozy Gory near the Gnezdovo-Katyn highway in 1940?

"Who saw columns of trucks on their way from Gnezdovo to Kozy Gory, or

"Who saw or heard the shootings? Who knows residents who can tell about this?

"Rewards will be given for any information.

"Information to be sent to Smolensk, German Police Station, No. 6, Muzelnaya Street, and in Gnezdovo to the German Police Station, house No. 105 near the railway station.

"Foss,
"Lieutenant of Field Police,
"May 3, 1943."

A similar notice was printed in the newspaper *Novy Put*, published by the Germans in Smolensk—No. 35 (157) for May 6, 1943.

The fact that the Germans promised rewards for the evidence they needed on the "Katyn Affair" was confirmed by witnesses called by the Special Commission: O. E. Sokolova, E. A. Puschchina, I. I. Bychkov, G. T. Bondarev, E. P. Ustinov, and many other residents of Smolensk.

PREPARING KATYN GRAVES

Along with the search for "witnesses" the Germans proceeded with the preparation of the graves in Katyn Forest; they removed from the clothing of the Polish prisoners whom they had killed all documents dated later than April 1940—that is, the time when, according to the German provocation version, the Poles were shot by the Bolsheviks—and removed all material evidence which could disprove this provocation version.

In its investigation the Special Commission revealed that for this purpose the Germans used up to 500 Russian war prisoners specially selected from war prisoners' camp No. 126.

The Special Commission has at its disposal numerous statements of witnesses on this matter.

The evidence of the medical personnel of the above-mentioned camp merits special attention.

Dr. A. T. Chizhov, who worked in camp No. 126 during the German occupation of Smolensk, testified:

"Just about the beginning of March 1943, several groups of the physically stronger war prisoners, totaling about 500, were sent from the Smolensk camp

No. 126 ostensibly for trench work. None of these prisoners ever returned to the camp."

Dr. V. A. Khmyrov, who worked in the same camp under the Germans, testified:

"I know that somewhere about the second half of February or the beginning of March 1943, about 500 Red Army men prisoners were sent from our camp to a destination unknown to me. The prisoners were apparently to be used for trench digging, for the most physically fit men were selected * * *."

Identical evidence was given by medical nurse O. G. Lenkovskaya, medical nurse A. I. Timofeyeva, and witnesses P. M. Orlova, E. G. Dobroserdova, and B. S. Kochetkov.

The testimony of A. M. Moskovskaya made it clear where the 500 war prisoners from camp 126 were actually sent.

On October 5, 1943, the citizen Moskovskaya, Alexandra Mikhailovna, who lived on the outskirts of Smolensk and had worked during the occupation in the kitchen of a German military unit, filed an application to the Extraordinary Commission for the Investigation of Atrocities Perpetrated by the German Invaders, requesting them to summon her to give important evidence.

After she was summoned she told the Special Commission that before leaving for work in March 1943, when she went to fetch firewood from her shed in the yard on the banks of the Dnieper, she discovered there an unknown person who proved to be a Russian war prisoner.

A. M. Moskovskaya, who was born in 1922, testified:

"From conversation with him I learned the following:

"His name was Nikolai Yegorov, a native of Leningrad. Since the end of 1941 he had been in the German camp No. 126 for war prisoners in the town of Smolensk. At the beginning of March 1943 he was sent with a column of several hundred war prisoners from the camp to Katyn Forest. There they, including Yegorov, were compelled to dig up graves containing bodies in the uniforms of Polish officers, drag these bodies out of the graves and take out of their pockets documents, letters, photographs, and all other articles.

"The Germans gave the strictest orders that nothing be left in the pockets on the bodies. Two war prisoners were shot because after they had searched some of the bodies, a German officer discovered some papers on these bodies.

"Articles, documents, and letters extracted from the clothing on the bodies were examined by the German officers, who then compelled the prisoners to put part of the papers back into the pockets on the bodies, while the rest were flung on a heap of articles and documents they had extracted, and later burned.

"Besides this, the Germans made the prisoners put into the pockets of the Polish officers some papers which they took from cases or suitcases (I don't remember exactly) which they had brought along.

"All the war prisoners lived in Katyn Forest in dreadful conditions under the open sky, and were extremely strongly guarded. * * *

"At the beginning of April 1943 all the work planned by the Germans was apparently completed, as for 3 days not one of the war prisoners had to do any work. * * *

"Suddenly at night all of them without exception were awakened and led somewhere. The guard was strengthened. Yegorov sensed something was wrong and began to watch very closely everything that was happening. They marched for 3 or 4 hours in an unknown direction. They stopped in the forest at a pit in a clearing. He saw how a group of war prisoners were separated from the rest and driven toward the pit and then shot.

"The war prisoners grew agitated, restless, and noisy. Not far from Yegorov several war prisoners attacked the guards. Other guards ran toward the place. Yegorov took advantage of the confusion and ran away into the dark forest, hearing shouts and firing.

"After hearing this terrible story, which is engraved on my memory for the rest of my life, I became very sorry for Yegorov, and told him to come to my room, get warm and hide at my place until he had regained his strength. But Yegorov refused. * * * He said no matter what happened he was going away that very night, and intended to try to get through the front line to the Red Army. But Yegorov did not leave that evening. In the morning, when I went to make sure whether Yegorov had gone, he was still in the shed. It appeared that during the night he had attempted to set out, but had only taken about 50 steps when he felt so weak that he was forced to return. This exhaustion was caused by the long imprisonment at the camp and the starvation of the last few days. We decided he should remain at my place several days longer to regain his strength. After feeding Yegorov I went to work.

"When I returned home in the evening my neighbors Maria Ivanovna Baranova and Yekaterina Viktorovna Kabanovskaya told me that in the afternoon, during a search by the German police, the Red Army war prisoner had been found, and taken away."

As a result of the discovery of the war prisoner Yegorov in the shed, Moskovskaya was called to the Gestapo, where she was accused of hiding a war prisoner.

At the Gestapo interrogation Moskovskaya stoutly denied that she had any connection with this war prisoner, maintaining she knew nothing about his presence in her shed. Since they got no admission from Moskovskaya, and also because the war prisoner Yegorov evidently had not incriminated Moskovskaya, she was let out of the Gestapo.

The same Yegorov told Moskovskaya that besides excavating bodies in Katyn Forest, the war prisoners were used for bringing bodies to the Katyn Forest from other places. The bodies thus brought were thrown into pits along with the bodies that had been dug up earlier.

The fact that a great number of bodies of people shot by the Germans in other places were brought to the Katyn graves is confirmed also by the testimony of Engineer Mechanic P. F. Sukhachev, born in 1912, an engineer mechanic of the Rosglavkhleb combine, who worked under the Germans as a mechanic in the Smolensk city mill. On October 8, 1943, he filed a request that he be called to testify.

Called before the Special Commission, he stated:

"Somehow during the second half of March 1943 I spoke at the mill to a German chauffeur who spoke a little Russian. Learning that he was carrying flour to Savenki village for the troops, and was returning on the next day to Smolensk, I asked him to take me along so that I could buy some fat in the village. My idea was that making the trip in a German truck would do away with the risk of being held up at the control stations. The German agreed to take me, at a price. On the same day, at 10 p. m., we drove on to the Smolensk-Vitebsk highway, just myself and the German driver in the truck. The night was light, and only a low mist over the road reduced the visibility. Approximately 22 or 23 kilometers from Smolensk, at a demolished bridge on the highway, there is a rather deep descent at the bypass. We began to go down from the highway, when suddenly a truck appeared out of the fog coming toward us. Either because our brakes were out of order, or because the driver was inexperienced, we were unable to bring our truck to a halt, and since the passage was quite narrow we collided with the truck coming toward us. The impact was not very violent, as the driver of the other truck swerved to the side, as a result of which the trucks bumped and slid alongside each other. The right wheel of the other truck, however, landed in the ditch, and the truck fell over on the slope. Our truck remained upright. The driver and I immediately jumped out of the cabin and ran up to the truck which had fallen down. I was struck by a heavy stench of dead bodies, evidently coming from the truck. On coming nearer, I saw that the truck was carrying a load covered with a tarpaulin and tied up with ropes. The ropes had snapped with the impact, and part of the load had fallen on the slope. It was a horrible load—human bodies dressed in military uniforms.

"As far as I can remember there were some six or seven men near the truck: One German driver, two Germans armed with tommy guns—the rest were Russian war prisoners, as they spoke Russian and were dressed accordingly.

"The Germans began to abuse my driver and then made some attempts to right the truck. In about 2 minutes' time two more trucks drove up to the place of the accident and stopped. A group of Germans and Russian war prisoners, about 10 men in all, came up to us from these trucks. * * * By joint efforts we began to raise the truck. Taking advantage of an opportune moment I asked one of the Russian war prisoners in a low voice: 'What is it?' He answered very quietly: 'For many nights now we have been carrying bodies to Katyn Forest.'

"Before the overturned truck had been raised a German noncommissioned officer came up to me and my driver and ordered us to proceed immediately. As no serious damage had been done to our truck the driver steered it a little to one side and got onto the highway, and we went on. When we were passing the two covered trucks which had come up later, I again smelled the horrible stench of dead bodies."

Sukhachev's testimony is confirmed by that of Vladimir Afanasievich Yegorov, who served as policeman in the police station during the occupation.

Yegorov testified that when, owing to the nature of his duties, he was guarding a bridge at a crossing of the Moscow-Minsk and Smolensk-Vitebsk highways at the end of March and early in April 1943, he saw going toward Smolensk on

several nights big trucks covered with tarpaulins and spreading a heavy stench of dead bodies. Several men, some of whom were armed and were undoubtedly Germans, sat in the driver's cabin of each truck, and behind.

Yegorov reported his observations to Kuzma Demyanovich Golovnev, chief of the police station in the village of Arkhipovka, who advised him to "hold his tongue" and added: "This does not concern us. We have no business to be mixing in German affairs."

That the Germans were carrying bodies on trucks to the Katyn Forest is also testified by Frol Maximovich Yakovlev-Sokolov (born in 1896), a former agent for restaurant supplies in the Smolensk restaurant trust and, under the Germans, chief of police of Katyn precinct. He stated that once, early in April 1943 he himself saw four tarpaulin-covered trucks passing along the highway to Katyn Forest. Several men armed with tommy guns and rifles rode in them. An acrid stench of dead bodies came from these trucks.

From the above testimony it can be concluded with all clarity that the Germans shot Poles in other places, too. In bringing their bodies to the Katyn Forest they pursued a triple object: first, to destroy the traces of their crimes; second, to ascribe their own crimes to the Soviet Government; third, to increase the number of "victims of Bolshevism" in the Katyn Forest graves.

"EXCURSIONS" TO THE KATYN GRAVES

In April 1943, having finished all the preparatory work at the graves in Katyn Forest, the German occupationists began a wide campaign in the press and over the radio in an attempt to ascribe to the Soviet Power atrocities they themselves had committed against Polish war prisoners. As one method of provocation agitation, the Germans arranged visits to the Katyn graves by residents of Smolensk and its suburbs, as well as "delegations" from countries occupied by the German invaders or their vassals. The Special Commission questioned a number of delegates who took part in the "excursions" to the Katyn graves.

K. P. Zubkov, a doctor specializing in pathological anatomy, who worked as medico-legal expert in Smolensk, testified before the Special Commission: "The clothing on the bodies, particularly the overcoats, boots and belts, were in a good state of preservation. The metal parts of the clothing—belt buckles, button hooks, and spikes on shoe soles, etc.—were not heavily rusted, and in some cases the metal still retained its polish. Sections of the skin on the bodies, which could be seen—faces, necks, arms—were chiefly a dirty green color and in some cases dirty brown, but there was no complete disintegration of the tissues, no putrefaction. In some cases bared tendons of whitish color and parts of muscles could be seen.

"While I was at the excavations people were at work sorting and extracting bodies at the bottom of a big pit. For this purpose they used spades and other tools, and also took hold of bodies with their hands and dragged them from place to place by the arms, the legs or the clothing. I did not see a single case of bodies falling apart or any member being torn off.

"Considering all the above, I arrived at the conclusion that the bodies had remained in the earth not 3 years, as the Germans affirmed, but much less. Knowing that in mass graves, and especially without coffins, putrefaction of bodies progresses more quickly than in single graves, I concluded that the mass shooting of the Poles had taken place about a year and a half ago, and could have occurred in the autumn of 1941 or the spring of 1942. As a result of my visit to the excavation site I became firmly convinced that a monstrous crime had been committed by the Germans."

Testimony to the effect that the clothing of the bodies, its metal parts, shoes, and even the bodies themselves were well preserved was given by numerous witnesses who took part in "excursions" to the Katyn graves and who were questioned by the Special Commission. The witnesses include I. Z. Kutzev, the manager of the Smolensk water supply system; E. N. Vetrova, a Katyn school-teacher; N. G. Shchedrova, a telephone operator of the Smolensk communications bureau; M. A. Alexeyev, a resident of the village of Borok; N. G. Krivozertsev, a resident of the village of Novye Bateki; I. V. Savvatyev, the station master on duty at Gnezdovo station; E. A. Pushchina, a citizen of Smolensk; T. A. Sidoruk, a doctor at the Second Smolensk hospital; P. M. Kessarev, a doctor at the same hospital; and others.

GERMANS ATTEMPT TO COVER UP TRACES OF THEIR CRIMES

The "excursions" organized by the Germans failed to achieve their aims. All who visited the graves saw for themselves that they were confronted with the crudest and most obvious German-Fascist frame-up. The German authorities

accordingly took steps to make the doubters keep quiet. The Special Commission heard the testimony of a great number of witnesses who related how the German authorities persecuted those who doubted or disbelieved the provocation. These doubters were discharged from work, arrested, threatened with shooting.

The Commission established that in two cases people were shot for failure to "hold their tongues." Such reprisals were taken against the former German policeman Zagainev, and against Yegorov, who worked on the excavation of graves in Katyn Forest. Testimony about the persecution of people who expressed doubt after visiting the graves in Katyn Forest was given by M. S. Zubareva, a woman cleaner employed by drug store No. 1 in Smolensk; V. F. Kozlova, assistant sanitation doctor of the Stalin District Health Department in Smolensk, and others.

F. M. Yakovlev-Sokolov, former chief of police of the Katyn precinct, testified: "A situation arose which caused serious alarm in the German commandant's office, and police organs round about were given urgent instructions to nip in the bud all harmful talk at any price, and arrest all persons who expressed disbelief in the 'Katyn affair.' I, myself, as chief of the area police, was given instructions to this effect at the end of May 1943 by the German commandant of the village of Katyn, Oberleutnant Braung, and at the beginning of June by the chief of Smolensk district police, Kametsky.

"I called an instructional conference of the police in my area, at which I ordered the police to detain and bring to the police station anyone who expressed disbelief or doubted the truth of German reports about the shooting of Polish war prisoners by the Bolsheviks. In fulfilling these instructions of the German authorities I clearly acted against my conscience, as I, myself, was certain that the 'Katyn affair' was a German provocation. I became finally convinced of that when I, myself, made an 'excursion' to the Katyn Forest."

Seeing that the "excursions" of the local population to the Katyn graves did not achieve their purpose, in the summer of 1943 the German occupation authorities ordered the graves to be filled in. Before their retreat from Smolensk they began hastily to cover up the traces of their crimes. The country house occupied by the "Headquarters of the Five Hundred and Thirty-seventh Engineer Battalion" was burned to the ground.

The Germans searched for the three girls—Alexeyeva, Mikhailova, and Konakhovskaya—in the village of Borok in order to take them away and perhaps to kill them. They also searched for their main "witness," P. G. Kisselev, who, together with his family, had succeeded in hiding. The Germans burned down his house.

They endeavored to seize other "witnesses" too—the former station master of Gnezdovo, S. V. Ivanov, and the former acting station master of the same station, I. V. Savvateyev, as well as the former coupler at the Smolensk station, M. D. Zakharov.

During the very last days before their retreat from Smolensk, the German-Fascist occupationists looked for Profs. Brazilevsky and Yefimov. Both succeeded in evading deportation or death only because they had escaped in good time. Nevertheless, the German-Fascist invaders did not succeed in covering up the traces of or concealing their crime.

Examination by medico-legal experts of the exhumed bodies proved irrefutably that the Polish war prisoners were shot by the Germans themselves. The report of the medico-legal experts' investigation follows:

REPORT OF THE MEDICO-LEGAL EXPERTS' INVESTIGATION

In accordance with the instructions of the special commission for ascertaining and investigating the circumstances of the shooting of Polish officer prisoners by the German-Fascist invaders in Katyn Forest (near Smolensk), a commission of medico-legal experts was set up, consisting of V. I. Prozorovsky, chief medico-legal expert of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R. and director of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine; Doctor of Medicine V. M. Smolyaninov, professor of forensic medicine at the Second Moscow State Medical Institute; Doctor of Medicine D. N. Vyropayev, professor of pathological anatomy; Dr. P. S. Semenovskiy, senior staff scientist of the thanatology department of the State Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R.; Assistant Prof. M. D. Shvaikova, senior staff scientist of the chemico-legal department of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R.; with the participa-

tion of Major of Medical Service Nikolsky, chief medico-legal expert of the western front; Captain of Medical Service Bussoyedov, medico-legal expert of the * * * Army; Major of Medical Service Subbotin, chief of the pathological anatomy laboratory No. 92; Major of Medical Service Ogloblin; Senior Lieutenant of Medical Service Sadykov, medical specialist; Senior Lieutenant of Medical Service Pushkareva.

During the period between January 16 and January 23, 1944, these medico-legal experts conducted exhumation and medico-legal examination of the bodies of Polish war prisoners buried in graves on the territory of Kozy Gory in Katyn Forest, 15 kilometers from Smolensk. The bodies of Polish war prisoners were buried in a common grave about 60 by 60 by 3 meters in dimension, and also in another grave about 7 by 6 by 3½ meters. Nine hundred and twenty-five bodies were exhumed from the graves and examined. The exhumation and medico-legal examination of the bodies were effected in order to establish: (a) Identity of the dead; (b) causes of death; (c) time of burial.

Circumstances of the case: See materials of the special commission. Objective evidence: See the reports of the medico-legal examination of the bodies.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the results of the medico-legal examination of the bodies, the commission of medico-legal experts arrived at the following conclusion:

Upon the opening of the graves and exhumations of bodies from them, it was established that:

(a) Among the mass of bodies of Polish war prisoners there were bodies in civilian clothes, the number of which, in relation to the total number of bodies examined, is insignificant (in all, 2 out of 925 exhumed bodies); shoes of army type were on these bodies.

(b) The clothing on the bodies of the war prisoners showed that they were officers, and included some privates of the Polish Army.

(c) Slits in the pockets, pockets turned inside out, and tears in them discovered during examination of the clothing show that as a rule all the clothes on each body (overcoats, trousers, etc.) bear traces of searches effected on the dead bodies.

(d) In some cases whole pockets were found during examination of the clothing and scraps of newspapers, prayer books, pocketbooks, postage stamps, postcards and letters, receipts, notes and other documents, as well as articles of value (a gold nugget, dollars). Pipes, pocketknives, cigarette papers, handkerchiefs, and other articles were found in these pockets, as well as in the cut and torn pockets, under the linings, in the belts of the coats, and in footwear and socks.

(e) Some of the documents were found (without special examination) to contain data referring to the period between November 12, 1940, and June 20, 1941.

(f) The fabric of the clothes, especially of overcoats, uniforms, trousers, and tunics, is in a good state of preservation and can be torn with the hands only with great difficulty.

(g) A very small proportion of the bodies (20 out of 925) had the hands tied behind the back with woven cords.

The condition of the clothes on the bodies—namely, the fact that uniform jackets, shirts, belts, trousers, and underwear are buttoned up, boots or shoes are on the feet, scarves and ties tied around the necks, suspenders attached, shirts tucked in—testifies that no external examination of the bodies and extremities of the bodies had been effected previously. The intact state of the skin on the heads, and the absence on them, as on the skin of the chests and abdomens (save in 3 cases out of 925) of any incisions, cuts, or other signs, show convincingly that, judging by the bodies exhumed by the experts' commission, there had been no medico-legal examination of the bodies.

External and internal examination of 925 bodies proves the existence of bullet wounds on the head and neck, combined in 4 cases with injury of the bones of the cranium caused by a blunt, hard, heavy object. Also, injuries of the abdomen caused simultaneously with the wound in the head were discovered in a small number of cases.

Entry orifices of the bullet wounds, as a rule singular, more rarely double, are situated in the occipital part of the head near the occipital protuberance, at the big occipital orifice or at its edge. In a few cases entry orifices of bullets have been found on the back surface of the neck, corresponding to the first, second, or third vertebra of the neck.

The points of exit of the bullets have been found more frequently in the frontal area, more rarely in the parietal and temporal areas as well as in the face and neck. In 27 cases the bullet wounds proved to be blind (without exit orifices), and at the end of the bullet channels under the soft membrane of the cranium,

in its bones, in the membranes, and in the brain matter, were found deformed, barely deformed, or altogether undeformed cased bullets of the type used with automatic pistols, mostly of 7.65 millimeter caliber.

The dimensions of the entry orifices in the occipital bone make it possible to draw the conclusion that firearms of two calibers were employed in the shooting: in the majority of cases, those of less than 8 millimeter, i. e., 7.65 millimeter and less; and in a lesser number of cases, those of more than 8 millimeter, i. e., 9 millimeter.

The nature of the fissures of the cranial bones, and the fact that in some cases traces of powder were found at the entry orifice, proves that the shots were fired pointblank or nearly pointblank.

Correlation of the points of entry and exit of the bullets shows that the shots were fired from behind with the head bent forward. The bullet channel pierced the vital parts of the brain, or near them, and death was caused by destruction of the brain tissues.

The injuries inflicted by a blunt, hard, heavy object found on the parietal bones of the cranium were concurrent with the bullet wounds of the head, and were not in themselves the cause of death.

The medico-legal examination of the bodies carried out between January 16 and January 23, 1944, testifies that there are absolutely no bodies in a condition of decay or disintegration, and that all the 925 bodies are in a state of preservation—in the initial phase of desiccation of the body—which most frequently and clearly was expressed in the region of the thorax and abdomen, sometimes also in the extremities; and in the initial stage of formation of adipocere (in an advanced phase of formation of a dipocere in the bodies extracted from the bottom of the graves); in a combination of desiccation of the tissues of the body with the formation of adipocere.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that the muscles of the trunk and extremities absolutely preserved their macroscopic structure and almost normal color; the internal organs of the thorax and peritoneal cavity preserved their configuration. In many cases sections of heart muscle have a clearly discernible structure and specific coloration, while the brain presented its characteristic structural peculiarities with a distinctly discernible border between the gray and white matter.

Besides the macroscopic examination of the tissues and organs of the bodies, the medico-legal experts removed the necessary material for subsequent microscopic and chemical studies in laboratory conditions.

Properties of the soil in the place of discovery were of a certain significance in the preservation of the tissues and organs of the bodies.

After the opening of the graves and exhumation of the bodies and their exposure to the air, the corpses were subject to the action of warmth and moisture in the late summer season of 1943. This could have resulted in a marked progress of decay of the bodies. However, the degree of desiccation of the bodies and formation of a dipocere in them, especially the good state of preservation of the muscles and internal organs, as well as of the clothes, give grounds to affirm that the bodies had not remained in the earth for long.

Comparing the condition of bodies in the graves in the territory of Kozy Gory with the condition of the bodies in other burial places in Smolensk and its nearest environs—Gedeonovka, Magalenshchina, Readovka, Camp No. 126, Krasny Bor, etc. (see report of the commission of medico-legal experts dated October 22, 1943)—it should be recognized that the bodies of the Polish war prisoners were buried in the territory of Korey Gory about 2 years ago. This finds its complete corroboration in the documents found in the clothes of the bodies, which preclude the possibility of earlier burial (see point d of paragraph 36 and list of documents).

The commission of medico-legal experts—on the basis of the data and results of the investigation—

Consider as proved the act of killing by shooting of the Polish Army officers and soldiers who were war prisoners.

Asserts that this shooting dates back to about 2 years ago, i. e., between September and December of 1941;

Regards the fact of the discovery by the commission of medico-legal experts, in the clothes on the bodies, of valuables and documents dated 1941, as proof that the German-Fascist authorities who undertook a search of the bodies in the spring-summer season of 1943 did not do it thoroughly, while the documents discovered testify that the shooting was done after June 1941;

States that in 1943 the Germans made an extremely small number of post-mortem examinations of the bodies of the shot Polish war prisoners;

Notes the complete identity of method of the shooting of the Polish war prisoners with that of the shooting of Soviet civilians and war prisoners widely practiced by the German-Fascist authorities in the temporarily occupied territory of the U. S. S. R., including the towns of Smolensk, Orel, Kharkov, Krasnodar, and Voronezh.

(Signed) Chief Medico-Legal Expert of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R., Director of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R., V. I. Prozorovsky; Professor of Forensic Medicine at the Second Moscow State Medical Institute, Doctor of Medicine V. M. Smolyaninov; Professor of Pathological Anatomy, Doctor of Medicine D. N. Vyropayev; Senior Staff Scientist of Thanatological Department of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R., Doctor P. S. Semenovskiy; Senior Staff Scientist of the Forensic Chemistry Department of the State Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Medicine under the People's Commissariat of Health Protection of the U. S. S. R., Assistant Professor M. D. Shvaikova.

SMOLENSK, *January 24, 1944.*

DOCUMENTS FOUND ON THE BODIES

Besides the data recorded in the protocol of the commission of medico-legal experts, the time of the shooting of the Polish officer prisoners by the Germans (autumn, 1941, and not spring, 1940, as the Germans assert) is also ascertained by documents found when the graves were opened, dated not only the latter half of 1940 but also the spring and summer (March-June) of 1941. Of the documents discovered by the medico-legal experts, the following deserve special attention:

1. On body No. 92:

A letter from Warsaw addressed to the Central War Prisoners' Bureau of the Red Cross, Moscow, Kuibyshev Street, House No. 12. The letter is written in Russian. In this letter Sofia Zigon inquires the whereabouts of her husband Tomasz Zigon. The letter is dated September 12, 1940. The envelope bears the imprint of a German rubber stamp "Warsaw Sept. 1940" and a rubber stamp "Moscow, Central Post Office, ninth delivery, Sept. 28, 1940" and an inscription in red ink in the Russian language: "Ascertain camp and forward for delivery, November 15, 1940" (signature illegible).

2. On body No. 4:

A post card registered under the number 0112 from Tarnopol stamped "Tarnopol November 12, 1940."

The written text and address are discolored.

3. On body No. 101:

A receipt No. 10293 dated December 19, 1939, issued by the Kozelsk camp testifying receipt of a gold watch from Eduard Adamovich Lewandowski. On the back of the receipt is a note dated March 14, 1941, on the sale of this watch to the Jewelry trading trust.

4. On body No. 46:

A receipt (number illegible) issued December 16, 1939, by the Starobelsk camp testifying receipt of a gold watch from Vladimir Rudolfovich Araszkevich. On the back of the receipt is a note dated March 25, 1941, stating that the watch was sold to the Jewelry trading trust.

5. On body No. 71:

A small paper ikon with the image of Christ, found between pages 144 and 145 of a Catholic prayer book. The inscription, with legible signature, on the back of the ikon, reads: "Jadwiga" and bears the date "April 4, 1941."

6. On body No. 46:

A receipt dated April 6, 1941, issued by camp No. 1-ON, showing receipt of 225 rubles from Araszkevich.

7. On the same body, No. 46:

A receipt dated May 5, 1941, issued by Camp No. 1-ON, showing receipt of 102 rubles from Araszkevich.

8. On body No. 101:

A receipt dated May 18, 1941, issued by Camp No. 1-ON, showing receipt of 175 rubles from Lewandowski.

9. On body No. 53:

An unmailed postcard in the Polish language addressed Warsaw Bagatella 15, apartment 47, to Irene Kuczinska, and dated June 20, 1941. The sender is Stanislaw Kuczinski.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From all the material at the disposal of the special commission, namely, evidence given by over 100 witnesses questioned, data supplied by the medico-legal experts, documents, and material evidence found in the graves in the Katyn Forest, the following conclusions emerge with irrefutable clarity:

1. The Polish prisoners of war who were in the three camps west of Smolensk, and employed on road building up to the outbreak of war, remained there after the German invaders reached Smolensk, until September 1941, inclusive;

2. In the Katyn Forest, in the autumn of 1941, the German occupation authorities carried out mass shootings of Polish prisoners of war from the above-named camps;

3. The mass shootings of Polish prisoners of war in the Katyn Forest were carried out by a German military organization hiding behind the conventional name of "Headquarters of the Five Hundred and Thirty-seventh Engineer Battalion," which was headed by Lieutenant Colonel Arnes and his assistants, First Lieutenant Rekst and Second Lieutenant Hott;

4. In connection with the deterioration of the general military and political situation for Germany at the beginning of the year 1943, the German occupation authorities, with provocation alms, took a number of steps in order to ascribe their own crimes to the organs of the Soviet power, calculating on setting Russians and Poles at loggerheads;

5. With this aim:

(a) The German-Fascist invaders, using persuasion, attempts at bribery, threats, and barbarous torture, tried to find "witnesses" among Soviet citizens, from whom they tried to extort false evidence, alleging that the Polish prisoners of war had been shot by the organs of Soviet power in the spring of 1940;

(b) The German occupation authorities in the spring of 1943 brought in from other places bodies of Polish war prisoners whom they had shot and put them into the opened graves in the Katyn Forest, calculating on covering up the traces of their own crimes, and on increasing the number of "victims of Bolshevik atrocities" in the Katyn Forest;

(c) Preparing for their provocation, the German occupation authorities started opening the graves in the Katyn Forest in order to take out documents and material evidence which exposed them, using for this work about 500 Russian prisoners of war who were shot by the Germans after the work was completed.

6. It has been established beyond doubt from the evidence of the medico-legal experts that:

(a) The time of the shooting was the autumn of 1941;

(b) In shooting the Polish war prisoners the German executioners applied the same method of pistol shots in the back of the head as they applied in the mass execution of Soviet citizens in other towns, e. g., Orel, Voronezh, Krasnodar, and Smolensk itself.

7. The conclusions drawn from the evidence given by witnesses, and from the findings of the medico-legal experts on the shooting of Polish war prisoners by the Germans in the autumn of 1941, are completely confirmed by the material evidence and documents excavated from the Katyn graves;

8. In shooting the Polish war prisoners in the Katyn Forest, the German-Fascist invaders consistently carried out their policy of physical extermination of the Slav peoples.

(Signed:)

Chairman of the Special Commission, Member of the Extraordinary State Committee Academician N. N. Burdenko.

Members:

Member of Extraordinary State Committee, Academician Alexei Tolstol,

Member of the Extraordinary State Committee, Metropolitan Nikolai.

Chairman of the All-Slav Committee, Lt. Gen. A. S. Gundorov.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, S. A. Kolesnikov.

People's Commissar of Education of the Russian SFSR (Academician V. P. Potemkin).

Chief of the Central Medical Administration of the Red Army, Col. Gen. E. I. Smirnov.

Chairman of the Smolensk Regional Executive Committee, R. E. Melnikov.

SMOLENSK, January 24, 1944.

Translated from the Russian.

С О О Б Щ Е Н И Е

СПЕЦИАЛЬНАЯ КОМИССИЯ ПО УСТАНОВЛЕНИЮ И РАССЛЕДОВАНИЮ
ОБСТОЯТЕЛЬСТВ РАССТРЕЛА НЕМЕЦКО-ФАШИСТСКИМИ ЗАХВАТЧИ-
КАМИ В КАТЫНСКОМ ЛЕСУ ВОЕННОПЛЕННЫХ ПОЛЬСКИХ ОФИЦЕРОВ

Постановлением Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии по установлению и расследованию злодеяний немецко-фашистских захватчиков и их сообщников была создана Специальная Комиссия по установлению и расследованию обстоятельств расстрела немецко-фашистскими захватчиками в Катинском лесу /близ Смоленска/ военнопленных польских офицеров.

В состав Комиссии вошли: член Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии академик Н.Н.Евдокимов /председатель Комиссии/, член Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии академик Алексей Толстой, член Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии Митрополит М.С.А., председатель Всеславянского Комитета генерал-лейтенант Г.В.Добровольский; председатель Исполкома Союза общества Красного Креста и Красного Полумесяца Колосовский С.А., народный Комиссар просвещения РСФСР академик Котляков В.А., начальник Главного Военно-Санитарного Управления Красной Армии генерал-полковник Смирнов В.П., председатель Смоленского облисполкома Мельников Г.А.

Для выполнения поставленной перед нею задачи комиссия привлекла для участия в своей работе следующих судебно-медицинских экспертов: главного судебно-медицинского эксперта

2.

Наркомздрава СССР директора научно-исследовательского института судебной медицины ШОСЛОВСКОГО В.И., заведующего кафедрой судебной медицины 2-го Московского медицинского института доктора медицинских наук СМОЛЕНЦОВА В.М., ст.научного сотрудника Государственного научно-исследовательского института судебной медицины Наркомздрава СССР СЕВЕРЯКОВА И.С.; ст.научного сотрудника Государственного Научно-исследовательского института судебной медицины Наркомздрава СССР доцента ШЕЛЮБОВИЧ М.Д.; гл. патолога фронта майора медицинской службы профессора ЗАХАРОВА А.Н.

В распоряжении Специальной Комиссии находился обширный материал, представленный членом Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии академиком И.И.Горбунко, его сотрудниками и судебно-медицинскими экспертами, которые прибыли в гор. Смоленск 26 сентября 1943 года, немедленно после его освобождения и провели предварительное изучение и расследование обстоятельств всех учиненных немцами злодеяний.

Специальная Комиссия проверила и установила на месте, что на 16-ом километре от гор. Смоленска по Витебскому шоссе в районе Катynского леса, именуемом "Козьи Горы", в 200-х метрах от шоссе на юго-запад по направлению к Днепру, находятся могилы, в которых зарыты военнопленные поляки, расстрелянные немецкими оккупантами.

По распоряжению Специальной Комиссии и в присутствии всех членов Специальной Комиссии и судебно-медицинских экспертов могилы были вскрыты. В могилах обнаружено большое количество трупов в польском военном обмундировании. Общее количество

трупов по подсчету судебно-медицинских экспертов достигает 11.000.

Судебно-медицинские эксперты произвели подробное исследование извлеченных трупов и тех документов и вещественных доказательств, которые были обнаружены на трупах и в могилах.

Одновременно со вскрытием могил и исследованием трупов Специальная Комиссия произвела опрос многочисленных свидетелей из местного населения, показаниями которых точно устанавливаются время и обстоятельства преступлений, совершенных немецкими оккупантами.

Из показаний свидетелей выясняется следующее:

КАТЫНСКИЙ ЛЕС

Издавна Катynский лес был излюбленным местом, где население Смоленска обычно проводило праздничный отдых. Окрестное население пасло скот в Катynском лесу и заготавливало для себя топливо. Никаких запретов и ограничений доступа в Катynский лес не существовало.

Такое положение в Катynском лесу существовало до самой войны. Еще летом 1941 года в этом лесу находился пионерский лагерь Промстрахассы, который был свернут лишь в июле 1941 г.

С захватом Смоленска немецкими оккупантами в Катynском лесу был установлен совершенно иной режим. Лес стал охраняться усиленными патрулями; во многих местах появились надписи, предупреждавшие, что лица, входящие в лес без особого пропуска, подлежат расстрелу на месте.

4.

Особенно строго охранялась та часть Катynского леса, которая именовалась "Козьи Горы", а также территория на берегу Днепра, где, на расстоянии 700 мтр. от обнаруженных могил польских военнопленных, находилась дача - дом отдыха Смоленского Управления НКВД. По приходе немцев в этой даче расположилось немецкое учреждение, именовавшееся: "Штаб 537-го строительного батальона".

ВОЕННОПЛЕННЫЕ ПОЛЯКИ В РАЙОНЕ СМОЛЕНСКА

Специальной Комиссией установлено, что до захвата немецкими оккупантами Смоленска в западных районах области на строительстве и ремонте шоссеиных дорог работали польские военнопленные офицеры и солдаты. Размещались эти военнопленные поляки в трех лагерях особого назначения, именовавшихся: лагерь № 1-ОН, № 2-ОН и № 3-ОН, на расстоянии от 25 до 45 км. на запад от Смоленска.

Показаниями свидетелей и документальными материалами установлено, что после начала военных действий, в силу сложившейся обстановки, лагеря не могли быть своевременно эвакуированы и все военнопленные поляки, а также часть охраны и сотрудников лагерей попали в плен к немцам.

Допрошенный Специальной Комиссией быв. нач. лагеря № 1-ОН майор государственной безопасности ВЕТОШНИКОВ В.М. показал:

"...Я ожидал приказа о ликвидации лагеря, но связь со Смоленском прервалась. Тогда я сам с несколькими сотрудниками выехал в Смоленск для выяснения обстановки. В Смоленске я застал напряженное положение. Я обратился к нач.

движения Смоленского участка Западной д.ж. т.КВАНОВУ с просьбой обеспечить лагерь вагонами для вывоза военнопленных поляков. Но т.КВАНОВ ответил, что рассчитывать на получение вагонов я не могу. Я пытался связаться также с Москвой для получения разрешения двинуться пешим порядком, но мне это не удалось.

К этому времени Смоленск уже был отрезан немцами от лагеря и что стало с военнопленными поляками и оставшейся в лагере охраной - я не знаю".

Замешавший в июле 1941 г. начальника движения Смоленского участка Западной ж.д. инженер КВАНОВ С.В. показал Специальной Комиссии:

"Ко мне в отделение обращалась администрация лагерей для польских военнопленных, чтобы получить вагоны для отправки поляков, но свободных вагонов у нас не было. Помимо того, подать вагоны на трассу Гусино, где было больше всего военнопленных поляков, мы не могли, так как эта дорога уже находилась под обстрелом. Поэтому мы не могли выполнить просьб администрации лагерей. Таким образом, военнопленные поляки остались в Смоленской области".

Нахождение польских военнопленных в лагерях Смоленской обл. подтверждается показаниями многочисленных свидетелей, которые видели этих поляков близ Смоленска в первые месяцы оккупации до сентября м-ца 1941 г. включительно.

Свидетельница САШЕНЕВА Мария Александровна, учительница начальной школы дер. Зеньково, рассказала Специальной Комиссии

6.

о том, что в августе м-це 1941 г. она приютила у себя в доме в дер. Зеньково бежавшего из лагеря военнопленного поляка.

"...Поляк был в польской военной форме, которую я сразу узнала, так как в течение 1940-41 г.г. видела на шоссе группы военнопленных поляков, которые под конвоем вели какие-то работы на шоссе... Поляк меня заинтересовал потому, что, как выяснилось, он до призыва на военную службу был в Польше учителем начальной школы. Так как я сама окончила Педтехникум и готовилась быть учительницей, то потому и завела с ним разговор. Он рассказал мне, что окончил в Польше учительскую семинарию, а затем учился в какой-то военной школе и был подпоручиком запаса. С начала военных действий Польши с Германией он был призван на действительную службу, находился в Брест-Литовске, где и попал в плен к частям Красной Армии... Больше года он находился в лагере под Смоленском.

Когда пришли немцы, они захватили польский лагерь, установили в нем жесткий режим. Немцы не считали поляков за людей, всячески притесняли и издевались над ними. Были случаи расстрела поляков ни за что. Тогда он решил бежать. Рассказывая о себе, он сказал, что жена его также учительница, что у него есть два брата и две сестры..."

Уходя на другой день, поляк назвал свою фамилию, которую САШИНЬБА записала в книге. В представленной САШИНЬБОЙ Специальной Комиссии книге "Практические занятия по естествознанию" Ягодковского на последней странице имеется запись:

"ЛОЕК Кзеф и Софья. Город Замостье улица Огородная дом № 25".

В опубликованных немцами списках под № 3796 ЛОЕК Кзеф, лейтенант, значится, как расстрелянный на "Козьих Горах" в Катынском лесу весной 1940 г.

Таким образом, по немецкому сообщению получается, что ЛОЕК Кзеф был расстрелян за год до того, как его видела свидетельница САШЕВА.

Свидетель ДАШЕВНИКОВ Н.В., крестьянин колхоза "Красная Заря" Катынского сельсовета, показал:

"В 1941 г. в августе-сентябре м-це, когда пришли немцы, я встречал поляков, работающих на шоссе группами по 15-20 чел."

Такие же показания дали свидетели: СОЛДАТЕНКОВ - быв. староста дер. Борок, КОЛЧЕВ А.С. - врач Смоленска, ОЛЮШКИН А.П. - священник, СЕРГЕЕВ Т.И. - дорожный мастер, СИЛАВТИН Л.А. - инженер, МОСКОБОСКАЯ А.М. - жительница Смоленска, АЛЕКСАНДРОВ А.П. - председатель колхоза дер. Борок, ЖИДЕВ И.В. - водопроводный техник, ГОЛОДЕЦКИИ В.П. - священник, БАСИВОВА А.Т. - бухгалтер, ВЕТРОВА Е.И. - учительница, САВВАТОВ И.В. - дежурный по ст. Гнездово и др.

ОБЛАВЫ НА ПОЛЬСКИХ ВОЕННОПЛЕННЫХ

Наличие военнопленных поляков осенью 1941 г. в районах Смоленска подтверждается также фактом проведения немцами многочисленных облав на этих военнопленных, бежавших из лагерей.

Свидетель КАРТОШКИН И.М., плотник, показал:

"Военнопленных поляков осенью 1941 г. немцы искали не только в лесах, но и привлекалась полиция для ночных обысков в деревнях".

Быв. староста дер. Новые Батеки ЗАХАРОВ И.Д. показал, что осенью 1941 г. немцы усиленно "прочесывали" деревни и леса в поисках польских военнопленных.

Свидетель ДАНИЛЕНКОВ И.В., крестьянин колхоза "Красная Заря", показал:

"У нас производились специальные облавы по розыску бежавших из-под стражи военнопленных поляков. Такие обыски два или три раза были в моем доме. После одного обыска я спросил старосту СЕРГЕЕВА Константина - кого ищут в нашей деревне. СЕРГЕЕВ сказал, что прибыл приказ из немецкой комендатуры, по которому во всех без исключения домах должен быть произведен обыск, так как в нашей деревне скрываются военнопленные поляки, бежавшие из лагеря. Через некоторое время обыски прекратились".

Свидетель МАТЯКОВ Т.Е., колхозник, показал:

"Облавы по розыску пленных поляков производились несколько раз. Это было в августе-сентябре 1941 года. После сентября 1941 г. такие облавы прекратились и больше никто польских военнопленных не видел".

РАССКАЗЫ ВОЛКОВИЧЕВ ПОЛКОВОД

Упомянутый выше "Штаб 887 строительного батальона", помещавшийся на даче в "Лозьих Горах", не проводил никаких строительных работ. Деятельность его была тщательно законспирирована.

Чем на самом деле занимался этот "штаб", показали многие свидетели, в том числе свидетели: АЛЕКСАНДР А.И., АЛЕКСАНДРОВ О.А. и КОБАКОВСКИЙ З.И. - жители дерев. Горок Катинского с/с.

По распоряжению немецкого команданта поселка Катинь они были направлены старостой деревни Горок - БОДАКИМ КОСОВИ З.И. для работы по обслуживанию личного состава "штаба" на упомянутой даче.

По прибытии в "Лозьи Горы" им через переводчика был поставлен ряд ограничений: было запрещено вовсе удалиться от дачи и ходить в лес, заходить без **вызова** и без сопровождения немецких солдат в комнаты дачи, оставаться в расположении дачи в ночное время. Приходить и уходить на работу разрешалось по строго определенному пути и только в сопровождении солдат.

Это предупреждение было сделано АЛЕКСАНДРОВИ, АЛЕКСАНДРОВИ и КОБАКОВСКОМУ через переводчика немос, единственно самими начальником немецкого учреждения, обер-ст-лейтенантом АЛЕКСАНДРОВИ, который для этой цели поодиночке вызывал их к себе.

По вопросу о личном составе "штаба" АЛЕКСАНДР А.И. показывал:

"На даче в "Козьих Горах" постоянно находилось около 30 немцев, старшим у них был оберст-лейтенант Аппел, его адъютантом являлся обер-лейтенант Рекст. Там находились также лейтенант Лотт, вахмистр Люмерт, унтер-офицер по хозяйственным делам Розе, его помощник Казике, обер-фельдфебель Греневский, ведавший электростанцией, фотограф обер-ефрейтор, фамилию которого я не помню, переводчик из немцев-Поволжья, имя его кажется Иоганн, но мы его называли Иваном, повар немец Густав и ряд других, фамилии и имена которых мне неизвестны".

Вскоре после своего поступления на работу АЛЕКСЕЕВА, МЕЛАНЧУКОВА и КОПАЛОВСКИЙ стали замечать, что на даче совершаются "какие-то темные дела".

АЛЕКСЕЕВА А.И. показала:

"...Переводчик Иоганн, от имени Аппела, нас несколько раз предупреждал о том, что мы должны "держать язык за зубами" и не болтать о том, что видим и слышим на даче.

Кроме того, я по целому ряду моментов догадывалась, что на этой даче немцы творят какие-то темные дела...

В конце августа и большую часть сентября месяца 1941 года на дачу в "Козьи Горы" почти ежедневно приезжало несколько грузовых машин.

Сначала я не обратила на это внимания, но потом заметила, что всякий раз, когда на территорию дачи заезжали эти машины, они предварительно на полчаса, а то и на целый час, останавливались где-то на проселочной дороге, ведущей от шоссе к даче.

Я сделала такой вывод потому, что шум машин через некоторое время после заезда их на территорию дачи утихал. Одновременно с прекращением шума машин начиналась одиночная стрельба. Выстрелы следовали один за другим через короткие, но, примерно, одинаковые промежутки времени. Затем стрельба стихала и машины подтягивались к самой даче.

Из машин выходили немецкие солдаты и унтер-офицеры. Шумно разговаривая между собой, они шли мыться в баню, после чего пьянствовали. Баня в эти дни всегда топилась.

В дни приезда машин на дачу прибывали дополнительно солдаты из какой-то немецкой воинской части. Для них специально ставились койки в помещении солдатского казино, организованного в одной из зал дачи. В эти дни на кухне готовилось большое количество обедов, а к столу подавалась удвоенная порция спиртных напитков.

Незадолго до приезда машин на дачу эти солдаты с оружием уходили в лес, очевидно к месту остановки машин, так как через полчаса или через час возвращались на этих машинах вместе с солдатами, постоянно жившими на даче.

Я, вероятно, не стала бы наблюдать и не заметила бы, как затихает и возобновляется шум прибывающих на дачу машин, если бы каждый раз, когда прибывали машины, нас /меня, Лопуховского и Шендеровского/ не вызывали на кухню, если мы находились в это время на дворе у дачи, или же не выпускали из кухни, если мы находились на кухне.

Это обстоятельство, а также то, что я несколько раз замечала следы свежей крови на одежде двух ефрейторов, заставило меня внимательно присмотреться за тем, что происходило на даче. Тогда я и заметила странные перерывы в движении машин, их остановки в лесу. Я заметила также, что следы крови были на одежде одних и тех же людей - двух ефрейторов. Один из них был высокий, рыжий, другой - среднего роста, блондин.

Из всего этого я заключила, что немцы на машине привозили на дачу людей и их расстреливали. Я даже приблизительно догадывалась, где это происходило, так как, приходя и уходя с дачи, я замечала недалеко от дороги в нескольких местах свеженабросанную землю. Площадь, занятая этой свеженабросанной землей, ежедневно увеличивалась в длину. С течением времени земля в этих местах приняла свой обычный вид".

На вопрос Специальной Комиссии, что за люди расстреливались в лесу близ дачи АЛЕКСАНДРА ответила, что расстреливались военнопленные поляки, и в подтверждение своих слов рассказала следующее:

"Были дни, когда машины на дачу не прибывали, а тем не менее солдаты уходили с дачи в лес, оттуда слышалась частая одиночная стрельба. По возвращении солдаты обязательно шли в баню и затем пьянствовали.

И вот был еще такой случай. Я как-то задержалась на даче несколько позже обычного времени. АЛЕКСАНДРА и КОШКОВСКИХ уже ушли. Я еще не успела закончить своей работы, ради

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который объяснил, как надо вести себя и солдат и сказал, что к мир, надо идти. Он при этом сообщил не раскрываясь кому, он не имел связи с нами до этого.

[illegible][illegible]

В 1970 году в Москве, в доме в центре, куда
приезжали, в частности, все члены семьи Бродского и
его жена — "Короли Рок".

В то время в сторону от меня в ту же минуту было выдвинуто
то самое происшествие на дороге, а именно: в тот момент, когда
от меня отделился, он выдвинулся до конца, выдвинуло вперед и,
уверенный в успехе у человека, который, в то же время, выдвину-
ло его в минуту до того, а именно: в то же время, в то же
моменте, отделился в то же время.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE ACT, THE FOLLOWING ARE THE

...из этого видно и тогда определила, что мы на работе должны работать, официально не платно двум, когда мы платили на даче, но и новых в нас не отпустили. Но что тогда стало известно... и потому, что я занимала место, когда весь вечер на даче собравшись охотились и родят, за исключением часовых, приходится поздно, часам к 10 дня.

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несколько раз о прибытии поляков в "Козьи Горы" мы догадывались по напряженной обстановке, которая царила в это время на даче...

Весь офицерский состав уходил из дачи, в здании оставалось только несколько караульных, а вахмистр беспрерывно проверял посты по телефону..."

МЛАДОБА О.А. показала:

"В сентябре месяце 1941 года в лесу "Козьи Горы" очень часто раздавалась стрельба. Сначала я не обращала внимания на под"езжавшие к нашей даче грузовые автомашины, крытые с боков и сверху, окрашенные в зеленый цвет, всегда сопровождавшиеся унтер-офицерами. Затем я заметила, что эти машины никогда не заходят в наш гараж и в то же время не разгружаются. Эти грузовые автомашины приезжали очень часто, особенно в сентябре 1941 года.

Среди унтер-офицеров, которые всегда ездили в кабинах рядом с шоферами, я стала замечать одного высокого с бледным лицом и рыжими волосами. Когда эти машины под"езжали к даче, то все унтер-офицеры, как по команде, шли в баню и долго в ней мылись, после чего сильно пьянствовали на даче.

Однажды этот высокий, рыжий немец, выйдя из машины, направился в кухню и попросил воды. Когда он пил из стакана воду, я увидела кровь на обшлаге правого рукава его мундира".

МИХАЙЛОВА О.А. и КОПАЛОВСКАЯ З.Н. один раз лично видели, как были расстреляны два военнопленных поляка, очевидно бежавшие от немцев и затем пойманные.

МИХАЙЛОВА об этом показала:

"Однажды, как обычно, я и КОПАЛОВСКАЯ работали на кухне и слышали недалеко от дачи шум. Выйдя за дверь, мы увидели двух военнопленных поляков, окруженных немецкими солдатами, что-то раз'яснявшими унтер-офицеру ГОБЕ, затем к ним подошел оберст-лейтенант АГНЕС и что-то сказал ГОБЕ. Мы спрятались в сторону, так как боялись, что за проявленное любопытство ГОБЕ нас изобьет. Но нас все-таки заметили, и механик ГОЛЫНСКИЙ, по знаку ГОБЕ, загнал нас на кухню, а поляков повел в сторону от дачи. Через несколько минут мы слышали выстрелы. Вернувшиеся вскоре немецкие солдаты и унтер-офицер ГОБЕ оживленно разговаривали. Я и КОПАЛОВСКАЯ, желая выяснить, как поступили немцы с задержанными поляками, снова вышли на улицу. Одновременно с нами вышедший через главный вход дачи ад'ютант АГНЕСА по-немецки что-то спросил ГОБЕ, на что последний также по-немецки ответил: "Все в порядке". Эти слова я поняла, так как их немцы часто употребляли в разговорах между собой. Из всего происшедшего я заключила, что эти два поляка расстреляны".

Аналогичные показания по этому вопросу дала также КОПАЛОВСКАЯ З.Н.

Напуганные тем, что происходило на даче, МИХАЙЛОВА, МИХАЙЛОВА и КОПАЛОВСКАЯ решили под каким-нибудь удобным предлогом

оставить работу на даче. Воспользовавшись снижением им "зарплаты" с 9 марок до 3-х марок в месяц в начале января 1942 г., по предложению МИЛАШОВОЙ, они не вышли на работу. За ними в тот же день вечером приехали на машине, привезли на дачу и в наказание посадили в холодную - МИЛАШОВУ на 8 суток, а АЛЕКСЕЕВУ и КОНАХОВСКУЮ на 3-е суток.

После того, как они отсидели этот срок, их всех уволили.

За время своей работы на даче АЛЕКСЕЕВА, МИЛАШОВА и КОНАХОВСКАЯ боялись делиться друг с другом своими наблюдениями обо всем том, что на даче происходило. Лишь будучи арестованными, сидя в холодной, ночью они поделились об этом.

МИЛАШОВА на допросе от 24 декабря 1943 года показала:

"Здесь мы впервые поговорили откровенно о том, что делается на даче. Я рассказала все, что знала, но оказалось, что и КОНАХОВСКАЯ и АЛЕКСЕЕВА также знали все эти факты, но тоже, как и я, боялись говорить мне об этом. Тут же я узнала о том, что немцы в "Козьих Горах" расстреливали именно польских военнопленных, так как АЛЕКСЕЕВА рассказывала, что она однажды осенью 1941 года шла с работы и лично видела, как немцы загоняли в лес "Козьи Горы" большую группу военнопленных поляков, а затем слышала в этом месте стрельбу".

Аналогичные показания об этом дали также АЛЕКСЕЕВА и КОНАХОВСКАЯ.

Сопоставив свои наблюдения, АЛЕКСЕЕВА, МИЛАШОВА и КОНАХОВСКАЯ пришли к твердому убеждению, что в августе и сентябре меся-

нах 1941 года на даче в "Лозьих Горах" немцами производились массовые расстрелы военнопленных поляков.

Показания АЛЕКСАНДРОВОЙ подтверждаются показаниями ее отца - АЛЕКСАНДРА Михаила, которому она еще в период своей работы на даче осенью 1941 года рассказывала о своих наблюдениях по поводу творимых немцами на даче дел.

"Она мне долго ничего не говорила", - поминал АЛЕКСАНДР Михаил, - "только приходя домой рассказывала, что на даче работать страшно и она не знает, как ей оттуда вырваться. Когда я ее спрашивал, почему ей страшно, она говорила, что в лесу очень часто слышится стрельба. Однажды, придя домой, она сказала мне по секрету, что в лесу "Лозьих Гор" немцы расстреливают поляков. Выслушав дочь, я ее очень строго предупредил, чтобы она больше никому об этом не рассказывала, иначе узнают немцы и пострадает вся наша семья".

Показания о приводе на "Лозьих Горы" военнопленных поляков небольшими группами в 20-30 человек, под охраной 3-7 немецких солдат, дали и другие свидетели, допрошенные специальной Комиссией: АЛЕКСАНДР Н.П. - крестьянин хутора "Лозьих Горы", АЛЕКСАНДРОВ И.П. - плотник станции Красная Гор в Катинском лесу, АБАХОВ С.В. - быв. нач. ст. Гнездово в районе Катинского леса, АЛЕКСАНДР А.В. - дожурный по той же станции, АЛЕКСАНДР П.А. - председатель колхоза д.р. Бором, СТЕПАНОВ А.И. - бывший дожуринской станции и др.

Эти свидетели слышали и выстрелы, раздававшиеся из леса на "Лозьих Горы".

10.

Особо важное значение для выяснения того, что происходило на даче в "Козьих Горах" осенью 1941 г., имеют показания профессора астрономии, директора обсерватории в Смоленске - БАСИЛЕВСКОГО В.В.

Профессор БАСИЛ ВАСИЛ. в первые дни оккупации немцами Смоленска был насильно назначен ими зам. начальника города /бургомистра/, а начальником города был назначен немцами адвокат УЕННБАГНИИ В.Г., впоследствии ушедший вместе с ними, предатель, пользовавшийся особым доверием у немецкого командования и в частности у коменданта Смоленска фон-ШВЕЦ'А.

В начале сентября 1941 г. БАСИЛ ВАСИЛ. обратился с просьбой к УЕННБАГНИИ - ходатайствовать перед комендантом фон-ШВЕЦ об освобождении из лагеря военнопленных № 126 педагога КАПЛИНСКОГО. Выполняя эту просьбу, УЕННБАГНИИ обратился к фон-ШВЕЦ и, затем, передал БАСИЛЕВСКОМУ, что его просьба не может быть удовлетворена, так как по словам фон-ШВЕЦ'А "получена директива из Берлина, предписывающая неукоснительно проводить самый жесткий режим в отношении военнопленных, не допуская никаких послаблений в этом вопросе".

"А невольно возразил, - показал свидетель БАСИЛЕВСКИЙ, - "что же может быть жестче существующего в лагере режима?" УЕННБАГНИИ странно посмотрел на меня и, наклонившись ко мне, тихо ответил: "Может быть! Русские, по крайней мере, сами будут умирать, а вот военнопленных поляков предложено просто уничтожить".

"Как так? Как это понимать?" - воскликнул я.

"Понимать надо в буквальном смысле. Есть такая директива из Берлина", - ответил Гейнц и тут же попросил меня "ради всего святого" никому об этом не говорить..."

"Недели через две после описанного выше разговора с Гейнцем я, будучи снова у него на приеме, не удержался и спросил: "Что слышно о поляках?" Гейнц помедлил, а потом все же ответил: "С ними уже покончено. Кон-швед сказал мне, что они расстреляны где-то недалеко от Смоленска".

"Видя мою растерянность, Гейнц снова предупредил меня о необходимости держать это дело в строжайшем секрете и затем стал "об"яснять" мне линию поведения немцев в этом вопросе. Он сказал, что расстрел поляков является элементом в общей цепи проводимой Германией антипольской политики, особенно обострившейся в связи с заключением русско-польского договора".

Гейнц также рассказал Специальной Комиссии о своей беседе с зондерфюрером 7-го отдела немецкой комендатуры Гильдебрандом - прибалтийским немцем, хорошо говорящим по-русски:

"Гильдебранд с циничной откровенностью заявил мне, что исторически доказана вредность поляков и их бесполезность, а потому уменьшение населения Польши послужит удобрением почвы и создаст возможность для расширения жизненного пространства Германии". В этой связи Гильдебранд с бахвальством рассказал, что в польше интеллигенции не осталось совершенно, так как она повешена, расстреляна и заключена в лагери".

Показания БАЗИЛЕВСКОГО подтверждены опрошенным Специальной Комиссией свидетелем-профессором физики ЕРЯМОВЫМ И.Е., которому БАЗИЛЕВСКИЙ тогда же осенью 1941 г. рассказал о своем разговоре с МЕНЬШАГИНЫМ.

Документальным подтверждением показаний БАЗИЛЕВСКОГО и ЕРЯМОВА являются собственноручные записи МЕНЬШАГИНА, сделанные им в своем блокноте.

Этот блокнот, содержащий в себе 17 неполных страниц, был обнаружен в делах Городского Управления Смоленска после его освобождения Красной Армией.

Принадлежность указанного блокнота МЕНЬШАГИНУ и его почерк удостоверены как показаниями БАЗИЛЕВСКОГО, хорошо знающего почерк МЕНЬШАГИНА, так и графологической экспертизой.

Судя по имеющимся в блокноте датам, его содержание относится к периоду от первых дней августа 1941 года до ноября того же года.

В числе различных заметок по хозяйственным вопросам /о дровах, об электроэнергии, торговле и проч./ имеется ряд записей, сделанных МЕНЬШАГИНЫМ, очевидно, для памяти, как указания немецкой комендатуры Смоленска.

Из этих записей достаточно четко вырисовывается круг вопросов, которыми занималось Управление города, как орган, выполнявший все указания немецкого командования.

на первых трех страницах блокнота подробно изложены порядок организации еврейского "гетто" и система репрессий, которые должны и будут применяться.

На странице 10-ой, помеченной 15 августа 1941 года, значится:

"Всех боявшихся поляков военнопленных задерживать и доставлять в комендатуру".

На странице 15-ой /без даты/ записано:

"Ходят ли среди населения слухи о расстреле польских военнопленных в Кол. гор. /Змнору/".

Из первой записи явствует, во-первых, что 15 августа 1941 года военнопленные поляки еще находились в районе Смоленска и, во-вторых, что они распространялись немецкими властями.

Вторая запись свидетельствует о том, что немецкое командование, обеспокоенное возможностью возникновения слухов о совершенном им преступлении в среде гражданского населения, специально дало указания о пресечении этого своего предположения.

Умнов, который упоминается в записи, был начальником русской полиции Смоленска в первые месяцы его оккупации.

ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ ВЫМЫСЛА ПРОВОКАЦИИ

Зимой 1944-45 г.г. общая военная обстановка резко изменилась не в пользу немцев. Военная мощь Советского Союза все усиливалась, единение СССР с союзниками крепло. Немцы пошли на провокацию, используя для этой цели злодеяния, совершенные ими в катынском лесу, и приписав их органам Советской власти. Таким они рассчитывали поссорить русских с поляками и замести следы своего преступления.

Священник села Суприно Смоленского р-на А.Н.Оглоблин показывал:

"...После Сталинградских событий, когда немцы почувствовали неуверенность, они подняли это дело. Среди населения пошли разговоры, что "немцы свои дела поправляют".

Приступив к подготовке катынской провокации, немцы, в первую очередь, занялись поисками "свидетелей", которые могли бы под воздействием углов, подкупа или угроз дать нужные немцам показания.

Вниманию немцев привлек проживавший на своем хуторе близе Косого даче в "Лозьих Горах" крестьянин Лиселев Карсен Еврилович, 1870 года рождения.

Лиселева вызвали в гестапо еще в конце 1944 года, и, угрожая репрессиями, требовали от него дать вымышленные показания о том, что ему, якобы, известно, как весной 1943 года болельники на даче Умар, в "Лозьих Горах" рассаживали военнопленных поляков

Об этом Киселев показал:

"Осенью 1942 года ко мне домой пришли два полицейских и предложили явиться в гестапо на станцию Гнездово. В тот же день я пошел в гестапо, которое помещалось в двухэтажном доме рядом с железнодорожной станцией. В комнате, куда я зашел, находились немецкий офицер и переводчик. Немецкий офицер, через переводчика, стал расспрашивать меня - давно ли я проживаю в этом районе, чем занимаюсь и каково мое материальное положение.

Я рассказал ему, что проживаю на хуторе в районе "Новых Гор" с 1907 года и работаю в своем хозяйстве. О своем материальном положении я сказал, что приходится испытывать трудности, так как сам я в преклонном возрасте, а сынья на войне.

После непродолжительного разговора на эту тему, офицер заявил, что по имеющимся в гестапо сведениям, сотрудники НКВД в 1940 году в Катынском лесу на участке "Новых Гор" расстреляли польских офицеров, и спросил меня - какие я могу дать по этому вопросу показания. Я ответил, что вообще никогда не слышал, чтобы НКВД производило расстрелы в "Новых Горах", да и вряд ли это возможно, объяснил я офицеру, так как "Новые Горы" совершенно открытое многолюдное место и, если бы там расстреливали, то об этом бы знало все население близлежащих деревень.

Офицер ответил мне, что я все же должен дать такие показания, так как это, вроде, открытое место. За эти показания мне было обещано большое вознаграждение.

Я снова заявил офицеру, что ничего о таких расстрелах не знаю и что этого вообще не могло быть до войны в этом месте. Офицер

смотря на это, офицер упорно настаивал, чтобы я дал ложные показания.

После первого разговора, о котором я уже показал, я был вторично вызван в гестапо лишь в феврале 1943 года. К этому времени мне было известно о том, что в гестапо вызывались и другие жители окрестных деревень и что от них также требовали такие показания, как я от меня.

В гестапо тот же офицер и переводчик, у которых я был на первом допросе, опять требовали от меня, чтобы я дал показания о том, что являлся очевидцем расстрела польских офицеров, произведенного, якобы, немцами в 1940 г. Я снова заявил офицеру гестапо, что это ложь, так как до войны ни о каких расстрелах ничего не слышал и что ложных показаний давать не стану. Но переводчик не стал меня слушать, взял со стола написанный от руки документ и прочитал его. В нем было сказано, что я, Миселев, проживая на хуторе в районе "Бозьих Гор", сам видел, как в 1940 году сотрудники немцев расстреливали польских офицеров. Прочитав этот документ, переводчик предложил мне его подписать. Я отказался это сделать. Тогда переводчик стал кончать меня в этом бранью и угрозами. Под конец он заявил: "Либо вы сейчас же подпишете, или мы вас уничтожим. Выбирайте!"

Подвергшись угрозам, я подписал этот документ, решив, что на этом дело кончится".

В дальнейшем, после того как немцы организовали посещение катынских могил различными "делегациями", Миселева заставили выступить в ряд прибывшей "польской делегации".

Киселев, забыв содержание подписанного в гестапо протокола, спутался и под конец отказался говорить.

Тогда гестапо арестовало Киселева и, неточно избивая его в течение полутора месяцев, вновь добились от него согласия на "публичные выступления".

Об этом Киселев показал:

"В действительности получилось не так.

Весной 1943 года немцы оповестили о том, что ими в катинском лесу в районе "Новых Топ" обнаружены могилы польских офицеров, якобы расстрелянных органами НКВД в 1940 году.

Вскоре после этого ко мне в дом пришел переводчик гестапо и повел меня в лес в район "Новых Топ".

Когда мы вышли из дома и остались вдвоем, переводчик предупредил меня, что я должен сейчас рассказать присутствующим в лесу людям все в точности, как было изложено в поданном им мною в гестапо документе.

Придя в лес, я увидел разрытые могилы и группы неизвестных мне лиц. Переводчик сказал мне, что это "польские делегаты", прибывшие для осмотра могил.

Когда мы подошли к могилам, "делегаты" на русском языке стали задавать мне различные вопросы по поводу расстрела поляков. Но так как со времени моего членства в гестапо прошло более месяца, я забыл все, что было в подписанном мною документе, и стал путаться, а под конец сказал, что ничего о расстреле польских офицеров не знаю.

Польский офицер очень разозлился, а переводчик "грубо отта-

шил меня от "делегации" и прогнал.

На следующий день, утром, к моему двору подехала машина, в которой был офицер гестапо. Разыскав меня во дворе, он объявил, что я арестован, посадил в машину и увез в Смоленский тюрьму...

После моего ареста я много раз вызывался на допросы, но меня больше били, чем допрашивали. Первые раз вызвали, сильно избили и обругали, заявляя, что я их подвел, и потом отправили в камеру.

При следующем вызове мне сказали, что я должен публично заявлять о том, что являюсь очевидцем расстрела польских офицеров большевиками и что до тех пор, пока гестапо не убедится, что я это буду добросовестно делать, я не буду освобожден из тюрьмы. Я заявил офицеру, что лучше буду сидеть в тюрьме, чем говорить людям в глаза ложь. После этого меня сильно избили.

Таких допросов, сопровождавшихся побоями, было несколько, в результате я совершенно обессилел, стал плохо слышать и не мог двигать правой рукой.

Примерно через месяц после моего ареста немецкий офицер вызвал меня и сказал: "Вот видите, клоуны, к чему привело ваше упрямство. Мы решили казнить вас. Утром повезем в Латынский лес и повесим". Я просил офицера не делать этого, стал убеждать его, что я не подхожу для роли "очевидца" расстрела, так как вообще врать не умею и поэтому снова что-нибудь напутаю. Офицер настаивал на своем. Через несколько минут в кабинет вошли солдаты и начали избивать меня резиновыми дубинками.

не выдержав побоев и истязаний, я дал согласие выступить публично с вымышленным рассказом о расстреле поляков большевиками. После этого я был освобожден из тюрьмы с условием — по первому требованию немцев выступать перед "делегацией" в Яценском лесу...

В каждом случае перед тем, как вести меня в лес к раскопкам могил, переводчик приходил ко мне домой вынимал во двор, отводил в сторону, чтобы никто не слышал, и в течение полчасика заставлял выучить наизусть все, что мне нужно будет говорить о ярослы и евреем место расстрела польских офицеров в лесу.

Вспоминаю, что переводчик говорил мне примерно следующее: "Я живу на хуторе в районе "Лозьих Гор" недалеко от дачи... Висноу. 1-го г. я видел, как стреляли в лес поляков и по ночам их там расстреливали". Я обязательно нужно было осторожно сказать, что "это было так-то-то".

После того, как я выучивал то, что мне говорил переводчик, он отводил меня в лес к раскопкам могил и заставлял повторять все это в присутствии прибывших "делегации". Мои рассказы строго контролировались и проверялись переводчиком постоянно.

Однажды я выступал перед какой-то "делегацией" и мне задали вопрос: "Видел ли я лично этих поляков до расстрела их большевиками". Я не был подготовлен к такому вопросу и ответил, как было в действительности, т.е. что видел польских военнопленных до начала войны, так как они находились на порогах. Тогда же переводчик глубоко оттащил меня в сторону и начал допрашивать.

Мне пришлось сказать, что ранее все время молчал, потому что как я видел, что в действительности, рассказ о польских офицерах

производился немцами в 1941 году, но у меня другого выхода не было, так как я постоянно находился под страхом повторного ареста и пыток."

Показания МЫСЛЫВА И.Г. о его вызове в гестапо, последующем аресте и избиениях подтверждаются проживавшими вместе с ним его женой МЫСЛОВОЙ Акимьей, 1870 года рождения, его сыном МЫСЛЫВЫМ Василием, 1911 года рождения, и невесткой МЫСЛОВОЙ Марией, 1918 года рождения, а также занимавшим у МЫСЛЫВА на хуторе комнату дорожным мастером Сергеевым Тимофеем Ивановичем, 1901 года рождения.

Увечья, причиненные МЫСЛЫВУ в гестапо /повреждение плеча, значительная потеря слуха/, подтверждены актом врачебно-медицинского обследования.

В поисках "свидетелей" немцы в дальнейшем заинтересовались работниками железнодорожной станции Инездово, находящейся в двух с половиною километрах от "Лазых Гор".

На эту станцию весной 1940 года прибывали военнопленные поляки, и немцам, очевидно, хотелось получить соответствующие показания железнодорожников. В этих целях весной 1940 года немцами были вызваны в гестапо беглые начальник станции Инездово - Яблонов С.Б., дежурный по станции Савватков А.З. и другие.

Об обстоятельствах своего вызова в гестапо Яблонов С.Б. 1-го года рождения, показал:

"...Это было в марте 1940 года. Меня допрашивал немецкий офицер в присутствии переводчика. Расспросив меня через переводчика о том, кто я такой и какую должность занимаю на станции

Переводчик подчеркнул, что мои показания, как о великом железнодорожного Лучшего станции Гнездо, расположенной (ближе всего к Латинскому лесу, чрезвычайно важна для германского командования и что я жить не буду, если дам такие показания.

Я понял, что попал в чрезвычайно тяжелое положение и что меня ожидает печальная участь, но тем не менее я вновь отказался дать германскому офицеру вымышленные показания.

После этого офицер стал на меня кричать, угрожать избиением и расстрелом, заявляя, что я не понимаю собственной выгоды. Однако, я твердо стоял на своем.

Когда переводчик составил короткий протокол на немецком языке на одной странице и рассказывал своими словами его содержание.

В этом протоколе был записан, как мне рассказывал переводчик, только факт наличия польских военнопленных на станции Гнездо. Когда я стал просить, чтобы мои показания были записаны не только на немецком, но и на русском языке, то офицер только вышел из себя, избил меня резиновой палкой и выгнал из помещения..."

Славатинский А.В., 1880 года рождения, показал:

"...вместо я показал, что действительно в срок 1-го года на ст. Гнездо в нескольких поездах перевозили военнопленных польски и что они на машинах проследовали дальше, в Киев - мне неизвестно. Я также сообщил, что этих польско я позднее встречал неоднократно на шоссе Лосева-Линск, производивших небольшие порции ремонтных работ.

Офицер заявил мне, что я путаю, что я не мог встречать поляков на шоссе, так как они расстреляны большевиками, и требовал, чтобы я именно об этом и показал. Я отказался.

После длительных угроз и угрозыривания офицер посоветовался о чем-то с переводчиком на немецком языке, и переводчик тогда написал короткий протокол и дал мне его на подпись, объяснив, что здесь изложено содержание моих показаний. Я попросил переводчика дать мне возможность самому прочесть протокол, но тот оборвал меня бранью и приказал немедленно же подписать его и убираться вон. Я помедлил минут, переводчик схватил висевшую на стене резиновую дубинку и замахнулся на меня. После этого я подписал подсунутый мне протокол. Переводчик сказал, чтобы я убирался домой и никому не болтал, иначе меня расстреляют..."

Поиски "свидетелей" не ограничились названными лицами. Немцы настойчиво старались разыскать бывших сотрудников НКВД и заставить их дать нужные для них ложные показания.

Случайно арестовав бывшего рабочего гаража Управления Смоленской области ИГНАТЬЯ В.Л., немцы упорно путем угроз и избиений добивались от него дать показания о том, что он, якобы, являлся, не рабочим гаража, а шофером и лично возил на расстрел военнопленных поляков.

По этому вопросу Игнатюк В.Л. 1905 года рождения, показал:

"Когда я был в первый раз на допросе у начальника полиции Алферчика, он, обвиняя меня в агитации против немецких властей, спросил, кем я работал в НКВД. Я ему ответил, что я работал в гараже Управления НКВД, Смоленской области в качестве рабочего.

Алферчик на этом же допросе стал от меня добиваться, чтобы я ему дал показания о том, что я работал в Управлении НКВД не рабочим гаража, а шофером.

Алферчик, не получив от меня нужных показаний, был сильно раздражен и вместе со своим адъютантом, которого он называл Борж, завязали мне голову и рот какой-то тряпкой, сняли с меня брюки, положили на стол и начали бить резиновыми палками.

После этого меня опять вызвали на допрос, и Алферчик требовал от меня, чтобы я дал ему ложные показания о том, что польских офицеров в Катынском лесу расстреляли органы НКВД в 1940 г. о чем мне, якобы, как шоферу, участвовавшему в перевозке польских офицеров в Катынский лес и присутствовавшему при их расстреле, известно. При моем согласии дать такие показания, Алферчик обещал освободить меня из тюрьмы и устроить на работу в полицию, где мне будут созданы хорошие условия жизни, в противном же случае они меня расстреляют.

Последний раз меня в полиции допрашивал следователь Александров, который требовал от меня таких же ложных показаний о расстреле польских офицеров, как и Алферчик, но и у него на допросе я отказался давать вымышленные показания.

После этого допроса меня опять избili и отправили в гестапо.

... В гестапо от меня требовали так же, как и в полиции, ложных показаний о расстреле польских офицеров в Катынском лесу в 1940 году советскими властями, о чем мне, как шоферу, якобы, известно".

В изданной германским Министерством иностранных дел книге, в которой были помещены сфабрикованные немцами материалы по

"Катынском деле", кроме упомянутого выше Леонова П.П., были названы в качестве "свидетелей" Голубов /он же Голубов/, 1907 года рождения, Сильверстоу тригоции, 1901 года рождения, Андрейев Иван, 1917 года рождения, Михайлов Михаил, 1910 года рождения, Леонов Иван, 1910 года рождения и Сильверстоу, 1900 года рождения.

Проверкой установлено, что пореже двое из перечисленных выше /Голубов и Сильверстоу/ уехали в 1940 г. до освобождения Смоленской области Красной армией; следующие двое /Андреев, Голубов, Леонов/ ушли с немцами, а может быть были ими уведены насильно, а последний - захвачен вместе с другими свидетелями на станции Смоленск, работавших при немцах старостой в "Лесной Бор". Был разыскан и допрошен специальной комиссией.

Сильверстоу рассказывал, каким способом немцы получили у него нужные им данные показания по "Катынскому делу":

"В начале марта 1940 года, - показывал Сильверстоу, - когда на квартиру пришел сотрудник гестаповского консульства, который я не знаю, и сказал, что меня вызывают в "Лесной Бор".

Когда я пришел в гестапо, немцы сказали мне, что полковник заявил мне: "Мне известно, что вы работали свидетелем на ст. Смоленск-центральная и должны показать, что в 1940 году немцы Смоленск и окрестности в гоним с военнопленными довели до станции Инзадово, после чего пленные были расстреляны в лесу у "Лесного Бора".

В ответ на это я заявил, что в самом начале в 1940 году действительно покинули Смоленск по направлению на запад, но где была станция назначения - я не знаю...

Офицер сказал мне, что если я по-хорошему не желаю дать показания, то он заставит сделать это по принуждению. После этих слов он взял резиновую дубинку и начал меня избивать. Затем меня положили на скамейку, и офицер вместе с переводчиком бил меня. Сколько было нанесено ударов, я не помню, т.к. вскоре потерял сознание.

Когда я пришел в себя, офицер потребовал от меня подписать протокол допроса, и я, смалодушничая, под воздействием побоев и угроз расстрела, дал ложные показания и подписал протокол. После подписания протокола я был из гестапо отпущен...

Через несколько дней после моего вызова в гестапо, примерно в середине марта 1940 года, ко мне на квартиру пришел переводчик и сказал, что я должен пойти к немецкому генералу и подтвердить там свои показания.

Когда мы пришли к генералу, он спросил у меня - подтверждаю ли я свои показания. Я сказал, что подтверждаю, т.к. еще в пути был предупрежден переводчиком, что если я откажусь подтвердить показания, то испытаю еще гораздо худшее, чем испытал в первый раз в гестапо.

Боясь повторения пыток, я ответил, что свои показания подтверждаю. Потом переводчик приказал мне поднять вверх правую руку и сказал мне, что я принял присягу и могу идти домой.

Установлено, что немцы пытались получить нужные им показания, применяя уговоры, угрозы и истязания, и от других лиц, в частности от бывшего помощника начальника Смоленской тюрьмы Мав.Романа П.С., бывшего работника той же тюрьмы Лопатова В.И. и других.

ОБРАБОТКА КАТЫНСКИХ МОГИЛ

Наряду с поисками "свидетелей", немцы приступили к соответствующей подготовке могил в "Катынском" лесу: к изъятию из одежды "битых или польских военнопленных" всех документов, помеченных датами позднее апреля 1940 года, т.е. времени, когда, согласно немецкой провокационной версии, поляки были расстреляны большевиками; к удалению всех вещественных доказательств, могущих опровергнуть ту же провокационную версию.

Расследованием Специальной Комиссии установлено, что для этой цели немцами были использованы русские военнопленные числом до 500 человек, специально отобранные из лагеря военнопленных № 126.

Специальная Комиссия располагает многочисленными свидетельскими показаниями по этому вопросу.

Из них особого внимания заслуживают показания врачебного персонала упомянутого лагеря.

Врач ЧИЛОВ А.Т., работавший в лагере № 126 в дни оккупации немцами Смоленска, показал:

"... Примерно в начале марта месяца 1943 года из Смоленского лагеря военнопленных № 126, из числа более физически крепких пленных, отобрано было несколько партий, общим количеством до 500 человек, для направления, якобы, на охотничьи работы. Впоследствии никто из этих пленных в лагерь не вернулся".

Врач КИРГОВ В.А., также работавший при немцах в том же лагере, показал:

планных 12 140 в городе Смоленске. В начале марта 1940 года он с колонной военнопленных в несколько сот человек был направлен из лагеря в Лынский лес. Там их, в том числе и Леонова, составляли раскапывать могилы, в которых были трупы — прежде польских офицеров, ртыскивать эти трупы на поверхности земли, искать их карманных документов, письма, оговорочники и все остальное. Со стороны немцев был строгий приказ, чтобы в Лыском лесу ничего не оставлять. Для военнопленных были выделены инструменты, что после того, как они отсылались в лагерь, немцы о них в этих лагерях обдумывали какие-то планы.

После этого из одежды, которую они брали с собой, были домыты и письма прочтены и для немцев оказалось, что они оставили пленных чью-нибудь часть обмундирования, острельные броски в руки из "яты", тактичные карты, оговорочники, которые потом сгорели.

После того, как были трупы польских офицеров и немцы составляли раскапывать какие-то документы, которые они доставили из привозных с собой ящиков или чужих вещей /только не забыть/.

Все военнопленные были на территории Лынского леса в тяжелых условиях, под открытым небом и очень холодно...

В начале марта 1940 года все это, в том числе, немцы, видимо, были закончены, так как с декабря 1939 года военнопленных не доставляли в лагерь...

В этот момент их всех без исключения поднимали и вывозили в лагерь. Охрана была усилена. Этого заключало что-то и Леонов стал с особым вниманием следить за всем тем, что происходило. Для них чужая и неизвестная земля была. Состояли в лагере...

на какой-то подлинке у ямы. Он увидел, как группу военнопленных отделили от общей массы, погнали к яме, а затем стали расстреливать.

Военнопленные заводновались, замучились, задвигались. Недалеко от ШТОРОВА несколько человек военнопленных набросались на охрану, другие охранники побежали к этому месту. ШТОРОВ воспользовался этим моментом замешательства и бросился бежать в темноту леса, слыша за собой крики и выстрелы.

После этого страшного рассказа, который врезался в мою память на всю жизнь, мне ШТОРОВ стало очень жаль и я просила его зайти ко мне в комнату отогреться и скрываться у меня до тех пор, пока он не наберется сил. Но ШТОРОВ не согласился... Он сказал, что во что бы то ни стало сегодня ночью уйдет и постарается пробраться через линию фронта к частям Красной Армии.

Но в этот вечер ШТОРОВ не ушел. На утро, когда я пошла проверить, он оказался в сарае. Как выяснилось, ночью он пытался уйти, но после того, как прошел шагов пятьдесят, почувствовал такую слабость, что вынужден был возвратиться. Видимо, сказалось длительное истощение в лагере и голод последних дней. Мы решили, что он еще день-два побудет у меня с тем, чтобы окрепнуть. Накормив ШТОРОВА, я ушла на работу.

Когда вечером я возвратилась домой, мои соседки - ЛАРИОНОВА Мария Ивановна и ЛАБАНОВСКАЯ Екатерина Викторовна сообщили мне, что днем во время облавы немецкими полицейскими в моем сарае был обнаружен пленный красноармеец, которого они увели с собой".

40.

В связи с обнаружением в сарае МОСКОВСКОЙ военнопленного ЕГОРОВА она вызывалась в гестапо, где ее обвиняли в укрывательстве военнопленного.

МОСКОВСКАЯ на допросах в гестапо упорно отрицала какое-либо отношение к этому военнопленному, утверждая, что о нахождении его в сарае, принадлежавшем ей, она ничего не знает. Не добившись признания от Московской, а также и потому, что военнопленный ЕГОРОВ, видимо, МОСКОВСКОМУ не выдал, она была выпущена из гестапо.

Тот же ЕГОРОВ рассказал МОСКОВСКОЙ, что часть военнопленных, работавших в Катынском лесу, помимо выкапывания трупов, занималась привозом в Катынский лес трупов из других мест. Привезенные трупы сваливались в ямы вместе с выкопанными ранее трупами.

Факт доставки в катынские могилы в большом количестве трупов расстрелянных немцами в других местах подтверждается также показаниями инженера-механика СУХАЧЕВА П.Ф.

СУХАЧЕВ П.Ф. 1912 года рождения, инженер-механик системы "Росглавхлеб", работавший при немцах машинистом на Смоленской городской мельнице, подал 8 октября 1943 года заявление с просьбой о вызове.

Будучи вызван Специальной Комиссией, он показал:

"...Как-то раз на мельнице во второй половине марта месяца 1943 года я заговорил с немецким шофером, немного владевшим русским языком. Выяснив у него, что он везет муку в деревню Савенки для воинской части и на другой день возвращается в Смоленск, я попросил его захватить меня с собой, дабы иметь воз-

возможность купить в деревне жирующие продукты. При этом я учитывал, что проезд на немецкой машине для меня исключал риск быть задержанным на пропускном пункте. Немецкий шофер согласился за плату. В тот же день, в десятом часу вечера, мы выехали на шоссе Смоленск - Битебск. нас в машине было двое - я и немец-шофер. Ночь была светлая, лунная, однако устилавший дорогу туман несколько снижал видимость. Примерно на 22-23 километре от Смоленска, у разрушенного мостика на шоссе, был устроен обезд с довольно крутым спуском. Мы стали уже спускаться с шоссе на обезд, как нам навстречу из тумана внезапно показалась грузовая машина. То ли от того, что тормоза у нашей машины были не в порядке, то ли от неопытности шофера, но мы не сумели затормозить нашу машину и вследствие того, что обезд был довольно узкий, столкнулись с шедшей навстречу машиной. Столкновение было не сильным, так как шофер встречной машины успел взять в сторону, вследствие чего произошел скользящий удар боковых сторон машин. Однако, встречная машина, попав правым колесом в канаву, свалилась одним боком на косогор. Наша машина осталась на колесах. Я и шофер немедленно выскочили из кабинки и подошли к свалившейся машине. Меня поразили сильный трупный запах, очевидно, шедший от машины. Подойдя ближе, я увидел что машина была заполнена грузом, покрытым сучьими брезентами, затянутыми веревками. От удара веревки лопнули, и часть груза вывалилась на косогор. Это был страшный груз. Это были трупы людей, одетых в военную форму.

Около машины находилось, насколько я помню, человек 6-7, из них один немец-шофер, двое вооруженных четочками немца, а

остальные были русскими военнопленными, так как говорили по-русски и одеты были соответствующим образом.

Немцы с руганью набросились на моего шофера, затем предприняли попытку поставить машину на колеса. Минуты через две к месту аварии подъехали еще две грузовых машины и остановились. С этих машин к нам подошла группа немцев и русских военнопленных, всего человек 10. Общими усилиями все стали поднимать машину. Воспользовавшись удобным моментом, я тихо спросил одного из русских военнопленных: "Что это такое?" Тот также тихо мне ответил: "Которую уж ночь возим трупы в катынский лес".

Свалившаяся машина еще не была поднята, как ко мне и моему шоферу подошел немецкий унтер-офицер и отдал приказание нам немедленно ехать дальше. Так как на нашей машине никаких серьезных повреждений не было, то шофер, отведя ее немного в сторону, выбрался на шоссе, и мы поехали дальше.

Проезжая мимо подошедших позднее двух машин, крытых брезентом, я также почувствовал страшный трупный запах".

Показания Сидорова подтверждаются показаниями Шурова Владимира Александровича, состоявшего в период оккупации на службе в полиции в качестве полицейского.

Шуров показал, что неся по роду своей службы охрану моста на перекрестке шоссе катинской дороги Лосква-Винск и Смоленск - Витебск, он несколько раз ночью в конце марта и в первые дни апреля 1940 года наблюдал, как по направлению к Смоленску проезжали большие грузовые машины, крытые брезентом, от которых шел сильный трупный запах. В кабинках машин и сзади поверх

Брезента сидело по несколько человек, из которых некоторые были вооружены и, несомненно, являлись немцами.

О своих наблюдениях Шторов доложил начальнику полицейского участка в деревне Архиповки Голознеру Луизе Домьяновичу, который посоветовал ему "держать язык за зубами" и добавил: "что нас не касается, нечего нам путаться в немецкие дела".

О том, что немцы пер возили трупы на грузовых машинах в Катынский лес, дал также показания Николай-Семенов Шор Яковлевич, 1890 года рождения, бывш. агент по снабжению столовых Смоленского треста столовых, а немцев — начальник полиции Катынского участка.

Он показал, что лично видел один раз в начале апреля 1940 года, как с шоссе в Катынский лес прошли четыре немецких бронетранспортера, в которых сидело несколько человек, вооруженных автоматами и винтовками. От этих машин шел резкий трупный запах.

Из приведенных свидетельских показаний со всей ясностью можно заключить, что немцы расстреливали поляков и в других местах. Своими трупами в Катынский лес, они преследовали тройную цель: во-первых, уничтожить следы своих собственных злодеяний; во-вторых, свалить свои преступления на советскую власть; в-третьих, увеличить количество "большевистских жертв" в могилах Катынского леса.

"ЭКСПУРСИИ" НА КАТЫНСКИЕ МОГИЛЫ

В апреле месяце 1943 года, закончив все подготовительные работы на могилах в Катынском лесу, немецкие оккупанты приступили к широкой агитации в печати и по радио, пытаясь приписать Советской власти зверства, совершенные ими самими над военнопленными полками. В качестве одного из методов этой провокационной агитации, немцы организовали посещения катынских могил жителями Смоленска и его окрестностей, а также и "делегациями" из стран, оккупированных немецкими захватчиками, или находящихся в вассальной зависимости от них.

Специальная Комиссия опросила ряд свидетелей, участвовавших в "экспурсиях" на катынские могилы.

Свидетель ЗУБКОВ К.П., врач патолого-анатом, работавший в качестве судебно-медицинского эксперта в Смоленске, показал Специальной Комиссии:

"...Одежда трупов, особенно шинели, сапоги и ремни, была довольно хорошо сохранившаяся. Металлические части одежды - пряжки ремней, пуговицы, крючки, шипы на ботинках и прочее имели не резко выраженную ржавчину и в некоторых случаях местами сохраняли блеск металла. Доступные осмотру ткани тела трупов - лица, шеи, руки имели преимущественно грязный зеленоватый цвет, в отдельных случаях грязнокоричневый, но полного разрушения тканей, гниения не было. В отдельных случаях были видны обнаженные сухожилия белесоватого цвета и часть лица. Во время

48.

ПОЛКОВНИК НИКИТА ВАНЮШИН СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВУЕТ О СВОИХ ЗЛОДЕЯНИЯХ

Организованные немцами "экскурсии" не достигли своей цели. Все побывавшие на могилах убедились в том, что перед ними налицо самая грубая и явная немецко-фашистская провокация. Поэтому со стороны немецких властей принимались меры к тому, чтобы заставить свидетелей молчать.

Специальная Комиссия располагает показаниями целого ряда свидетелей, которые рассказали о том, как преследовали немецкие власти тех, кто сомневался, или не верил в провокацию. Их увольняли со службы, арестовывали, упрощали расстрелом. Комиссия установила два случая расстрела за неумение "держать язык за зубами": такая расправа была учинена над бывшим немецким полицейским ЗАГАНОВЫМ и над ЕГОРОВЫМ А.И., работавшим на раскопках могил в Катынском лесу.

Показания о преследовании немцами людей, выражавших свои сомнения после посещения могил в Катынском лесу, дали: уполномоченный № 1 Смоленска ЗИТАРОВА И.С., помощник санитарного врача Смоленского райздрава СМОЛЕНСКА МОЗГОВА В.П. и другие.

Быв. нем. полиции катынского участка ЛЮБОВЬ-ОСНОВОВ А.И. показал:

"Создалась обстановка, вызвавшая серьезную тревогу в немецкой комендатуре, и на места полицейских аппаратов срочно

были даны указания, во что бы то ни стало пресечь все вредные разговоры и арестовать всех лиц, рассказывающих неверные в "катынское дело".

Мне лично, как нач. участковой полиции, такие указания дали: в конце мая 1943 г. немецкий комендант с.Катынь обер-лейтенант БРАУНГ и в начале июня - нач. Смоленского районной полиции КАМЕНЕВИЧ.

Я созвал инструктивное совещание полицейских своего участка, на котором предложил записывать и доставлять в полицию каждого рассказывающего неверные и сомнительные в правдоподобии сообщения немцев о расстреле большевиков польских военнопленных.

Выполнил эти указания немецких властей, я лично кривил душой, так как сам был уверен, что "катынское дело" - немецкая провокация. Полностью я убедился в этом, когда лично побывал на "экскурсии" в Катынском лесу.

Видя, что "экскурсии" местного населения на катынские могилы не достигают цели, немецкие оккупационные власти летом 1943 г. распорядились зарыть эти могилы.

Перед своим отступлением из Смоленска немецкие оккупационные власти стали наспех заматывать следы своих злодеяний. Лача, которую занимал "штаб 537" строительного батальона, была сожжена до тла. Трех девушек - АЛЕКСОВИЧ, МИХАЙЛОВУ и КОМАРОВСКУЮ немцы развешивали в дер.Борок, чтобы увести с собой, а может быть и уничтожить. Развешивали немцы и своего главного "свя-

детей: КИСЕЛЕВА П.Г., но тот вместе со своей семьей успел скрыться. Немцы сожгли его дом.

Немцы старались схватить и других "свидетелей" - быв. начальника станции Гнездово ИВАНОВА С.В. и быв. дежурного по этой станции САВВАТЕЕВА И.В., а также быв. сцепщика ст. Смоленск ЗАХАРОВА И.Д.

В самые последние дни перед отступлением из Смоленска немецко-фашистские оккупанты искали профессоров БАЗИЛЕВСКОГО и БЛИНОВА. Обоим удалось избежать увода или смерти лишь потому, что они заблаговременно скрылись.

Однако, замести следы и скрыть свои преступления немецко-фашистским захватчикам не удалось.

Произведенная судебно-медицинская экспертиза эксгумированных трупов с неопровержимой ясностью доказывает, что расстрел военнопленных поляков был произведен самими немцами.

Ниже приводится акт судебно-медицинской экспертизы.

АКТ СУДЕБНО-МЕДИЦИНСКОЙ ЭКСПЕРТИЗЫ

По указанию Специальной Комиссии по установлению и расследованию обстоятельств расстрела немецко-фашистскими захватчиками в Катынском лесу (близ г.г. Смоленска) военнопленных польских офицеров, судебно-медицинская экспертная комиссия в составе:

Главного судебно-медицинского эксперта Наркомздрава СССР,
директора Государственного Научно-Исследовательского институ-
та судебной медицины Наркомздрава СССР - В.Н.ПЕТЕРСОНСКОГО;

Профессора судебной медицины 4-го Московского Государст-
венного медицинского института, доктора медицинских наук -
В.Н.СКОПЦОВСКОГО;

Профессора патологической анатомии, доктора медицинских
наук - Л.Н.ВИТКОМАНОВА;

Старшего научного сотрудника Гистологического отделения
Государственного Научно-Исследовательского института судеб-
ной медицины Наркомздрава СССР, доктора Л.С.СЕРГЕЕВУ;

Старшего научного сотрудника Судебно-Учебного отделен-
ия Государственного Научно-Исследовательского института су-
дебной медицины Наркомздрава СССР, доктора М.П.УВАКИНСКОГО;

при участии:

Главного судебно-медицинского эксперта Западного фронта,
майора медицинской службы И.И.СКОПЦОВСКОГО;

Судебно-медицинского эксперта А.А.Кривин, капитана меди-
цинской службы Е.С.СЕРГЕЕВА;

Начальника Патолого-анатомической лаборатории 92-й меди-
цинской службы - С.П.КОТЛОВА;

Майора медицинской службы С.П.СЕРГЕЕВА;

Врача-специалиста, старшего лейтенанта медицинской служ-
бы С.А.КИСЕЛЕВА;

Старшего лейтенанта медицинской службы ПУШКАРЕВОЙ; в период с 16-го по 23-е января 1944 г. произвела эксгумацию и судебно-медицинское исследование трупов польских военнопленных, погребенных в могилах на территории "Козьи Горы" в Катынском лесу, в 15-ти километрах от г.г. Смоленска. Трупы польских военнопленных были погребены в общей могиле размером около 60х60х3 метра и, кроме того, в отдельной могиле размером около 7х6х3,5 метра. Из могил эксгумировано и исследовано 925 трупов.

Эксгумация и судебно-медицинское исследование трупов произведены для установления:

- а) личности покойных;
- б) причины смерти;
- в) давности погребения.

ОБСТОЯТЕЛЬСТВА ДЕЛА: см. материалы Специальной Комиссии.

ОБЪЕКТИВНЫЕ ДАННЫЕ: см. протоколы судебно-медицинских исследований трупов.

и другие документы, а также ценности (сливки золота, валюты доллары), трубки, часовы механизмы, ножи, курительная бумага, носовые платки и др.;

д) на части документов (даже без специальных исследований) при осмотре их констатированы даты, относящиеся к периоду от 12 ноября 1940 г. до 20 июня 1941 г.;

е) ткань одежды, особенно шинелей, мундиров, брюк и верхних рубашек, хорошо сохранилась и с очень большим трудом поддается разрыву руками;

ж) у очень небольшой части трупов (20 из 925) были обнаружены следы повреждения туловища с помощью булавы или иного орудия.

Состояние одежды на трупах, именно тот факт, что мундиры, рубашки, поясные ремни, брюки и кальсоны застегнуты; сапоги или ботинки надеты; шарфы и галстуки повязаны вокруг шеи, помочи пристегнуты, рубашки заправлены в брюки — свидетельствует, что переднего осмотра трупов и констатации трупов ранее не производилось.

Сохранность ногтей на пальцах на голове и отсутствию на них, а также на пальцах груди и кисти (время трех суток по 925) таких бытовых дел, как мытье, расчесывание и других признаков и особенно факт, что ногти не имеют, что требует судебно-медицинского исследования трупов не производилось, судя по фактам, что на судебно-медицинской экспертизе не проводилось.

Важнейшим из них является то, что в Катинском лесу не было ни одного выстрела, ни одной пули, ни одного патрона, ни одного снаряда, ни одного предмета, который бы указывал на то, что там происходила стрельба. Это обстоятельство является одним из самых важных доказательств того, что там не было стрельбы.

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5.

Ученые считают, что "человек и общество" является одним из наиболее перспективных направлений исследований в области стрельбы. Поэтому, что касается Б.П. Казанкина, в этом направлении работ.

Зачинщиково-Евнин: «Хотел и выехать отсюда. Но не-
звестно, куда. Идея переместиться сюда, где безопасно. Вперед
погоде. При этом куплю» начал проваливать через границу. Но не
отдали. Колесного моста для выезда от них и разоружения. В
ночь, казалось, произошла смерть.

Обнадежились, что остаток своего чужака изверг Гол. в море, но потом, по своим нуждам, он вынужден был организовать пограничную службу и сам же себе чужими силами ее организовал.

[illegible]

Важнейшим условием работы наших детей является то, что мы не должны забывать о том, что они являются детьми, а не просто участниками соревнований. Поэтому мы должны уделять особое внимание их психологическому состоянию, их эмоциональному состоянию, их состоянию здоровья. Мы должны помнить, что дети являются людьми, а не просто участниками соревнований. Поэтому мы должны уделять особое внимание их психологическому состоянию, их эмоциональному состоянию, их состоянию здоровья. Мы должны помнить, что дети являются людьми, а не просто участниками соревнований.

ряде случаев мышца сердца на разрезах имела ясно различное строение и присущую ей окраску, а головной мозг представлял характерные структурные особенности с отчетливо выраженной границей серого и белого вещества. Кроме макроскопического исследования тканей и органов трупов, учебно-медицинской группой излит соответствующий материал для последующих микроскопических и химических исследований в лабораторных условиях.

В сохранившихся тканях и органах трупов имели известное значение свойства почвы на месте обнаружения.

По вскрытию могил и излитии жидкостей и исследование их на воздухе они подвергались гниению, а также и в течение весенне-летнего сезона 1945 г. Это могло оказать влияние на живые разлагающиеся процессы разложения трупов.

Сильно отмечены обезображивания трупов и образования в них микроэрозия, особо характерна поврежденность мышц и внутренних органов, а также и повреждение основными утверждениями, что трупы находились в земле недолгое время.

Сопоставляя состояние трупов в могилах на территории "Новых Гор" с состоянием трупов в других местах захоронения в г. Смоленске и его ближайших окрестностях — в Редечковке, Угличевине, Рендовке, деревне "188", Красном Бору и т.д. (см. акт суд.мед.исследования от 14-го октября 1945 г.), надлежит признать, что повреждение трупов полковых военнослужащих на территории "Новых Гор" не превышает около 4-х лет после захоронения. Это находит свое полное подтверждение в обнаружении в земле на трупах дождевых червей, также более ранние сроки наступления (см.

пункт "д" ст.36 и опись документов).

Судебно-медицинская экспертная комиссия на основе данных
и результатов исследований -

считает установленным акт умиротворения путем расстрела
военнопленных офицерского и частично рядового состава польской
армии;

утверждает, что этот расстрел относится к периоду около 2-х лет тому назад, т.е. между сентябрем-ноябрем 1941 г.;

устанавливает в факте обнаружения судочно-религиозной преступной комиссией в отделе трудов ценностей и документов, имеющих дату 1941 г. - доказательство того, что немецко-фашистские власти, предпринимавшие в весенне-летний период 1942 г. обход групп, произвели его не тщательно, а обнаруженные документы свидетельствуют о том, что преступел произведен после июня 1941 г.;

констатирует, что в 1942 г. немцами произведено крайне ничтожное число вербовки* трудов насчитывавших польских военнопленных;

отличает полную идентичность методов преступной деятельности
военнопленных со способом расстрелов мирных советских граждан
и советских военнопленных, широко практикуемых на территории
Ташкентским властями на временно оккупированной территории
СССР, в том числе в городах - Смоленск, Сала, Уфы, Сам, Красно-
даре, Воронеже.

Государственный судбно-исследовательский институт
0907, тираж 1000 экз., издательство «Юридический»
Томского государственного университета, Томск.
В 0907 - в. у. прозорова.

77.

Трудовой "Суд" в г. Казань - на "Сколько-
то" "Сколько" и "Сколько" по "Сколько" по
"Сколько" "Сколько" "Сколько"

М. М. СКОЛЬКО

Трудовой "Суд" в г. Казань, "Сколько" "Сколько"
"Сколько" "Сколько" "Сколько"

М. М. СКОЛЬКО

Трудовой "Суд" в г. Казань, "Сколько" "Сколько"
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М. М. СКОЛЬКО

по "Сколько" "Сколько" "Сколько" "Сколько"

ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ МАССОВОГО КАЗН

После казни, в результате казни в "Сколько" "Сколько" "Сколько"
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Из обнаруженных судебно-следственными органами следователей заключают особую внимания следующие:

1. На трупе № 93:

Письмо из Вязьмы, адресованное Катанову И. И. из Центрального Бюро военнопленных - Москва, ул. Пушкинская, 14. Письмо написано на русском языке. В этом письме Ольга ЗИГУН просит сообщить местонахождение ее мужа Томаса ЗИГУНА. Письмо датировано 12.IX-40 г. На конверте имеется надпись: "Почтовый штамп - "Вязьма, 1X-40" и штамп - "Успенское, 9 экспедиция, 28.IX-40 года" и надпись карандашом на русском языке: "Уч. установить лагеря и направить для работы 15.XI-40 г." (подпись неизвестный).

2. На трупе № 1:

Почтовая открытка, датированная "01.IX из Тарнополя в почтовым штампом "Тарнополь 12.VI-40 г."

"Рукописи" те же, что и в письме обещанном.

3. На трупе № 101:

Визитница: 19393 от 10.XII-1939г., выданная Нозольским директором в тюрьме от Завидовского Окружного Адмирала золотых часов. На обороте визитницы имеется запись от 14 марта 1941 года о продаже этих часов в Ленинград.

4. На трупе № 11:

Визитница (с надписью), выданная 11.XII-1939г. Старофлотским лагерем в тюрьме от АРАДОВСКИХ Адмирала "Рудольфовича" золотых часов. На обороте визитницы имеется надпись:

от 25 МАРТА 1941 г. о том, что часы проданы Евелинотому.

5. На трупе № 71:

Евхимная иконка с изображением Христа, обитрученная между 144 и 145 страницами католического молитвенника. На обороте иконки имеется надпись, из которой разборчива надпись - "Льви-ни" и дата "4 апреля 1941 г."

6. На трупе № 46:

Квитанция от 6 АПРЕЛЯ 1941 г., выданная лагерем № 1-ОН о приеме от АРАШ ВУЖИЧА денег в сумме 245 рублей.

7. На той же трупе № 46:

Квитанция от 5 МАЯ 1941 г., выданная лагерем № 1-ОН о приеме от АРАШ ВУЖИЧА денег в сумме 100 рублей.

8. На трупе № 101:

Квитанция от 18 МАЯ 1941 г., выданная лагерем № 1-ОН о приеме от ЛИБАНТОВИЧЕВО В. денег в сумме 175 рублей.

9. На трупе № 53:

Неоплаченная почтовая открытка из польского издательства: Варшава, Бюро изд. 15-1147 Имя: КИЛИНСКОЙ. Датирована 20 МАЯ 1941 г. Страницы: От Ирины КИЛИНСКОЙ...

О Б Щ И Е В Ы В О Д Ы

Из всех материалов, находящихся в распоряжении Специальной Комиссии, а именно - показаний свыше 100 опрошенных ею свидетелей, данных судебно-медицинской экспертизы, документов и вещественных доказательств, извлеченных из могил Катынского леса, с неопровержимою ясностью вытекают нижеследующие выводы:

1. Военнопленные поляки, находившиеся в трех лагерях западнее Смоленска и занятые на дорожно-строительных работах до начала войны, оставались там и после вторжения немецких оккупантов в Смоленск до сентября 1941 г. включительно;

2. В Катынском лесу осенью 1941 г. производились немецкими оккупационными властями массовые расстрелы польских военнопленных из вышеуказанных лагерей;

3. Массовые расстрелы польских военнопленных в Катынском лесу производило немецкое военное учреждение, скрывавшееся под условным наименованием "штаб 537 строительного батальона", во главе которого стояли оберст-лейтенант АГНЕС и его сотрудники - обер-лейтенант РЕКСТ, лейтенант ЛОТТ;

4. В связи с ухудшением для Германии общей военнополитической обстановки к началу 1943 г. немецкие оккупационные власти в провокационных целях предприняли ряд мер к тому, чтобы приписать свои собственные злодеяния органам советской власти в расчете поссорить русских с поляками;

5. В этих целях:

а/ немецко-фашистские захватчики, путем уговоров, попыток подкупа, угроз и варварских истязаний, старались

8. Расстреливая польских военнопленных в Катынском лесу, немецко-фашистские захватчики последовательно осуществляли свою политику физического уничтожения славянских народов.

ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЬ Специальной Комиссии, член Чрезвычайной
Государственной Комиссии, академик
/ П. П. ЕРДЕНКО /.

ЧЛЕНЫ. Член Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии,
академик / Алексей ТОЛСТОЙ /.

Член Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии -
Митрополит / М. И. ОДАН /.

Председатель Всеславянского Комитета генерал-лейтенант
/ А. С. ГОДОРОВ /.

Председатель исполкома Союза Обществ "Красного Креста"
и "Красного Полумесяца" / С. А. КОЛОСОВ /.

Народный комиссар Просвещения РСФСР, академик
/ В. П. ПОПОВ /.

Начальник Главного Военно-Санитарного Управления
Красной Армии, генерал-полковник / В. А. СЛАДКОВ /.

Председатель Смоленского облисполкома / Г. А. МАШИНСКИЙ /.

24 января 1944 года, гор. Смоленск.

сг.

найти "свидетелей" из числа советских граждан, от которых добивались ложных показаний о том, что военнопленные поляки якобы были расстреляны органами советской власти весной 1940 г.;

б/ немецкие оккупационные власти весной 1940 г. сложили из других мест трупы расстрелянных ими военнопленных поляков и складывали их в разрытые могилы катынского леса с расчетом скрыть следы своих собственных злодеяний и увеличить число "жертв большевистских зверств" в катынском лесу;

в/ готовясь к своей провокации, немецкие оккупационные власти для работ по разрытию могил в катынском лесу, извлечению оттуда incriminating их документов и вещественных доказательств использовали до 500 русских военнопленных, которые по выполнении этой работы были немцами расстреляны.

6. данными судебно-медицинской экспертизы с несомненностью устанавливаются:

а/ время расстрела - осень 1941 г.;

б/ применение немецкими палачами при расстреле польских военнопленных того же способа пистолетного выстрела в затылок, который применялся ими при массовых убийствах советских граждан в других городах, в частности, в Ополе, Горонске, Краснодаре и в том же Смоленске.

7. Выводы из свидетельских показаний и судебно-медицинской экспертизы о расстреле немцами военнопленных поляков осенью 1941 года полностью подтверждаются вещественными доказательствами и документами, извлеченными из катынских могил;

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Since that communication has been read into the record I think it should be made clear that when they speak of an official investigation, what they mean is an all-Russian investigation. I think that should be made clear so there will be no misunderstanding.

Chairman MADDEN. That is right. The remarks of the gentleman from Michigan are part of the record.

The first witness will be Dr. Edward Miloslavich. The doctor will take the chair.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, Dr. Edward Miloslavich is a witness before your committee this morning. He was a member of the International Commission of Medical Authorities taken to the Katyn mass graves in April 1943 at the time of the German investigation. Will you swear him in.

Chairman MADDEN. Doctor, if you will stand to be sworn. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in the hearing about to be held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DR. EDWARD LUCAS MILOSLAVICH, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, will you state your full name for the purpose of the record, please.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Dr. Edward Lucas Miloslavich, spelled L-u-c-a-s M-i-l-o-s-l-a-v-i-c-h.

Chairman MADDEN. I might state for the record that the Doctor is appearing here under subpoena.

Chairman MADDEN. Doctor, would you like to make a general statement, or would you like to start your testimony and then have the counsel or the members interrupt you from time to time? The committee wants you to select whichever way you would like to proceed. If you wish you may make a general statement as to when you first became familiar and knew about the Katyn massacres and then what transpired immediately after and proceed from there without interruption. Whatever way you would like to proceed is satisfactory to the committee.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that the doctor identify himself and give the committee a statement of his own personal background. Then I would like to ask the doctor to make a statement without interruption and the committee may interrogate later.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, where were you born?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Oakland, Calif.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. December 1884.

Mr. MITCHELL. December 1884?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you give the committee a brief history of your own personal background from the date of your birth until the time you returned to Europe?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. My father took me back to Europe to Austria when I was a child of approximately 7 years to give us an Austrian

education. He sent me to the University of Vienna and I studied medicine at the University of Vienna from the year 1903 up until the year 1908.

In December 1908 I graduated as doctor of medicine. Since my student time up to date, which means now approximately 45 years, I am studying mainly the dead human body. During the year of the Second Balkan War in the summertime of 1913, I was there with the European war authorities studying the effects of the gunshot wounds upon the human body. I had opportunity to perform my first exhumation at that time. Then when the First World War started in July 1914 I went to Serbia at that time in January 1915, and I had also opportunity not only to do my pathological studies but also to exhume several bodies for the purpose of establishing criminal actions.

At that time I exhumed two women who had been buried, one, 3 years and 3 months and the other one, 3 years and 7 months, ample opportunities to see how the human body decomposes and decays.

Then afterward, after the end of the First World War, I returned to the land of my birth and assumed a position as professor of pathology and medico-legal pathology at the University of Marquette, Milwaukee, Wis., in which State I was working up to July 1934.

Prior to that time I had great opportunities to work as a criminologist in the State of Wisconsin as medical adviser to different district attorneys and as coroners' physician throughout the State of Wisconsin and was very well familiar not only with the criminal actions performed and establishing how to examine a criminal affair, but at the same time to exhume the bodies after they had been buried a certain period of time, endeavoring to establish the cause of death and to establish the wounds which the interred individual suffered.

In the year 1934 I received a call from the University of Zagreb, Croatia, a province which used to belong to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and I accepted that position because I was called by the Government to establish an institute of legal medicine and criminology, because that country didn't have methods how to investigate crime scientifically. I had opportunity to organize an efficient, well-equipped institute and to show to my assistants, to the youngsters, how crime should be investigated, always in a firm endeavor to return to America as soon as I finished my work.

Chairman MADDEN. Could I interrupt you. Doctor, if you get tired standing, you may take the chair.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I am very comfortable, thank you. I talk better standing.

In the middle of my work, while I was completely independent from anybody, the Hitler war started.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you say in the middle of your work, where was your work at that particular time?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In Zagreb.

Mr. MITCHELL. In Zagreb.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. MACROWICZ. Zagreb is where?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Croatia, now a part of Yugoslavia.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was your official position there at that time?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I was professor of legal medicine and criminology and director of those institutes at the University of Zagreb.

At the same time I was teaching legal medicine at the theological faculty, the significance of legal medicine to the clergy.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, will you give us your definition of the term "legal medicine" as it pertains to the European meaning of the word and the American meaning of the word?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In our country we have here the expression forensic medicine, which corresponds to the European conception of legal medicine, the application of theoretical and practical legal medicine to law.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you continue your statement?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In the year 1940-41 throughout that territory of Yugoslavia there were many cases of slaughtering. I had again opportunity to exhume those bodies and to prove what kind of atrocities were performed. One day—I don't remember exactly when it was—it was approximately around the 14th or 15th of March 1940—I read in the papers that the Germans discovered big graves where hundreds, maybe thousands of people, Polish soldiers and officers had been buried.

Chairman MADDEN. Did you say that was in 1940?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. 1940, correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are you sure it wasn't later?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Excuse me. I made a mistake. You are right. 1943.

Chairman MADDEN. 1943.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did you read that, Doctor?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In a local paper.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you at that time?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In Croatia, in Zagreb.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was the approximate date?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I don't know exactly. I have no notes or anything.

Mr. O'KONSKI. At that time Croatia was occupied by the Germans; is that correct?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct. That newspaper notice, I think it was somewhere around the 13th, 14th, 15th, something like that, of April 1943. I think I have that straight.

Mr. FLOOD. You say you read that in a German paper?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; in a Croatian paper. Then I was greatly interested to see those graves, greatly interested to see the decay, the decomposition of human bodies, to study that and to endeavor to establish for how long a time they had been buried. I went to the diplomatic representative of Germany and offered my services. I said I would be very happy if he would help me to go to Smolensk or Katyn so I could examine those graves.

He was very kind, but he said to me, "I have no instructions from Berlin that you can go."

In the meantime, Professor Walz, W-a-l-z, a German, a professor of international law, who was a good friend of mine, arrived at Zagreb the next day, and I was talking to him if he could help me so that I could go to Katyn. The next day I received permission to go. The Germans said, "We have no authorization to pay your expenses."

I replied, "I don't care for that. I will pay my own expenses."

So the next day I left Zagreb and I arrived in Berlin on the 27th—maybe I am again mistaken—the 27th of April 1943. They had telephoned them and they knew I was coming. Then they said to me and informed me that a commission has been put together of internationally known men in Europe, and they will put me as a member of that commission. Since more than half of those men I knew personally I was very glad to be together with them.

The next day we left by airplane for Smolensk.

Chairman MADDEN. This was a voluntary mission on your part?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. For my part, yes; Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, can you recall, or would you prefer to tell us later, the names of the individuals who went with you to Katyn, the doctors or anybody else in your party?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I don't recall, but I can tell you a few of the names.

Chairman MADDEN. He can put that in the record later.

Mr. MITCHELL. Go on with your story and the committee will inter-rogate later.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I know some of the names.

Chairman MADDEN. All right, if you can recollect them, all right, fine.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Professor Palmieri, from Italy, from the University of Naples. Then Professor Orsos, Franz O-r-s-o-s, from the University of Budapest.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that the professor who may now be at Heidelberg?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right, Congressman.

Mr. FLOOD. An authority on legal medicine.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; all of these men are specialists in legal medicine and criminology. All of them have chairs in the leading universities of Europe.

Mr. FLOOD. Dr. Palmieri is an Italian?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. He is an Italian.

Mr. FLOOD. Where might he be? Naples?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I suppose he is either in Naples or in Rome. Orsos is from Budapest. Then Buerckle, B-u-e-r-c-k-l-e, from Bucharest.

Mr. SHEEHAN. If it might help, I have the official names in the list here.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I would like to name those I remember. Then, Markoff, M-a-r-k-o-f-f, from Sofia, Bulgaria. Then Professor Naville from Geneva, Switzerland.

Mr. FLOOD. Is he at the University of Geneva now?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I think so. I left Europe several years ago. I don't know exactly what is going on.

Then Tramsen, if I am not mistaken, from Helsingford, no, Copenhagen, T-r-a-m-s-e-n. Then there was Speleers, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you speak a little louder? I think there are objections from those attending that they can't hear.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Speleers, S-p-e-l-e-e-r-s, from Belgium. There are several others and I don't remember the names.

Then there was the representative from the French Government.

Mr. MITCHELL. Of the French Government?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Of the French Government.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know who that was?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Costedoat, C-o-s-t-e-d-o-a-t.

Mr. FLOOD. Would that be the Vichy French?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, did these other members that went with you at any time tell you how they came to be selected? You have told the committee that you voluntarily asked to go because of your basic interest, that you had been studying this for a long time. Did any of these other doctors whom you have just named tell you personally how they were selected to go to Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; we didn't talk about that, so far as I remember, but I know that all of them went of their own initiative.

Mr. MITCHELL. Of their own initiative?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. So far as I know. I am not sure of that.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I ask the witness about these other doctors who were there? Do you remember a doctor by the name of **Saxen**, S-a-x-e-n?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Surely.

Mr. SHEEHAN. From Finland?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. He was in uniform. I know him very well, a wonderful gentleman.

Mr. SHEEHAN. And a Dr. de Burlett, B-u-r-l-e-t-t, from the Netherlands.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I don't recall that name.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Dr. Subik, S-u-b-i-k, from Slovakia.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No, he was from Czechoslovakia, from Prague.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Then there was a Dr. Buhtz, B-u-h-t-z.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Official of the German Government?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Buhtz was quite prominent criminologist and medico-legal expert. He gave us enormous help at Katyn Forest. He was a very fine gentleman. I am sorry to say he was killed.

Mr. SHEEHAN. That is all, Doctor. Counsel, all the witnesses the doctor remembers plus the ones he didn't remember are all listed in the official German documents as being present there.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Then when I arrived in the Katyn Forest together with those men, 12 of us, we were given a short description of the position of the graves. One big grave, a very large grave, I would estimate larger than this room. It is in the form of an L. The horizontal part of the L was I don't remember now how many meters or feet long. And in the L here—anyway they were in threes like this, in rows up to 12. So in estimating the number of dead, killed, murdered Polish officers it was a little less than 3,000 in that grave.

Mr. FLOOD. Would you describe the size of the grave with reference to the size of this room, for instance?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I would say it was longer than this room. It was narrower. It was just as wide so that you could put three bodies like this.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Three bodies lengthwise.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; transversely.

Mr. O'KONSKI. About 20 feet wide?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You estimate how many, 15 to 20 feet?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The width?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The width.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I think it would be.

Mr. FLOOD. About 20 feet wide and longer than this room; is that right?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. What about the depth? Have you any idea about the depth with reference to the ceiling here? How deep was it, about?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I would say this depth.

Mr. FLOOD. About as deep as this room and a little longer and about 20 feet wide.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In the shape of an L.

Mr. FLOOD. Can anybody here tell us how high this ceiling is?

FROM THE FLOOR. Twelve feet.

Mr. FLOOD. Never mind. We will get that.

(NOTE.—The custodian of the United States courthouse in Chicago subsequently informed the committee that the room is 18 feet high.)

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. To get a pretty accurate estimate of how many bodies were placed in that grave, I asked at that time, that they should dig deep down, close to the end of the horizontal limb of the L in order to see how many layers of bodies are present. Then we counted 12 layers of dead bodies. I remember that a photograph was taken of that part of it, because the Germans didn't have enough help and time to exhume all the bodies. Just the superficial layers, if I am not mistaken, somewhere around six or seven layers were removed and the rest remained in original position.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were these layers one solidly on top of another or was there any ground between one or the other?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Counsel, would the Doctor like to identify this picture? This is the German version of Katyn.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Exactly, that is it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your answer is that there was no ground between them; is that right? Solid, one on top of another?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Exactly like that picture?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Chairman MADDEN. We will make this Exhibit No. 5.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 5" and is as follows:)



Official German photo showing corpses of Polish Army officers stacked in uncovered graves in Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Sheehan, would you mark that "Exhibit 5."

Mr. SHEEHAN. I will turn it over to the committee as soon as we are through. We may refer to it further.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. One body was placed on top of the other one, with their faces down. They were close together, nothing between them. All the bodies were dressed in Polish officers' uniforms, the clothing being winter clothing, underwear and the uniform, and coats on some. The heads were downward. One body like this, the next one like this,

and the next one like this [indicating]. This was the width of the grave. Then 12 layers down, and then multiply by the length. I don't remember how many we found in the length. Anyway, at that time when I was examining and making my own estimations I didn't follow anybody, and no one tried to give me any advice because I knew what to do. I estimated approximately 2,870, something like that, a little less than 3,000 officers. They were packed completely together by decaying fluids of the human body, the decomposing fluids, which started to penetrate, to imbibe, to infiltrate every dead body in there. That was a solid mass in which you just saw skulls you could recognize and that they were human beings.

Then I went into the graves and studied which ones of them would give me the best information, what the dead body could tell us. With the help of two Russian peasants I picked a body, and slowly and gradually—it took them close to an hour—they removed the body and brought it out. I examined it very carefully to find out two main points. First, what was the cause of death. Second, how long a time was this individual buried. Third, who he was?

In examining the body I found a gunshot wound at the boundary between the back of the neck and the head. The Germans gave the expression "nacken schuss." That is the precise description of the shot which was fired. The majority of them had just one shot, because it entered in here [pointing with finger] and came out here at the root of the nose, which means the head was bend downward. It was administered with such precision that the medulla was completely destroyed.

Mr. FLOOD. I tell you what you do: You take Mr. Mitchell here, if your gun isn't loaded, and demonstrated on him for us, will you, just at what point at the base of the skull this missile entered and on what part of the face was the point of exit.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The position of the head was like this [demonstrating].

Mr. FLOOD. In what position would the living man have to be in your judgment, from your experience, at the time the shot was fired, standing, kneeling, lying down, or what, mostly likely.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Most likely kneeling.

Mr. FLOOD. In what position, show us.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Like this.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, you have to tell me what to do.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I will guide you. It was shot in here. You have to figure that the bullet is going always straight. If I take this line and put it this way you see it comes out here [indicating]. The head was not like this and then shot.

Mr. FLOOD. Why?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Because the bullet would come out here.

Mr. FLOOD. Witness demonstrates with finger at the base of the skull of counsel, bullet on a straight line shot up, coming out at the middle of the hairline. If shot down as you indicated in your testimony, where would the bullet exit on the fact of the exhibiter?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The bullet exit would be approximately in the neighborhood of the root of the nose.

Mr. FLOOD. Between the eyes.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right, or a little above or a little below, but in this region here.

Mr. FLOOD. In the area of the forehead or between the eyes.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. That would indicate great precision and skill at the time of the discharge from the base of the skull?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. With the face pointing down toward the ground and the victim in a kneeling or bent forward position?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One question there: You do not mean they necessarily had to be in a kneeling position?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Most likely, in any case.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes. I wasn't present. I don't know.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, you just demonstrated on me how you thought that bullet traveled. I would like for you to tell the committee why you say that bullet would come out here in the forehead as you demonstrated?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I have shown with this how the bullet travels.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is there any obstruction?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. He has the gun in a little slanting position, like this, and consequently if it goes like this it has to come out here [indicating].

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, Doctor, you didn't examine all of the bodies in the grave and it is possible because of that fact that many of these killings resulted from other kinds of position of the gun. In other words, some of them may have been shot standing up, some of them may have been shot kneeling down, or some not shot at all as far as you know.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Sure.

Mr. FLOOD. But what you saw you describe as you are now presenting it.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. On how many bodies did you make a post mortem?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I made a post mortem on one.

Mr. FLOOD. Yourself.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now that I have interrupted you, you said the Russian peasants took an hour to get this one body, that you performed the post mortem on, out of the grave.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. How many peasants helped you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Two.

Mr. FLOOD. Why would it take two peasants 1 hour to get one body out of one grave?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Because they were all packed in one big firm mass. All the bodies were packed together.

Mr. FLOOD. You mean the body fluids, as a result of the decomposition, composed a huge sticky mass of all these bodies; is that it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right, in cold weather.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When was it that you were there? I don't think you set the time. What month was it that you made this post mortem?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. When I was in that grave it was April 29, 1943.

Mr. MITCHELL. Doctor, did you yourself select the body on which you did the post mortem or the autopsy?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Surely.

Mr. MITCHELL. You were given that opportunity freely?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Absolutely.

Mr. MITCHELL. What layer was the body in that you selected? You said that there were a lot of layers. What layer?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I couldn't tell you that exactly. It was about, I would guess—

Mr. MITCHELL. The top, the middle, the bottom?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The middle of the grave, the middle counting from up down, the middle of the grave.

Chairman MADDEN. I believe it would be well now if the doctor would finish about his investigation of the skull and also state in your opinion as a doctor what you think, after the investigation that you made, was the approximate time of the killing?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. At the time when I finished the post mortem examination I dictated my findings right there at the burial place and gave my expert opinion as to the cause of death and about the main cadaveric changes of the body. Then the next day, late in the afternoon, all the experts, 12 of them, together with Dr. Buhtz—and there were two more German specialists there—got together and every one of us expressed opinions as to our findings, and we all agreed that the bodies were buried, approximately, not less than 3 years ago.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you say you all agreed to that?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes. It was pointed out upon which facts that opinion was based. All of us reported that death was caused by the gunshot wounds fired from the immediate proximity, close to the line of the back of the head and back of the neck, so-called nacken schuss. I repeat that name because it is the best name for it. They were fired, of course, from behind in the direction to the front, with a shattering of the entire skull due to explosive action of the near shot. Powder marks were found on the skull itself, and I found it also. In some instances in the skulls we found three gunshot wounds, but in instances if there was a real, well-placed nacken schuss, there was just one shot because—I want to explain what just came to my mind—because the bullet wound which enters in here and comes out here passes through the—I have to give it in technical terms.

Mr. MITCHELL. Please give it in technical language.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Medulla oblongata and pons cerebri. Those are the two vital points in the human brain. If you destroy any one of those two, death is instantaneous. If you miss that, the individual might live a few hours, maybe 1 day or 2 days. That is the reason why in a few cases there are three shots, because the first one was not fired correctly.

Mr. FLOOD. Since you stopped there, it is entirely possible that anybody shooting into the head under those circumstances, if there were many shootings at the same time and everybody was very busy and in a hurry, many of those bodies may have been thrown into that grave before they were dead?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I don't know that.

Mr. FLOOD. That is entirely possible. I am not asking your opinion.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I have no opinion on that.

Mr. FLOOD. You wouldn't say it was not possible?
You have no opinion about that?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Very well.

Chairman MADDEN. Doctor, could you explain very briefly for the record how you could scientifically determine by the wound to the skull the approximate time that that wound was inflicted after several years had passed?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Sir, that is impossible in instances where the wound was inflicted 2 or 3 years ago, because the age of a wound is judged by the changes one can see. If the body is completely decayed and the brain mass is completely dissolved, you can only state that that is a bullet hole and here is a bullet exit, but how old that is from the wound alone you cannot tell that.

Mr. FLOOD. However, from your experience as a pathologist over many years and from the statement that you have placed on our record now, you could, as an expert pathologist, be able to determine from all the circumstances of the body otherwise, in addition to the wound, how long that body had been dead?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Later on, I will ask you how long, but at this point I will ask you to finish your statement. But that could be done and you can so do.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In order to get these dates straight for the committee, you say all the bodies were buried not less than 3 years, and you place this date at April 28, 1943?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Which would mean that all bodies were put in the grave prior to April 28, 1940?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct, approximately. One month more or less.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think it would be good to call to the attention of the committee members that at this time the Russians were in control of the Smolensk area and the Germans did not capture the area until August of 1941, approximately a year later.

Chairman MADDEN. Doctor, did you observe the boots and clothing on the soldiers and officers, as to the type, whether they were in good condition or bad condition, if you know?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Senator, I don't remember exactly, but I know the boots were in pretty good condition. The heels of some of them were a little bit worn out, but the uniforms were perfectly fitted. They fitted the dead body completely, very nicely buttoned and everything.

Chairman MADDEN. Were all of the dead soldiers officers?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. So far as I saw, what I saw, all of them were officers. I remember two generals, I remember even the names because I was deeply impressed to see them. One was General Bohaterowicz, and the other one was General Smorawinski.

Chairman MADDEN. Did you observe any bodies there that had clothing on other than army officers?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes, I saw one. That was a chaplain.

Chairman MADDEN. How many bodies did you have a chance to observe as to clothing, just roughly?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. At that time when I was there they removed 980 and some, close to 1,000.

Chairman MADDEN. Close to a thousand. Doctor, is there anything else that you would like to add to your testimony before the members, if they desire, have any questions to ask?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Senator, I don't know. I think I have covered everything that is necessary.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to recess for a minute. I believe the doctor would like to have a short rest.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will recess for a few minutes.
(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Chairman, before the witness resumes may I make an observation that after the ruling I think there has been a little misunderstanding among some of the photographers and the press as to the extent of the so-called ban on the pictures. As I understand the ruling to be—and I would like to be corrected if I am wrong, Mr. Chairman—it is that if a witness is testifying and he has no objections to his picture being taken, pictures may be taken of him while he is testifying?

Chairman MADDEN. If the witness does not object, that is permissible. But if the witness objects—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I hope the photographers will respect the wishes of the witness.

Chairman MADDEN. I might say if the Doctor cares to he may sit down while he is testifying. We will proceed.

Mr. FLOOD. Doctor, I think I will call you Professor instead of Doctor, is that all right?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is okay. It makes no difference.

Mr. FLOOD. You correct me if I am wrong. I have some biography on you, and you correct me if this is not correct: "Prof. Edward L. Miloslavich, MD. F. A. P. H. A." I suppose that means Fellow of the American Public Health Association.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. "F. A. A. A. S.," fellow of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD (reading):

Diplomate, American Board of Pathology; doctor of medicine, honoris causa, University of Vienna, Austria.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD (reading):

Doctor of medicine, honores causa, University of Breslau, Germany.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD (reading):

Director, department of pathology, DePaul Hospital, St. Louis, Mo. Formerly associate professor, pathologic anatomy, University of Vienna, Austria. Professor, pathology and bacteriology, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis. Professor, legal medicine and criminology, University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Honorary professor, pastoral medicine, theologic faculty, University of Zagreb, Croatia.

By "pastoral medicine," you refer to that part of your teaching which connects legal medicine with theology?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You have had in your experience as pathologist and as an authority on legal medicine in Europe and America many years of experience in the exhumation and the post mortems of the human body; is that correct?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have such experience in those two categories before your investigation of the bodies at the Katyn Forest massacre?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I did.

Mr. FLOOD. Is it possible for you and is it possible for an experienced pathologist by examining the human body and its condition at the time of exhumation to be able to determine within reason the date of the burial, the time of the burial? Can you tell about how long a body has been in the ground by examining it after it has been exhumed, from the condition of the body at that time, based upon your experience as a pathologist and similar exhumations and examinations in the past?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I can.

Mr. FLOOD. You can.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I can.

Mr. FLOOD. You told us that you did make such post mortems and exhumations of the bodies at Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You made such an examination upon one body yourself?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you describe for us, without going into complete detail, but some detail, what examination you performed upon that corpse at Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I paid particular attention to the process known as adipocere—

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt to point out, this answer will of necessity have to be highly technical. Will you make it as technical as you wish, and take time to spell out for the clerk whatever technical terminology you wish to use.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I am sorry I have to use that.

Mr. FLOOD. Do it your way.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Adipocere, a-d-i-p-o-c-e-r-e, in plain English would be saponification. In other words, it will be the formation of soap. When a body decays in an environment, in a soil, in the earth which is humid or contains water, ground water—

Mr. FLOOD. Were any of those elements present at the grave at Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. You mean adipocere?

Mr. FLOOD. Humidity or water.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Which one or both?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. On the outside water, inside humidity.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. They form adipocere. Adipocere alone is not conclusive as to the exact time when the body was buried, because adipocere under certain circumstances can develop within the first year. But then you have to study the musculature, cut into the muscles and

see if the muscles contained adipocere, because adipocere will appear in the muscle at the end of the complete decay. That is point one.

I examined that, Senator. I examined that.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you find that element to be present?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes, I did, in the muscles of the gluteal region, in the muscles in the depth of the thigh, and in muscles known as ileo psoas.

Mr. FLOOD. That first element was present, and was it present in a sufficient degree to permit you to make a conclusion?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Quite.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your second element?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. If I may continue with the element.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. To be absolutely positive, I removed parts of those adipocere muscles and took them along to my institute, to my laboratory.

Mr. FLOOD. You took part of the body with you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No, no, the muscles.

Mr. FLOOD. Part of the muscle. That is part of the body.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Sure.

Mr. FLOOD. You took it where?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I got it at Katyn and took it down to Zagreb.

Mr. FLOOD. After you left the forest.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. After I left.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, go ahead.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In order to make microscopic examinations of the muscle to see if there is any structure of the muscle still present.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you take any other part of the body from the Katyn Forest, that same body, to Zagreb with you, other than the muscle?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes, I did.

Mr. FLOOD. What part?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I took the skull.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In examining microscopically, the muscle, which was changed by adipocere, I noticed that the entire structure of the muscle was completely destroyed by the saponification. I could not see any muscle fibers, no striation of the muscle substance.

Mr. FLOOD. Wait a minute. That examination that you made microscopically you made at your laboratory in Zagreb?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Some time subsequent to your examination at Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the microscopic examination you made at Zagreb some time subsequent to the examination you made on the scene at Katyn confirm the conclusion you reached at Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. My microscopic examinations proved that my diagnosis, and the diagnosis of my colleagues, was correct.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the second element present at the exhumation, at your post mortem?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The second element was the presence of a peculiar change found in the cavity of the skull, which was detected by Pro-

fessor Orsos. The body I examined didn't have it, but the body of Orsos did. He was standing close to me when he was making his post mortem examination, and he called me over and I had opportunity to examine also that change, which is more or less, I will say, absolutely conclusive that the body was more than 3 years under the ground.

Mr. FLOOD. Palmeiri, Orsos, yourself, and some of the other experts present were performing post mortems upon different bodies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you all close to each other in the same immediate area?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes, correct.

Mr. FLOOD. A few feet apart, a few yards apart?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Was the body on a table, on the ground? Where was it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. On a table.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have instruments for the purpose of making the post mortem?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Sure.

Mr. FLOOD. You had them with you.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No. They gave them to me.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you search for any other element besides the two you have indicated?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I examined, of course, the entire organs and found processes of drying and mummification.

Mr. FLOOD. Based upon your experience as a pathologist, based upon the record you have given us of your experience at exhumations and post mortems performed upon exhumed bodies before you went to Katyn, based upon the statement you have just made as to the post mortem you performed upon this particular body, in addition to the examination you made of the skull of the body being posted by Dr. Orsos and brought to your attention and examined by you, what in your expert opinion would be the period of time that the bodies were buried at Katyn, about?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I estimated more than 3 years.

Mr. FLOOD. Doctor, I asked you why it took two Russian peasants so long to remove one body from the grave at the time that these bodies were first observed by you, and you told us that it was because the bodies were packed in as a result of certain body fluids present and decomposition.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Would you say that the fluids which emanated from these decomposed bodies would be such a fluid and of such a nature and of such a degree of fluidity at that time as to confirm your estimate that they were present in the grave about 3 years?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Congressman, I will not pay very much attention to that in the estimation of time.

Mr. FLOOD. The fact remains that they were in a mass because of the fluids from the bodies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. That is not contributory to your conclusion?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in Zagreb at the time the Germans moved into Zagreb?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You are a Croat; your ancestry is Croatian?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. I suppose you are a Roman Catholic if you are a Croatian, aren't you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you continue to teach in the University at Zagreb when the Nazis were in there?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Surely.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a collaborateur with the Nazis?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; I had nothing to do with them.

Mr. FLOOD. How did you hold the job if you were not?

Mr. MILOSLAVICH. I did nothing but teach at the university.

Mr. FLOOD. Did anybody ever charge you or accuse you or identify you of being a collaborateur with the Nazis?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. It may be people who didn't like me.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you ever screened or examined by the American forces after we took over on that charge?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Oh, yes. I was screened, so far as I can remember, four times.

Mr. FLOOD. By Americans?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. By American authorities.

Mr. FLOOD. Intelligence officers.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right, CIC.

Mr. FLOOD. CIC.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where?

Mr. FLOOD. You were so screened?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Oh, yes, I was screened in Cell Am See. Then I was screened in Salzburg then I was screened in Vienna. Then again I was screened by the Army in Salzburg.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you ever a member of any Nazi societies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Academic, scientific, or political of any kind?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the result of the screening? Did they pass you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Every American who was over there during the war had to be screened.

Mr. FLOOD. You are an American citizen.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Surely.

Mr. FLOOD. You were screened.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the result of the screening?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the result?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Nothing was found against me. So I could go home any time I wanted to.

Mr. FLOOD. You were okay, is that it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Surely.

Mr. FLOOD. I asked these questions because it is interesting to me to find out when you got to Berlin you were named on this commission that the Germans were going to send to Katyn.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. How were you approached? Did you approach them or did they approach you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I approached them.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you know there was going to be a commission?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Surely.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ask them to go on it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I told them I would like to be present, that I would like to have an opportunity to examine those bodies and they said—

Mr. FLOOD. What was your interest? What did you care about it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I went there from a purely scientific point of view.

Mr. FLOOD. You want us to believe that as soon as you heard this story in Zagreb as a student of pathology and of legal medicine, you merely wanted to go there to see what this looked like?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is the point.

Mr. FLOOD. That is how you got to Berlin?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. At your own expense?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to find out when you got to Berlin were you briefed by the Germans? Were you taken into a room? Were you give a sales talk? Were you high pressured? Was your arm twisted? Were you briefed or threatened?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No, no.

Mr. FLOOD. They just put you on the commission and away you went.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The German pathologist and experts on legal medicine knew me very well when I was at Marquette and when I returned to Europe because I attended their scientific meetings. I lectured at their meetings. They knew me very well.

Mr. FLOOD. Are you telling us—and you are under oath—that there was no pressure, no duress, no threats, and no intimidation as against you or anybody identified with you by the Nazi Germans at any time during the time you served on the German Katyn Commission or to get you to sign or make a report favorable to the Germans and against the Russians?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Mr. Congressman, I can say that regarding my own person I was not intimidated, and all those words you used. Nothing was done to me. I went there only for the purpose of scientific examination. I didn't care who killed them, what killed them, what happened. I was just interested to establish how those men had been killed and how long a time they had been killed. That is all my interest. My interest was just exhumation and study of the exhumed human body. I did not contribute anything to save the Germans, to give a reputation to the Germans or anything of that kind. I didn't do anything to mention who did it or how it was done.

Mr. FLOOD. The answer is "No"?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The answer is "No."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Witness, I believe you mentioned that one of the experts who was there with you was Dr. Markoff.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He is from Bulgaria?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You knew him personally?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I met him there. I knew him by reputation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You did not know him until you arrived at Katyn?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he also conduct an autopsy?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; he did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he also make a finding?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; he did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you remember what his findings were?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I don't recall. It was similar to our findings.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It was not contrary to your findings or you would have remembered it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No. He didn't say anything. He agreed with everyone who was there, all 12 men.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he sign the report which you signed?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; he did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there any compulsion upon you or anyone else to sign the report?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. There was no compulsion on me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Or upon Dr. Markoff, if you know?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I don't know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he indicate to you or to anyone else in your presence at any time that there was any compulsion upon him to sign the report?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. He didn't say anything to me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you at any time had the opportunity to read the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg with reference to this particular matter?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I saw it just yesterday. I didn't have time to read it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to call to your attention and to the attention of the committee that Dr. Markoff, who subsequently became a witness of the Soviet authorities at the Nuremberg trial, did testify as follows, on page 334 of volume XVII of the proceedings of July 1, 1946. In speaking of the committee which examined these bodies he states as follows:

They were the following, besides myself: Dr. Birkle, chief doctor of the Ministry of Justice, first assistant of the Institute of Forensic Medicine and Criminology at Bucharest; Dr. Miloslavich, professor of forensic medicine and criminology at Zagreb University, who was representative for Croatia—

And then follow other names which have already been previously mentioned which I don't think it necessary to repeat at this time.

Dr. Markoff did confirm the fact which you testified to today, that you were actually there.

I would like to call the committee's attention, referring to page 340 of the testimony of Dr. Markoff on July 2, 1946, the following is quoted in his testimony. This, I want to say, is a witness produced

by the Soviet authorities to disprove the German version. This is the testimony he gave.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Machrowicz, would you identify for the record who was doing the cross-examining?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Cross-examining at that time was Counselor Smirnov, who was the representative of the Soviet authorities. In answer to Counselor Smirnov's questions at Nuremberg, Professor Markoff testified as follows:

The only one who gave a different statement in regard to the time the corpses had been buried was Professor Miloslavich from Zagreb, and he said it was 3 years.

Here again I want to confirm the fact that the testimony given by this witness is evidently truthful because it corresponds exactly with the testimony produced even by the Soviet authorities. I want to say further that he followed that with the following sentence:

However, when the German book regarding Katyn was published, I read the result of his impartial statement regarding the corpse on which he had performed the autopsy.

I would like to call to the committee's attention that even Markoff, the witness for the Soviet authorities, confirmed the fact that the report of Dr. Miloslavich was an "impartial statement" and did confirm the fact that the deaths occurred at least 3 years before the time of the examination.

Is it correct that you were the only one who confirmed the fact that it was 3 years?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I know that Professor Orsos also pointed it out very emphatically.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there others besides him?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I remember when we had that conference and discussed the findings at the graves, Orsos had the skull of that Polish officer and pointed to those characteristic changes in the skull cavity, and several doctors mentioned in that report were present. All of us were there. So far as I know, none of them objected to the interpretation or the findings.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of course you know, do you not, Dr. Miloslavich, that Professor Markoff is now behind the iron curtain?

Mr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I know that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he was in 1946 at the time he testified at the Nuremberg trials?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Dr. MACHROWICZ. Coming back to the reasons given by you which you claim resulted in your determining that the death occurred about 3 years before the examination, I will ask you were there any insects or insect remains on the corpses?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I didn't see any.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did that have any significance to you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes. I would say that the bodies were buried during the wintertime.

Dr. MACHROWICZ. I am reading now from the report of the German Medical Commission, which reads as follows:

There were absolutely no insects or insect remains on the corpses that could have stemmed from the time of the burial. From this it can be concluded that the executions and burial took place in a cold and insect-free time of the year.

Is that correct?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do I understand, then, from your testimony now that this lack of insect or insect remains led you to the conclusion that the deaths took place at a season of the year when it is cold?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that the conclusion of the other doctors there also?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I could not tell you that. They signed the statement to that effect.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of course you know that the Russian version of the charge was that the deaths occurred some time around August 1941. That would be in the middle of the summer, would it not?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I think August is in the summer.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So the lack of these insects or insect remains was at least to you an indication that that charge was not correct.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. I might announce that Congressman Furcolo of Massachusetts is now present.

Are there any other questions from any other members of the committee?

Congressman Sheehan.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Professor, I have several inquiries I would like to put to you. No. 1, you talked about four different screenings by our American officers, the C. I. C., and the Army. Approximately when did they take place?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. It was between the end of May 1945 and March 1946.

Mr. SHEEHAN. At any time during the screenings did they ask you about your participation in the Katyn investigation?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No. They knew that.

Mr. SHEEHAN. They knew that.

Another thought, which was brought out in the previous testimony by Mr. Henry Cassidy, who is now head of the NBC News Service. He was one of a number of about 14 correspondents who were taken by the Russians to Katyn in January 1944. When he came back he testified that the correspondents were all agreed that the Russian affair was a staged affair. The correspondents felt that the bodies were selected and everything was done on the basis of a staged affair. Your testimony has already proved that yours was not a staged affair in any sense of the word, is that right?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; it was not.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You signed the German protocol, I understand, this particular instrument here, is that right?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. SHEEHAN. When and where did you sign the German protocol?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I have forgotten the name of the town where it was signed; east of Warsaw.

Mr. SHEEHAN. That is your signature, is it not, on the German protocol?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; that is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Who drew up this protocol, do you know offhand?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The commission.

Mr. SHEEHAN. The members of the commission. The German Army or the Nazis didn't draw it up.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You drew it up yourself?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes. Of course they collaborated in that. Professor Buhtz.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In previous testimony it was brought out by one of our witnesses, who was an eyewitness, that he saw the soldiers before they were killed, and their hands had been tied with barbed wire. Do you remember any bodies with wire instead of rope?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. All that I saw were with rope, cords.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You are an American citizen. You have come back from Zagreb. Have you ever attempted or did you ever want to go back there for any of your belongings or anything?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; I cannot go back.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You cannot go back?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Since you came back to this country has any official of the State Department asked you to verify your version of the Katyn affair?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Anybody in the Army?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, no Government official at any time has asked you for your opinion of it?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No, no.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think that is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. FURCOLO. I have some if I may. Doctor, as I understand it at the time you were doing your scientific work on the bodies you were using what was then the most up-to-date medical knowledge and medical science?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. You have had long experience in that field.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I have.

Mr. FURCOLO. Would it be your opinion that you were up-to-date on the latest medical knowledge at that time?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Oh, yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Since that time I assume you have continued on in your medical studies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. As in every other branch of medicine, I suppose there also has been additional knowledge in that field. I will ask you this: Is your present opinion today, in the light of any new medical knowledge that you may have obtained in the past 8 or 10 years, the same as your opinion was back at the time you saw these bodies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. My opinion today is just the same as it was at that time. There is nothing new so far as I know, so far as I follow the scientific literature in my field. Nothing new was put out.

Mr. FURCOLO. So your opinion today is the same as it was at that time?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. When you were examining the bodies did you at any time see any papers or documents or diaries or anything of that nature that were found on some of the bodies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Oh, yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do you remember either any newspapers or any diaries with notations that would be of any help to us as far as dates are concerned?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I saw newspapers with the dates of March 1940. Then a card that I found in the pocket of the young officer that I examined. I don't recall his name. I cannot recall the names. I am not sure about the name. I have no notes. I cannot keep it in my mind now for 9 years. That card was also around March 1940.

Mr. FURCOLO. Let me ask you this question, if I may: Did any of the papers that you saw or any of the documents that you saw have, to the best of your recollection, any date that would be after April or May 1940?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. So far as I remember, not, as long as I was there, because exhumations have been performed after that time.

Mr. FURCOLO. I am referring now only to papers or documents that you yourself saw.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. All that I saw, the latest were somewhere in April 1940.

Mr. FURCOLO. At any time when you were examining these bodies did you detect the presence of sawdust in the mouths of any of the bodies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; I didn't see that. I didn't notice any sawdust.

Mr. FURCOLO. You only saw two bodies?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I saw maybe several hundreds there, but I personally autopsied, performed a post mortem examination in detail on one.

Mr. FURCOLO. You testified that as far as you yourself were concerned, there was no force or compulsion or intimidation of any kind. I want to ask you if you saw anything in any way to indicate any force or intimidation of any of the other men who signed the documents for that commission.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I didn't notice anything.

Mr. FURCOLO. As far as you know, you didn't see any?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. At the present time do you have any feeling or bias or prejudice toward either Germany or Russia or toward the German or Russian people?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. As you testify here today you don't have any feeling of any kind toward either group?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No. I have testified as a scientist, from my scientific examinations and the results of my research, and nothing else.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you speak German?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I do.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you speak German then?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I did.

Mr. FLOOD. You never saw me until this morning, did you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. What is that?

Mr. FLOOD. You never saw me until this morning, right?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You are under subpoena here.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. How did you get here, anyhow? Who found you? Where did you come from? How did you come to the attention of this committee? Who brought you to our attention?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Mr. Pucinski.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you been offered any favors or any pay or any emoluments or any inducements of any kind by anybody to be here this morning?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FLOOD. By the Government or any individual?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One question: I believe you testified, Doctor, that this L-shaped grave had about 2,800 bodies.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Something like that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You do not mean to say that that was the only grave there, do you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. There were seven of them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Seven graves?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Seven graves, including this big one

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This was the largest of all?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. That was the largest one; yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you arrive at any estimate of your own as to how many bodies were in the other graves?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No; I didn't examine them. I didn't have that much time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I just wanted to make clear it isn't your testimony that there were only 2,800 bodies altogether.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Oh no, my estimate included all the graves. It is, of course, an approximate estimate. In that respect, I disagree with the Germans. They said 11,000. Buhtz was talking to me about it later that night.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean Dr. Buhtz?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes; I said to him, "I think according to my estimate I would judge somewhere between 13,500 and 14,000."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But of course that was only a rough guess based on the size of the graves?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct. Of course, assuming that in the other graves they had been buried in the same way as in this grave, because it was a burial, if I may compare it so you can understand it, like in a sardine box. They were like this, one close to the other, one on top of the other, 12 layers from up down, in three's to the side, and the length I don't remember. I have forgotten the number. Anyway in that big L-shaped grave were more than 2,800 officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One other question, Doctor: At the Nuremberg trial Counselor Smirnov asked Markoff this question and received this answer:

Therefore, you were shown already opened graves near which the corpses were already laid out; is that right?

And Markoff answered:

Quite right. Near these open graves were exhumed corpses already laid out there.

I understood your testimony to be that you actually had a corpse withdrawn from the grave which had not been touched.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. If I may explain that?

Dr. MACHROWICZ. Will you explain it, please.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. When I arrived there I found approximately 980, if I am not mistaken, bodies which had been already exhumed from the L grave, if I may speak of it that way, and placed in that vicinity. They were lying there, enormous masses of dead bodies. Then when I looked in the grave, I asked permission, if I am permitted to go in the grave myself and select a body I want to examine, and not the bodies which have been taken out. I wanted to be absolutely critical in every detail. They said, "Yes, go ahead, Professor. Do anything you want."

So I went down in the grave, going around, looking, studying which body I should select. I selected one just in the middle of the grave where the bodies were firmly packed together. It was difficult to remove. I helped those two old farmers to remove that body to be sure that I had it as it was in the original position, so I helped to remove it from the depth of the grave.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I wanted that made clear in the record when Markoff testified about those corpses which were already laid out, there were about 900 and some already laid out, but the bodies that you inspected were not from among those 980 bodies.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No, no. I selected my own.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Right from the grave.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I examined those, too, I walked around them and examined them.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Doctor, when did you get back to the United States?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. The first week of August 1946.

Mr. O'KONSKI. With your scientific knowledge as a professional man—and that is your only interest in this matter—when you got back to the United States what was your reaction when you learned that the people of America had the impression that the Germans committed the crime rather than the Russians? What was your reaction to that general opinion that the American people had?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Congressman O'Konski, I tell you honestly I never spoke to anybody about this. Nobody knew it. Once in a while I asked somebody if they were familiar with the name Katyn, and the answer was "What is that?" I saw that the people didn't know it, so I didn't want to discuss it. This is the first time now, in the last 10 years about, that I am talking about this. I am sorry that I don't have any documents or notes and nothing. Maybe I could elaborate a little more about it. I am relying completely upon my memory.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The reason I am asking that question is that all of the testimony that you have given here this morning is based on your scientific knowledge as a professional man, as a scientist.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And a scientist only.

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Correct.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I ask one further question?

Professor, as long as we are looking into the scientific aspect of this, in your experience have you ever gone into any other graves or seen any other bodies of military or civilians in any other place behind the iron curtain which might lead to conclusions about the method of killing?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Where was that?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. In the Katyn Forest on the left side of the main road there were several—it would be better to say many—small graves. I asked Professor Buhtz to examine one of those graves. Then we found that those men were Russians who had been killed maybe 10 or 15 years prior to the Katyn affair and buried in that place. The technique of the gunshot wound, the so-called as I continue to mention the name, "nacken schuss," was exactly the same. The hands had been bound at their backs just exactly the same and the winter coat put upon their head just exactly the same in the graves on the left side of the main road in the Katyn Forest.

Mr. SHEEHAN. They were not Polish officers, though. They were civilians?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Civilians.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, the similarity to the way these old graves were, the killing, the "nacken schuss" and the hands tied behind the back, was similar to the way the Polish officers were killed?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. I wouldn't say similar. I would say identical.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Identical. In other words, the Russians have always held this particular territory, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. FLOOD. Professor, did you ever see any pictures in American newspapers and American newsreels or any place within the past 2 years of the bodies of American soldiers killed in Korea with their hands tied behind their backs? Did you observe or any place see such pictures?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. Mr. Congressman——

Mr. FLOOD. You didn't? Did you or didn't you?

Dr. MILOSLAVICH. No, I didn't.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Doctor, on behalf of the committee I want to pay this compliment to you by reason of your actions back in 1943, when you devoted your own time and expense and services in going to the Katyn graves to try to ascertain through scientific study for the benefit of the future the facts regarding the execution of these Polish officers. You also have made a great sacrifice in coming up here today from your home. Your actions on both occasions have been highly patriotic. In behalf of the committee and the Congress we want to thank you for coming here and testifying. As long as there are no further questions, you are excused.

Let me make this announcement: This afternoon we will hear three witnesses and the committee will now adjourn until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 1:30 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

The first witness this afternoon will be Mrs. Irena Hajduk Metelica. Irene Hajduk is the maiden name and the present name is Mrs. Irena H. Metelica.

The witness will be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give at the hearings now being held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. METELICA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. IRENA HAJDUK METELICA, CHICAGO, ILL.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, for the record I would like to advise the committee that our witness came to us voluntarily this morning. The committee staff did not interrogate her. This is her own statement. She would prefer to tell the story as she knows it. I will proceed by asking her a few questions as to where she was born, if I may, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is your present address?

Mrs. METELICA. 2647 South Kedzie Avenue.

Mr. MITCHELL. You said your present address is 2647 Kedzie Avenue, Chicago?

Mrs. METELICA. Chicago.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you born?

Mrs. METELICA. I was born in Poland in the town of—

Mr. MITCHELL. Swear the interpreter in, please.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you solemnly swear you will interpret the testimony the witness gives to be the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. ROMAN PUCINSKI. I do.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let's conduct it this way. She will tell her story in Polish and the interpreter will repeat it for the benefit of the committee.

(The remainder of Mrs. Metelica's testimony was given through the interpreter, Mr. Roman Pucinski.)

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you born?

Mrs. METELICA. Hel, Lubeiski.

Mr. MITCHELL. When? What date?

Mrs. METELICA. 15th of January 1926.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you living in September 1939?

Mrs. METELICA. In Lomza. That is near Bialystok. The town is L-o-m-z-a, the province is B-i-a-l-y-s-t-o-k.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you living with your parents at that time?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you tell us the full name of your father and mother?

Mrs. METELICA. My father's name was Pawel Hajduk, H-a-j-d-u-k, and my mother's name was Janina, J-a-n-i-n-a.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you have any brothers and sisters?

Mrs. METELICA. I had one brother.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is he now?

Mrs. METELICA. He is in England.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is your mother?

Mrs. METELICA. My mother is in England also.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is your father?

Mrs. METELICA. He was killed in Katyn. He had been at Starobielsk.

Chairman MADDEN. Starobeilsk prison camp?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was your father's occupation before the war?

Mrs. METELICA. He was a professional soldier. He had always been in the Army.

Mr. MITCHELL. Which army?

Mrs. METELICA. The Polish Army.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was he in September 1939?

Mrs. METELICA. He was in Lwow, L-w-o-w.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you last see your father?

Mrs. METELICA. The 13th of September 1939.

Mr. MITCHELL. That was the last day you saw your father?

Mrs. METELICA. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where?

Mrs. METELICA. The last time I saw my father was in a little village near Rowne, R-o-w-n-e.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At that time where were you living?

Mrs. METELICA. We were evacuated from Lomaz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where were you evacuated to?

Mrs. METELICA. Lubielski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To the Lubielski Province; is that it?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By Lubielski Province you mean the Province of Lublin, the province surrounding the city of Lublin?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

And then we retreated eastward as the German armies advanced.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you recollect when the Russians invaded Poland? Do you remember the date?

Mrs. METELICA. 16th of September.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of 1939?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. How old were you at that time?

Mrs. METELICA. I was 13 years old at the time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where was your father then?

Mrs. METELICA. In Lwow.

Mr. MITCHELL. With the Polish Army?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long were you in the Province of Lublin?

Mrs. METELICA. We were there about 10 days.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And then from there where were you taken?

Mrs. MELELICA. We then were evacuated to Rowne. But we didn't get to Rowne, because the Russians intercepted our flight.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to you then?

Mrs. METELICA. We remained in the same village, and then the Russians ordered us to return back to our original homes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you do that?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then what happened to you?

Mrs. METELICA. We returned to Lomza 2 months later.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to you in Lomza?

Mrs. METELICA. I resumed attending school, and my brother was engaged in some construction work.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to your father after the Russians invaded Poland?

Mrs. METELICA. We had no knowledge of my father until the end of October.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of 1939?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then did you see him or did you get a letter from him?

Mrs. METELICA. A friend of my father had written a letter to his wife.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where from?

Mrs. METELICA. From Starobielsk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And Starobielsk was one of the three major prison camps in which the Polish officers were held by Russians, is that correct?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did this friend of yours say that your father was there also?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you hear from your father after that?

Mrs. METELICA. No. My mother wrote first.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When did she write?

Mrs. METELICA. It was either in October or in November that she wrote her first letter.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is still 1939?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you get an answer? Did your mother get an answer from your father?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes; we received an answer before Christmas.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At that time where was he?

Mrs. METELICA. At that time my father was at Starobielsk and he had inquired through the Red Cross as to our whereabouts.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did your mother hear from him after that?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes; we received two subsequent letters from him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. On what dates and from where?

Mrs. METELICA. The dates I do not recall exactly, but the letters were from Starobielsk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell what month and what year?

Mrs. METELICA. The two following letters were received in January and March of 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. After March 1940 when your mother heard from your father at Starobielsk did you ever hear from him again?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes. We had one more letter from him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When?

Mrs. METELICA. That was in June from Russia. We received a letter when we were in Siberia in June of 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was the date of that last letter?

Mr. METELICA. His letter was dated the 4th of April 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At that time you and your mother were in Siberia?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you happen to be in Siberia?

Mrs. METELICA. We were deported to Siberia as members of a Polish officer's family.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did the Russians deport the families of the Polish officers to Siberia?

Mrs. METELICA. That is correct; yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was the rank of your father, by the way?

Mrs. METELICA. My father was a major.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was an officer until the last time you heard from him?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was your father's first name?

Mrs. METELICA. Pawel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. After the letter dated April 1940, did you ever get another letter from him?

Mrs. METELICA. No, we did not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you or your mother write to him again?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes, my mother wrote another letter.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you remember approximately what date?

Mrs. METELICA. No, I do not recall.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you recall what time of the year? Was it 1940?

Mrs. METELICA. It was in June of 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to that letter?

Mrs. METELICA. The letter was returned with a postscript, a notation, that "You will not find him again."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know who made that notation?

Mrs. METELICA. No, I do not. The notation was written in the Russian language.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to that letter?

Mrs. METELICA. The NKVD took the letter away from us when we were leaving Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that the last time you ever had any further information regarding your father's whereabouts?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then, as I understand, you say that the last time your mother ever heard from your father was a letter dated some time in April 1940?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you write any letters yourself?

Mrs. METELICA. I had written letters to my father from Poland.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to those letters?

Mrs. METELICA. My father did not receive those letters. He received only two from my family.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you write to anybody else?

Mrs. METELICA. My mother had written several letters to friends, my father's friends, from the same regiment that he was in.

Mr. MITCHELL. What information did your mother receive as a result of those letters?

Mrs. METELICA. All of the letters were returned with the same Russian inscription, "You will not find him."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you make any attempts through any authorities, Polish or Russian, to locate your father?

Mrs. METELICA. I had written a letter to Stalin.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When?

Mrs. METELICA. Around Christmas of 1941.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What result did you get from that letter?

Mrs. METELICA. We received a copy of an order addressed to the general headquarters of the NKVD at Minsk, which requested the address of my father.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you get any further response after that?

Mrs. METELICA. Two months later we received a letter from Minsk advising us that they cannot supply us with my father's address because they cannot locate him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long have you been in this country?

Mrs. METELICA. One year. March 5 has been 1 year.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you and your mother first hear about your father after 1940?

Mrs. METELICA. We learned of my father in Teheran in 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did you learn that?

Mrs. METELICA. General Anders had been making inquiries as to the whereabouts of the Polish soldiers, and he was told that they were taken to the Island of Franz Joseph.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Other than the fact that no further information was received from your father after April 1940, is there anything else that you have to add to this committee which would shed some light on the Katyn incident?

Mrs. METELICA. No; I cannot.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you or your mother ever informed officially by any government about your father?

Mrs. METELICA. My mother had written letters to Major Czapski and to General Anders, and she received replies informing her that my father had been murdered at Katyn.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is your mother today?

Mrs. METELICA. In England.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have never seen the official list of the prisoners of the Soviet forces in Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov?

Mrs. METELICA. No, I did not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. For the record I would like to state that I have this official list of the former Polish prisoners at the three prison camps that I mentioned, and there appears at the bottom of page 256 the name of Pawel Hajduk, major of infantry.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to introduce the book Mr. Machrowicz is referring to as exhibit 5-A and have it placed in the appendix of this record. It is the most authoritative list of Polish prisoners in these three camps that we have found to date.

Mr. MADDEN. The book will be admitted as exhibit 5-A.

(The book Katyn List was marked "Exhibit 5-A" and appears in the appendix of these hearings.)

Chairman MADDEN. Will you take a look at this and see if that is at the bottom of the page as underlined with that pencil mark?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes. My father was a major.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is that the first time you have seen his name on this official list of prisoners interned at these three camps?

Mrs. METELICA. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. You said one envelope was returned marked "You will not find him again." What happened to the other letters? Were they also taken from you when you left Siberia?

Mrs. METELICA. All of the letters, including the letter from Stalin and including my father's photographs, were taken away from us at the time that we were leaving Russia.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee wishes to thank you for coming here. Your testimony is very valuable, and we appreciate your sincere effort to help the committee.

Mr. Bronislaw Mlynarski, do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in the hearing now on trial will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BRONISLAW MLYNARSKI, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, Mr. Mlynarski has volunteered to testify before this committee. He was one of the officers assigned by General Anders to investigate the missing Polish Army officers during 1941 and 1942 after amnesty had been granted, which was on August 1, 1941. An associate in conducting this search was Joseph Czapski. The witness has requested that he be permitted to make his statement and then be interrogated after he has concluded.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before he tells the story, will you question the witness as to his present address, and what he is doing, and then we will let him tell the story. Identify the witness.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Bronislaw Mlynarski.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is your present address?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. 7203 Franklin Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. MITCHELL. When were you born?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Twenty-first of October 1899.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you born?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Warsaw, Poland.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was your occupation before September 1939?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I was vice director of the Polish Gdynia American Lines.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you have any experience in the army before September 1939?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. In what capacity?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I will have to go back to the Russo-Polish War of 1919-20.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you an officer at that time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I started as a private and I ended as a second lieutenant.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you on September 1, 1939?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In Warsaw.

Mr. MITCHELL. In Warsaw.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you speak a little louder? The audience cannot hear.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. On January 5, 1946.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is your citizenship today?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. United States of America.

Mr. MITCHELL. You are a citizen of the United States?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. You stated that your present address is Los Angeles?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is your occupation?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I am a broker in commercial affairs. I am running my own little enterprise.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you start with the date September 1, 1939, and tell Mr. Madden and the members of the committee your experiences, please?

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a reserve officer or regular army officer?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I was a reserve officer.

Mr. FLOOD. When were you called to active duty?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I joined the army on the third of September 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. In what capacity did you serve, what branch of the service.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In the engineers, the sappers.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you called up to duty?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I started in Warsaw. That was the original nucleus of my battalion.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a line officer or a staff officer?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Well, I was then a line officer, but because of my age—I was then 39, almost 40—I became a staff officer.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you go ahead in your own way, then?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I will ask you, if you please, to tell me or rather to indicate to me, how far shall I go into the details of my first period and my second period, and so on, because I am afraid that my story may be too lengthy if I go into great detail.

Chairman MADDEN. I will say, we are glad to have you here and we would like to have all testimony that will aid this committee in presenting evidence to the Congress regarding the Katyn massacre, and if your testimony takes 30 minutes or 10 hours, we will listen. We would like to hear all the facts. So our time is your time.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Thank you.

I will try to be concise and to the point and omit those facts which are not too pertinent. I will try to go ahead with the most important facts.

The beginning has been repeated many times in books and is known to the world. With my unit I drifted and fought the German's considerably. We drifted eastward. On the crucial day—and I would like in this manner to correct my predecessor, the young lady. The 17th of September is a historical date. It wasn't the 16th. I was at that time stationed in a town called Dubno, D-u-b-n-o, about 60 kilometers in a straight line from the Soviet border. The first flash of the news crossed the border just in no time because we saw airplanes flying in a most strange direction. We were used to the German planes flying and maneuvering in the early hours of the morning in a certain very precise routine. This morning at about 7 o'clock we saw a formation of about 30 airplanes strong that were heading straight from the east, westward. We thought that perhaps that a new maneuver, so we didn't pay much attention to it, but we heard ack ack and silence after a few rounds, our own in the vicinity. We rushed to those boys who were specialists in reading the skies, which we were not, and in

a matter of minutes we discovered that those 30 airplanes were Soviet planes.

That same instant was a moment which I will never forget, a moment of great enthusiasm and happiness. We thought that despite our misunderstandings, throughout not only the last decades but centuries, that the two Slavic nations would come together to fight the Teutonic foe. That was a mirage that lasted for exactly only a few hours because we heard news coming from the front line that on the same day at 5 o'clock in the morning on that whole enormous line starting from the Lithuanian border, about 550 miles long, the Soviet Red Army crossed the Polish border in great strength on that same morning, and crossed the border with force and with no aspect of friendship.

From there on we started changing our plans. Of course I was a subaltern of my experience, and we did what we were ordered. In other words, we went approximately southward in order to be in a belt between the squeezing Germans, who were rushing from the west, and the new forces that were heading westward. So we had a narrow belt that by the hours was getting narrower and narrower.

Unfortunately, my lot and the lot of those who were with me, like in a river with many tributaries, became a mass of about 25,000 men. Ultimately on the 19th, that is 2 days later, we could not reach either the Hungarian border through mountain passes down there or the Rumanian border which was still further away.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point do you know whether or not—because of your low rank you may not have known at that time—but do you know or have you heard since that the Polish high command had given instructions that all Polish troops, if possible, should escape into Hungary? Are you aware of any such order?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I will try to reply to that question.

On the 17th, on that crucial day, a little later in the afternoon, about 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon, our then superior, a general by the name of Bohaterowicz, B-o-h-a-t-e-r-o-w-i-c-z—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Incidentally, Mr. Witness, that is the same gentleman who was testified to by Dr. Miloslavich this morning.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I didn't hear that. That is the same man who is among the four generals that were inmates of the Kozielsk camp.

That general told us in a very wonderful speech, short, that despite the fact that we hear now with our ears that the Russians have entered our lands not as friends, but foes, yet we have to obey orders that come from high headquarters which he conveys to us that we have no right to oppose the Russian forces if we meet them on our road on which we are headed. We did not hear any other orders, sir—at least I did not—with regard to reaching this or that or other outlets of Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. But because of the pressure you were being channeled into that direction.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is right. We never were told, like a sinking ship, you know, do what you can, the best. We did not get that kind of order. However, many did, naturally. Anyway, on the 19th of September in a little hamlet in the southeast of Poland at about 7 o'clock in the evening the head of that enormous chain, that enormous serpent, was furiously attacked by cannon fire and machine guns, and

so on. We staged a small defense. I was very near the head. We scrambled out of the car as best we could. We had no arms, except I had a pistol. So did my colleagues. Very few even had actual carbines. We staged a defense, a hopeless defense that lasted 45 minutes. We had a river in front of us, a small river, and a bridge. A little later we had a lot of wounded, and also we had bad explosions of gasoline, because they were throwing us incendiary bullets from the machine guns.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was firing on you? What troops?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. May I tell you in a minute? I did not know, although we guessed, I think. A few minutes later we sent our delegation across the bridge, parliamentaries, that we give in because we can't defend ourselves. That is the first time I saw the Soviet men, fully armed, who took us from there on.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, and on that date in September 1939 there had been no declaration of war; there had been no declaration of hostilities, as far as the Soviet and Poland were concerned?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Correct, sir.

Now I will shorten my story, because that is rather grim, but also dull.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to ask one question there. You said members of your organization went over to talk with the group of Soviets?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes; two officers.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know who they were?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I recollect them very well, but I wouldn't remember their names. It lasted a few minutes. We saw them in the darkening day on the other side of the river.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened to you from there on?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. From there on I may only add as a matter of record that I and all the thousands with me were treated most brutally in the first days. We were stripped of everything which we had on us, which as a matter of fact made things lighter for me because I had to march afterwards 175 kilometers. Otherwise I would have thrown away even my little bag, if I had one. From there on we crossed by foot—

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt again. I am very sorry that we have to do this this way, but you are obviously a very intelligent witness and I don't want to upset you any.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Not at all.

Mr. FLOOD. When you say we were forced to march 175 kilometers and we were stripped of our accoutrements, and we were treated very brutally, do you mean officer personnel and enlisted personnel or was there a separation of officer personnel from noncommissioned officer personnel?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In the very first heat of being taken prisoners of war there was no distinction between officers and men at all.

Mr. FLOOD. Was one made subsequently?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, very soon afterwards.

Mr. FLOOD. How soon afterwards?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Twenty-four hours exactly, on the road while we were marching, after the first night we spent in the open. They segregated the officers and men quite separately to such an extent that we lost sight of those men afterwards.

Mr. FLOOD. They separated them. Who separated them?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Pardon me. That means the Soviets.

Mr. FLOOD. Were they military officers or NKVD?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. At the first moment and from there on until we crossed the Russian border, which is about, to be right in days, about 3 to 4 days; we were only under the guard of the Russian Soviet Army, which is a mighty difference. From there on we were in the care of the armed police forces.

After crossing the Russian border we camped for 2 days——

Mr. FLOOD. I want to make this clear. Twenty-four hours after you were taken prisoner the Russian military escort separated the officers from the enlisted personnel?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, as best they could do.

Mr. FLOOD. As best they could. Then your crowd were marched 175 kilometers over the Russian border as officer personnel?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You mean the Russian military compelled officers of the Polish Army to walk 170-some kilometers?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes. The 175 is the total length of my journey by foot, you see.

Mr. FLOOD. From Poland into Russia.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, from the spot, that hamlet where I was taken prisoner.

Mr. FLOOD. Right. But the important thing I want to bring out is that as officers, identified as officers of the Polish Army, with which the Russians at that time had no controversy legally, you were marched as captives 175 kilometers.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Quite correct, and we were distinctly separated, as I say, about 24 hours after we were taken.

Mr. SHEEHAN. What date was that?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That was on the 20th of September.

Mr. MITCHELL. 1939.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. 1939. We were always in that time now. When we arrived at an intermediate spot where we stayed about 2 days we had already met batches of other men. I am speaking now only of officers because meanwhile on that march I lost the enormous queue of the privates.

How long that was I never saw, because I would say without exaggeration on the rolling land of the border on the other side of the Bug River you could see sometimes three or four kilometers distance easily and you saw the line never ending. From that spot we were loaded into trains——

Mr. MITCHELL. You are now inside Russia.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I am now inside of Russia, about 70 or 80 kilometers inside Russia on a railroad junction. I have it in my notes but I don't remember the name. It is not pertinent. We were loaded into trains on a dark night. Those things are done only at night. At that time—I am underlining, gentlemen, from now on I am talking about officers alone—the strength of that tiny little intermediate camp was well over 2,000 men. We counted ourselves very easily because there was a roll call and we knew the number pretty close. That night—it would be approximately the 26th of September—we were loaded into one big train consisting of cars, box cars, very well known in Russia,

without any partitions; in other words for the men who travel in those cars this way, boards in two layers, making things easier. They were just straight cars without any boards at all. I am underlining that fact, and I am stressing that subject a little bit for a certain purpose. It was pretty rough and tough.

In the car in which I was loaded there were 88 men. You can visualize the conveniences. From there we were traveling as far as we could understand, according to the beams of sun and so forth, we were heading very distinctly eastward. Because of the holes in that particular form of conveyance we saw of course quite a lot of land, and it was easy to keep our bearings correct. We passed Kiev; we passed a number of smaller places. In fact, in two spots we were fed. I think that was one of the most decent dinners I ever had in Russia, which was not especially out of any courtesy paid to us. It was simply that they existed. Those are enormous organizations that Russia has at certain railroad junctions where they feed those who travel en masse.

As you gentlemen are probably well aware, there is a lot of mass movement in Russia since the early twenties. Nations have been moved from place to place, and those in responsibility had to feed them. So we were enjoying that hospitality in those places twice at night.

Finally, on the 30th of September at about 7 o'clock, on a rather coolish though pretty sunny morning—there was frost then already there—the train stopped at a station called Starobielsk. That name didn't mean much to us. Neither did we know whether that was the end of our journey or not. But soon we were ordered to leave the cars with an order which afterwards became immensely familiar to our ears. I will just make a little digression here.

There are two orders which sound this way. I will say it in Russian and translate it into English. One is Sobiraysia, just one word, and the other is Sobiraysia S Vieshchami. Those two expressions differ immensely in their final course of events. The first, Sobiraysia, means "Be ready." That means "Be ready without your things." That had applied probably to millions of Soviets for the last 30 years, in their homes, and so forth, where they are called for interrogation by different bodies of the period. The other word is much more grim. "Sobiraysia S. Vieshchami" means that you will be moved somewhere else, that it is not for interrogation purposes alone, but that you will be moved with your little personal possessions, whatever you have, somewhere else.

In that particular case at Starobielsk we all heard the order "Get out of the cars with your things." Which meant that we were going to stay at that station.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you understand Russian?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you at that time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I did.

From there on we were in pretty good order. We were pretty tired, but that was all right. We marched through the little city in daylight. That was quite an amazing sight, because for the first time we saw the local population of that remote village; not a village, it is a town, in the eastern confines of the Ukraine Republic. We marched through

the town with a lot of onlookers, mostly women and children, with no hostility expressed in their faces at all. Curiosity was the most significant thing we saw in their eyes.

From there on, not far away at all, on the street called Kirov, a very popular street in all towns in Russia, we were led into a compound surrounded by a very tall wall about 3 meters high.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many men were in that contingent, if you know or can guess. At that moment how many marched through the town that day?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Quite a few now. I would say three or four thousand at least, although it was a working day.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you still in uniform?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. We were in full uniform.

Mr. FLOOD. What kind of uniform?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Polish Army uniforms.

Mr. FLOOD. What did it consist of?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Most of us still had our greatcoats.

Mr. FLOOD. What do you mean by "greatcoats"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Overcoats. Many of us had these.

Mr. FLOOD. Polish Army winter uniform?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No; I wouldn't call them winter at all. Those overcoats were winter. Otherwise our tunics and our breeches were not at all. Mine was very, very thin, tropical.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you wear boots?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes; I had high boots. That is the type.

Mr. FLOOD. What color?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The boots were black.

Mr. FLOOD. Did most of the other officers dress about the same way you did?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. About the same, but they varied, naturally. Boots are something which have to be very good for a long march, and we had to walk on those roads with their sharp stones, which wore out the boots pretty soon, you know.

Mr. FLOOD. One more question before you go on. Now that you have reached the prison camp of Starobielsk, if you know, if you had an opportunity at that early moment to discover, what percentage of these officers that walked through the town with you that first day were reservists as contrasted to regular army?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes; I can tell you that precisely, although it is a very sharp cut. I would say generally, because it is based on our further knowledge of our inmates, there were more than 50 percent reservists, and out of that 50 percent there was a very high percent of quite young men, well under 30.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That first trainload consisted of over 2,000 men. We were the very first on that day, the 30th of September 1939, to enter the Starobielsk camp.

If you will allow me to show you a little piece of paper, it is my strictly private affair—

Chairman MADDEN. Let me say this: I think the witness is making a very good presentation, and unless there is something really important, I will ask the members not to interrupt until you get through with your presentation, and then we will ask you questions.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. If you please, sir. I am speaking now about the Starobielsk monastery, because that is what it actually was. Unfortunately I haven't the legend down here in English. Perhaps you may ask your colleague if he wishes to see this. I did this myself from memory, but I can assure you gentlemen that the precision of it is very right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Machrowicz, will you interpret what that is, please?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This is a sketch of the camp at Starobielsk; is it not?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. What is the date?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Thirtieth of September 1939. That was early morning, gentlemen. A few hours later, I think about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, a new batch arrived, about 2,500 strong, all officers, and they were spilled into the same camp.

On the following day, which was the 1st of October, the camp was almost bursting. I am saying that emphatically. The camp was then filled with at least 4,500 officers, and at least 6,000 privates. So the camp was well over 10,000 men. If you look at my little map there and use your imagination, there was hardly a spot in that confine that was not filled with human bodies somehow or other. Certainly there was no room under roof.

In those days, in those first days the camp was hardly built at all. There were only a few remnants of buildings, half destructed, with the exception of the middle center church and a kind of additional religious building—I don't know the name of it—which we later called the circus because our boys lived there in the number of 600 and lived exactly like apes can live, in layers 8 stories high.

I am underlining, gentlemen, this which is to my modest understanding of events, a fact which is important. Just a while ago I explained the question of Mr. Flood whether we were separated or not. That means officers and men. We were. Now all of a sudden we are again mixed all together. This did not last long. The privates which were then about 6,000 were deported, and the deportation started in the very first days of November. In other words, we were together about a month.

To give tribute to those boys whom I never saw afterward, I can assure you gentlemen that not only myself but many other of my colleagues, officers, who were treated much worse than they were—by "they" I mean our soldiers—they had plenty of all sorts of little comforts which they gave us most generously. I don't want to become pathetic, but if I saved my hands and legs from frost and so forth, it was due to the fact that those boys gave me all the necessary things to wear.

They left the camp in several batches starting in the very first of November. The lot of those men is a very interesting story in itself. I am told that some of them were returned, brought back to Poland. I have never personally had any confirmation of that fact. But let's suppose that that was true, that a certain number may have been returned to Poland. However, later—I have to jump now 2 years ahead—when I was working in the so-called front line in one of the rallying points of the Polish Army then being reinstated in

Soviet Russia, I and quite a number of my friends—we called ourselves working in the front lines. The front line consisted of simply standing in a certain place and waiting, and receiving those hundreds and thousands of Polish soldiers who were streaming from all the hundreds upon hundreds of penal servitude camps all over Soviet Russia to join the Polish Army. The very first question which we always asked of our boys in the receiving front line was, "Were you among the first batch of 5,000 or 6,000 that left Starobielsk No. 1?"

I will come to an enumeration, gentlemen, which I am afraid you will have to learn. There was a Starobielsk No. 2. Never did I have a word of knowledge about those boys that left that camp in early November 1939. But, gentlemen, as your wonderful task is to concentrate and confine your work on the one specific tragedy of the Polish Nation, I think we should disregard those others which were lost in this way or that way, who amount to innumerable thousands of men, both in army men and in the civilian population, of whom this young lady was one of the examples.

Life then was applied in that particular camp only to officers. When the privates left we were much more comfortable, and not only that, due to the amazing energy of—I listed his name on the very first page—Major Zaleski, a sapper also, who became the Polish camp commandant, only in the capacity of easing our affairs and being in touch with the Russians daily and nightly, to get the food, to distribute the food, to build kitchens, et cetera, and to build additional barracks because we virtually had nowhere to live. We got the material, slowly, but we did. Amazingly, we got some nice lumber, and we got some nails which are weighed in Russia, I think almost as gold, and other things so that we could erect a few buildings.

I made a note of that in my book.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me interrupt. Let me say you have been now testifying for some time. If you want a couple of minutes recess indicate your desire at any time.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is all right. I can go on. Why I am mentioning that the life had changed since the boys left is this, and I would like you gentlemen to use a little bit of your imagination. You see, the officers in Poland in those days still belonged—by no means misunderstand me—not to a class, but they were formed by virtue of the fact that they became officers and they were members of the Polish so-called intelligentsia. The other boys were wonderful boys, but they lacked just that moment of education. In other words, whatever happened at the camp to us from the point of view of the endeavors to indoctrinate us could not be applied to those boys because there are other ways of teaching those boys and other ways of teaching us. So from there on we were in a kind of cauldron and were continuously under the pressure of somehow teaching us what life should be and what a wrong life we led in our previous days.

That thing, gentlemen—I am shortening this—ran into all forms you can imagine. We were flooded with a vile Polish press, which I never knew existed. One paper was edited in Kharkow and the other was edited in Kiev, all in the Polish language, a most awful distorted language; anything that was written in those papers published on the Soviet soil for the many, many Poles, persons of Polish extraction that lived in those parts of the Ukraine. So we had those

papers which made our blood boil. We had quite a few newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia and the Red Stars, the military organ, that were distributed to us from the Russians.

I am underlining the press, gentlemen. In those days the Russian press had but bad things to tell us about ourselves, and that is very painful. Those moral failings are sometimes more painful than physical ill-treatment. This went on for many months.

Besides, there were other means, too. There was the radio. The radio was installed, as it is probably now, in any place, almost, that had four walls. The only difference from the radio in the world in which we are living here is that the radio in the Soviet Union is not removable and not detachable in many cases. We called it the black plate because it was just a kind of a black plate, a loud-speaker attached to the wall, and that was that. It started its noise from 7 o'clock in the morning and ended at midnight, without stopping. There were some very nice hours which we all enjoyed like the transmissions, the broadcasts of excellent music. Otherwise it was mostly propaganda which that enormous poor country is fed continuously day and night. That propaganda was very painful; I underline and emphasize, gentlemen, because anything that was said about our allies, then Great Britain and France, was fine. Anything that concerned Poland was just the worst you could imagine. Our men, our statesmen, the statesmen of our allies, were slandered in every form of speech or print. The sinking, just to give you an example, of a ship of our line well known in the United States because it spanned the Atlantic since 1935, the motorship *Pilsudski*, sunk in middle November 1939, was quite a nice little sensation in the Russian press, where they said that the ship found the right place at the bottom of the sea.

We had also moving pictures. That was really, gentlemen, a selection that is hard to relate and to give you an idea of. It only showed the completely low level of those onlookers who comprised the untold millions of the Soviet Union. Of those I have nothing to say. They were fed on those awful pictures that from the beginning to the end were always some completely fantastic, out-of-this-world propaganda stuff. We were showed those pictures. Even so, we were shown quite a few little beauties concerning our war in 1920, which they had a right to do, but still looking at those pictures was not too agreeable to us.

There was then the person to person, every day and into the night contact and indoctrination by the always kind of growing strength of the police forces in uniform, the so-called politruks, which is an abbreviation. Those are the boys who are especially taught and instructed how to expose around them in their environment, wherever those environments may be, the gospel and the ideology of the Soviet school of thought. Those men are supposed to talk. They are not supposed to be silent. They watched us and they had to talk, completely different from the members of the Red Army which we were first surrounded with, who didn't talk at all because they had nothing to talk about. If we first asked them a few questions, they always refrained, saying that they knew nothing about anything. Some of those politruks were very clever, some of them were just smart, and a few of them I would call not to the level. However, they dragged

us into conversations. Then those conversations went on at considerable length. If you can imagine the camp at that time, over 40,000 strong, of intelligent men, many of them prone to talk too much, too, the conversation sometimes lagged to the complete defeat of us. "Of us" means the Polish officers. As far as challenging and attempting to criticize the Soviet order you have to be very well-versed in the matters to counteract. If you don't, you lose.

In many cases we lost. But that of course I am putting a little bit in a joking manner because, after all, we did not change our views, and on the contrary, I think we remained pretty faithful to our old way of thinking.

Finally, gentlemen, there was the interrogation individually by the members of the NKVD in their special buildings. One building was located in the heart of the camp itself. I made a note of it. The actual number of the building was No. 10. It was a little bit of a house always surrounded by barbed wire and a few watchmen. So we only learned about the inside of it when we were invited at night to have a talk. The other buildings, quite a few of them as a matter of fact, were over the road, in the buildings where the administration of that camp held its quarters.

Gentlemen, you probably have heard much about interrogation in the Soviet Union. It is quite an experience. My first interrogation I had the pleasure of writing in the form of memoirs, and it forms one of the chapters of my memoirs. It lasted from midnight until I think 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. There was no physical ill-treatment, not at all. Those things are done in different ways in different quarters of the Soviet Union. In an open place like this camp or the Kozielsk camp those things are not done. They are done in different places where ill-treatment can be performed with complete ease. However, a gun was of course on the table. All sorts of lamps were shining straight in your eyes. They were smoking cigarettes right in your eyes and not allowing you to smoke, et cetera. I was interrogated personally I think about 5 times in Starobielsk, and probably about 15 times in my later days in other camps.

Chairman MADDEN. Were all those interrogations at night?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Always. Not once was I interrogated in the daytime.

Chairman MADDEN. In the early morning?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In other words, you were dragged very rudely out of your bunk in your sleeping quarters.

Mr. FLOOD. How long were you at Starobielsk, how many weeks or months?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I was the first to arrive and the last to leave.

Mr. FLOOD. How many months?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. From the 30th of September 1939 until the 12th of May, noon, 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. During the time you were there what was the highest number of Polish officers at Starobielsk at any particular time you were there?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The very beginning. I told you gentlemen a while ago that there were about 2,000 in the first batch and 2,500 in the second officers' batch.

Mr. FLOOD. You were under pressure to be converted to Communism during all that time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the Russians succeed in converting many Polish officers to communism?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Factually I wouldn't know one single case because I never had the opportunity to know who was 100 percent converted, but judging and knowing a little bit how people behave and what they do, there were maybe a few who were, let's call them, Reds, and then different shades of red that slides into light pink. That is all I can say. The percentage was immensely low. Again it is a guess, gentlemen, but I may say that if ever it was higher than 5 percent, that was the maximum tops.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask a question with reference to the number of officers there? I would like to refer to your history of that camp. On page 5 it states that the highest number was 3,920.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And they consisted as follows, and correct me if I am wrong: Eight generals, 150 colonels, about 230 majors, about 1,000 captains, about 2,450 lieutenants, about 30 noncommissioned officers, and about 52 civilians, judges, prosecutors, and various civil officers.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Correct, Sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Total, 3,920. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is very correct. However, later perhaps I have slightly changed on my continuous work to arrive at the most precise figure. However, gentlemen, I may tell you the figure you mentioned, I am a little bit proud to say, humbly, the 3,920 concerning the Starobielsk camp is my figure from the very start of any revelations concerning that camp in this world.

Mr. FLOOD. Were there any Polish priests there?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. There were 25 who were deported when the boys were still there. They were all deported at about the end of October.

Mr. FLOOD. Any women there?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Incidentally there was one, the wife of a man, but she disappeared very soon afterwards.

Mr. FLOOD. Rabbis?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Oh, yes. They were all deported. There was the head rabbi of the Polish Armed Forces, Doctor—I don't remember. I have his name somewhere. There was quite a number of Jews. There was not one rabbi, there were a few. There was also the orthodox chaplain. May I say about the figure that to my understanding it is immensely important.

Chairman MADDEN. We might have a couple of minutes recess.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Mlynarski, you reviewed your experience on being interrogated at Starobielsk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I understand you left with the last group on May 12; is that correct?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is very correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How many were there at that time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Eighteen men, plus 10; that is 28.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Prior to that they were taken away in groups of about 200 each; is that correct?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes. May I have permission to elaborate a little bit on that matter?

Chairman MADDEN. Yes; proceed.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. To make the correct answer to you, sir, arriving at that figure 3,920, I had to start from a certain date. You cannot just improvise figures. Figures remain. That pertains to the date which I chose to be the right date for the Starobielsk camp, which was the 5th of April 1940. Later when I met similar survivors as myself I also checked possibly the strength of their two camps, which would be Kozielsk and Ostashkov, to find and determine the strength of the camps. The strength of the camps originally during those long 7 months varied and was certainly much higher than the number which has been established in the reports that exist today, the 5th of April 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What number are you referring to that has been established?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Established by us, those through all ways and means tried to be correct to establish the strength.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Give us the number. What is that number that you are referring to?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I am speaking with complete knowledge about the Starobielsk camp, and I will try to explain why I have the right to do so. I do not speak so precisely about the other camps because I was not an inmate of those camps. The total figure of the camps on that particular day, the 5th of April 1940, was Starobielsk, 3,920; Kobielsk about 5,000; and Ostashkov about 6,780.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is the total?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The total is 15,700 men. The total approximately, if you wish to know—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are approximating the figures in the other two camps. Will you tell us how you arrived at those approximate figures in the other two camps?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. My meeting the men who were in those camps as I was in Starobielsk. I was interested in that problem from the very start.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me ask you, to make it short, were you assigned by General Anders to any particular task?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That was much later, sir, 2 years later. When I was with the Army staff.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Two years later, what were you assigned to do?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. First of all, that assignment was initiated by myself. It wasn't a command. I was the first man, the first officer to report to General Anders in writing on the 1st of November 1941. I have a copy of that report here right in my file.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. You were at Starobielsk. You left Starobielsk with the last group of men to leave?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you go when you left Starobielsk? First of all, what was the date when you left Starobielsk?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The 12th of May 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you go from Starobielsk?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Gentlemen, if you don't desire to listen to my elaboration, it will make it a little bit cloudy.

Mr. FLOOD. I would like to know where you went from Starobielsk in May of 1940.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I went to a camp that was called Pavlishev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. You went to Pavlishev Bor from Starobielsk?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. How long were you there?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Twenty-eight days.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you go from Pavlishev Bor?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Gryazovets.

Mr. FLOOD. Gryazovets. How long were you at Gryazovets? What was the date when you arrived at Gryazovets?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I have it all here, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You arrived at Gryazovets about when?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I arrived at the camp Gryazovets on the 18th of June 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. And you left when?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. We left Gryazovets all together. When the barbed wires were cut from in front of us, we left as free men on the 2d of September 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. On the 2d of September 1941 you left as free men?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you went from Gryazovets to where?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. To the rallying point of the Polish Army under the command of General Anders.

Mr. FLOOD. Where was that?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. There were several.

Mr. FLOOD. You went to join General Anders where?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. There were several points. I went for the first 7 days or so to a little place called Totzkoye, T-o-t-z-k-o-y-e.

Mr. FLOOD. This was after Russia had entered into the war and she was forming an army of former Polish officers?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. After all that was done, did you ever join General Anders? Did you ever join General Anders' command yourself?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. From the very first time, the first day the initiation, or rather let's call it a little bit pathetically, the resurrection of the Polish forces was announced by General Anders personally, who flew from Moscow to Gryazovets on the 25th of August 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. And you responded to this call from General Anders?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. And the purpose was to form a Polish Army under the command of General Anders, is that correct?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. For an army you must have soldiers and you must also have officers.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You had the soldiers, and you couldn't find officers.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. At that time we had no soldiers at all.

Mr. FLOOD. They were going together.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. We believed that they were alive, which was true to a certain extent.

Mr. FLOOD. You told my colleague that you had volunteered for duty with General Anders. To do what? What specific thing did you offer yourself to do?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Gentlemen, I am a little bit troubled with answering that question, not because I don't want to but because I don't know how to answer it. First of all, being an officer, I was straight under his command. There were some intermediates between him and myself.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that, but it has been indicated that you performed a certain mission and that mission was in conjunction with another officer——

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. To look for missing Polish officers; is that correct?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Not quite, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What is correct?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. What is correct is this, that by the mere fact that people around me, my colleagues—here is one sitting right here in front of me—came to the conclusion that I am one of those—I don't want to brag or anything, but I was just one of those who was studying by the methods of deduction the whole affair.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that very clearly, but did you go looking for Polish officers?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Actually I did not go looking.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know of anybody who did?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Maj. Joseph Czapski did, personally.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you know Major Czapski?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He is a very old friend of mine.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you talk to him at that time about this problem?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Many times before and after.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever get to Tehran?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No, I didn't go to Tehran.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever hear of Colonel Syzmanski of the United States Army?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I had the pleasure of meeting him in Cairo.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you meet him?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In Cairo.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you talk about?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Different affairs, and then he asked me to write a certain report, which I gladly did.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you at any time talk with Colonel Syzmanski, of the United States Army, in Cairo about any of the problems related to the Katyn affair?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Oh, yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. MITCHELL. To your knowledge while you were at Gryazovets and General Anders, as you said, announced that the Polish Army would be formed in Russia, how many officers were there at that time at Gryazovets, to your own personal knowledge?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. There were approximately 200 officers, including a batch of let's say 25 to 30—those figures, gentlemen, exist very precisely. I do not have them in my memory. Let's say approximately 200 men of the 400 original survivors, plus approximately 900 officers plus, about 350 NCO's and a few privates, which enlarged the existing Gryazovets camp, which was to become the only camp in the Soviet Union called a prisoner-of-war camp at that time. Those 900 officers plus those 350 NCO's arrived in the Gryazovets camp. Please make it a strong note. I request that.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. On the 2d of July 1941, that means 11 days after the war was declared between the Soviet Union and Germany, those men which originated from the so-called internment in Latvia and Estonia and were in prison in the Kozielsk camp—I have the dates right here—from June 1940 until the date of their arrival in the camp of Gryazovets on the 2d of July 1941, that batch which was much higher than the figure I have just disclosed, namely 1,250 men, that batch was well over 2,500 men in the beginning of their deportation or their change in place of imprisonment from Latvia and Estonia to the Kozielsk camp No. 2. That has nothing to do with Kozielsk No. 1.

Kozielsk No. 1 at that time on the 12th of May 1940 was completely empty, and it was filled, not to the brim but approximately 2,500 men from those two Republics just told about.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now let me ask you a question which bears on the very issue which we must determine here. Of those officers with whom you were in the prison camp did you ever hear from any of them after May 1940?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Never, not a word.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a result of that, have you come to the conclusion that they had been liquidated no later than May 1940?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Decidedly so.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Because at that time the Russians were the ones in possession of that territory, it is your conclusion that they were liquidated by the Russians?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Decidedly so, only I never knew the place.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you meet Colonel Grobicki?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I met Colonel Grobicki in the intermediate little camp called Pavlischev Bor and from then on we spent 15 months together in the Gryazovets camp.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was with you at Pavlischev Bor?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, because he was in Kozielsk originally. Pavlischev Bor was the spot where we met. That means the remnants of the three big camps.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One other question, Witness: Also referring to your memoirs, I want to ask you whether or not you know of any officers who escaped from the prison camp in which you were.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I refer to page 5. You refer to the fact that in the early days of the camp there were about 10 or 20 who did escape.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I think I referred to officers?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Starobielsk.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I meant officers?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. If they ever escaped, they escaped in disguise with the boys, putting on the clothes, the uniforms of the privates.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the early days there was a very small number that did escape.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, but I don't think I can elaborate very much about that word "escape," because that means really that they left the gates of the camp. What happened to them later I don't know. I tell you frankly I think I met once a fellow somewhere in London long years after, who did escape actually and was found alive afterward. I met him afterward.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I understand those are very exceptional cases.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. So exceptional cases.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What I want to bring out is that there were at least a few exceptional cases that escaped.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. There were. I don't deny the fact that there were. There were another two cases which I would not call an escape in the way of running away from the camp.

No; there were two cases which originated in an entirely different fashion. There were two high aristocrats. One was Prince Radziwill, and the other was Prince Jan Lubomirski, in the camp of Gryazovets. Ultimately they both were sent home, and we were glad to hear that, that was all, through the very, very highest authority, through the King of Italy himself and all the rest.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. FURCOLO. You were at Kozielsk for some time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Never.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you ever know of a man named W. Jan Firtek?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes; he was a young boy; an ensign.

Mr. FURCOLO. An officer cadet?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Officer cadet.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you know him by any chance yourself?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes; I knew him at Gryazovets; yes. He wrote some memoirs, I remember.

Mr. FURCOLO. We had a witness whose first name was M-a-r-i-o-n, and his last name was Gawiak, G-a-w-i-a-k. He went by the name of Mike. I don't know how you would pronounce the last name. He also was at Gryazovets. Does that name by any chance mean anything to you at all?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I don't recollect him personally. I know the officers much better because we lived in the same quarters. I don't know the boys. They lived in different quarters. Although those 400 knew each other.

Mr. MITCHELL. Of the total number of officers that were with you at Starobielsk, how many survived to your knowledge after the war?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Today of course there is only a very few alive. They were decimated afterward by all sorts of fevers, and so forth, during our stay in Russia, and they were decimated by war casualties in the campaigns. So today there are very few. In the United States I know of only three. Here is one [indicating]. I am one, and there is one in New York. That is about all. The numbers were these at the time. There were 63 men that left the Starobielsk camp in one of those many batches. But that was a specific case. They left on the 25th of April 1940. The little batch which I was a member of consisted originally of 18 men. There arrived at the intermediate camp at the station of Babinino only 63. Two men were taken out of those awful little cabins we were imprisoned in. Sixteen and 63 is 79, plus—Congressman Machrowicz has my notes there—I mentioned I think 6 or 7 men who originally were in the Starobielsk camp and were individually deported during those first 7 months, and they afterward through a great deal of luck somehow or other survived and joined our forces, which makes I think the total, if now I could

read my notes I would know better, something a little bit over 79 plus 6. It would be something around 85.

Mr. MITCHELL. You have seen the lists of the individuals who have been identified as having been exhumed at Katyn. Do you recognize any names there of any officers or individuals who were with you at Starobielsk?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Not to my knowledge, no. I didn't find a single one. Of course I could only cover the limited number which my limited brain could embrace, you know. If you want to see a little bit of a very private and very personal and very intimate work of mine, here it is. Here on this page are the names of my closest friends with whom I was sharing the lot in the Starobielsk camp. Those men were all put down in different periods of time on little scraps of paper which I lost, so afterward I reworked that many, many times to arrive at a certain precision. Down the line up to about here [indicating], which includes about 100 men, I would dare to say I could tell the story to their wives, mothers, or daughters pretty well. This list includes further, of course, many more which I derived from different sources afterward. I am speaking now, gentlemen, of men who are dead. That is how my work started.

Mr. MITCHELL. How do you know they are dead?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is my own way.

Mr. MITCHELL. Your assumption?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. My assumption. I am not condemning anyone. I have no right to do so. The only thing is that in this limited way of life which we are all leading in this world, I think we have the right to call someone at least missing forever, or, if you please, dead or murdered or not alive if that person or, in this case, a strength of 15,300 men have had their mouths silenced by some unknown way. According to the laws of large figures, it is unbelievable that a batch of 15,300 men, out of which 50 percent were young men, did not try to escape in the course of events, not to try to escape, really to escape. If, according to the Soviet Union's statement of January 1944, those 15,300 men were confined in completely unknown 3 localities different from the many statements which you have received, gentlemen, from me and from others alive, with names and dates and geographical positions, with precision if the Soviet Union can only tell us that there were 3 camps from 35 to 45 kilometers west of Smolensk, numbered 1 ON, 2 ON, and 3 ON, and that those men worked on repairing roads or doing something of that nature. I would like to draw your attention, gentlemen, to the fact which I make a statement of. Although our lives in the congested camps at Starobielsk, Ostashkov, and Kozielsk were not too easy, and later in the little camp Gryazovets in the north on the railroad to Archangel, however, we were never—this is my own personal interpretation—confined, we were never ordered to do penal-servitude work according to the methods which are very well known and written in volumes here in these United States and applied to the millions that worked elsewhere in camps specifically and especially organized for that purpose. Yes, true, we had to work and we did some very filthy work and under unpleasant conditions, in the rain and snow and mud, et cetera, but all that was almost 99 percent in some way or other connected with the improvement or enlightenment of our own lives in those confinements.

In Gryazovets, in the small camp, where we were living together almost 15 months, life became much more easy to study for us, for those who lived to study, that kind of life. There was an order, and that order was adhered to with all precision, that all officers from major upward—there were not many, who occupied just one little building—were completely free of any work whatsoever. Excuse me, ladies, if I may say so, there were some ugly little things which we had to do, cleaning spots which someone should do always himself. Even those officers, majors and higher up to the colonels, were forbidden even to do that work. So let's compare this fact. They had a maid who swept their rooms in that little building of theirs. There was one general, a few colonels, and Colonel Grobicki was among them.

Let's compare the official statement of the Soviet Government telling us that 15,300 men were laboring, working in different seasons of the year because that went on since April 1940 until probably August 1941, when those lands were occupied by the German forces. They were off working for a full summer, through the full winter, through a full spring, and again almost through a half of a summer, working and digging trenches. That means it comprised eight generals, et cetera, down the line to the NCO's.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. No further questions.

Chairman MADDEN. From all that you have related here to us, from the information you have received, and with the acquaintances that you had in these camps, would you be in a position to say who was responsible for the murders at Katyn? Would you, yes, or no.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Who would you say was responsible for the killing of the people at Katyn?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The highest authorities of the Soviet Union.

Chairman MADDEN. If there are no further questions, the committee thanks you for your testimony. Your testimony has been highly valuable. On behalf of not only the committee but of the Congress, I want to thank you for coming here and presenting your testimony. You have contributed a great deal toward officially establishing the responsibility for the Katyn Massacre.

Thank you very much.

Dr. Srokowski, will you be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearings now on trial will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MIECZYSLAW SROKOWSKI, CHICAGO, ILL.

Chairman MADDEN. Just give the reporter your full name and address, please.

Mr. SROKOWSKI. My name is Mieczyslaw Srokowski, M-i-e-c-z-y-s-l-a-w, S-r-o-k-o-w-s-k-i; 5225 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago.

Chairman MADDEN. Counsel, you may proceed with the witness.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the witness has requested that we refrain from asking him too many questions about his life in Poland before the war. Consequently, I will

proceed by asking the doctor if he was at Starobielsk with the previous witness.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No. I was in Kozielsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was the previous witness, for the record?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Mr. Mlynarski.

Chairman MADDEN. Speak a little louder, please.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I met him only in Pavlischew Bor.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is the first time you saw him?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No; I knew him before.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you know Grobicki?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Grobicki; yes; I knew him.

Mr. MITCHELL. At Kobielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you know Colonel Grobicki before Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No; I met him only in Kozielsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you know Mr. Gawiak?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I remember his name. Maybe if I saw him I would know him.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you first get to Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. The first of November 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you get that far, were you with the Polish Army?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was.

Mr. FLOOD. In what capacity?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was a surgeon. I was mobilized. Before the war I was chief surgeon of Polish Red Cross hospital in Warsaw.

Mr. FLOOD. When you were sworn they called you "Doctor." Doctor of what?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Of medicine, medical doctor.

Mr. FLOOD. You were a Polish doctor?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were a medical officer in the Polish Army?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No. I was only mobilized.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your rank when you entered service?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. When I entered service I was a lieutenant, and I finished as major.

Mr. FLOOD. You went in as lieutenant and finished as major?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a reservist or a regular army officer?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was a reservist.

Mr. FLOOD. At the time the Germans crossed the Polish border were you then in the army?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you in the line opposite the Germans in that part of Poland when the Germans came in?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was in Warsaw.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in Warsaw.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes. I was a surgeon in a hospital.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you ever captured by the Germans?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you later captured by the Russians?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. By the Russians.

Mr. FLOOD. Where?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Seventeenth of September 1939 at Grembowla, G-r-e-m-b-o-w-l-a.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you on active duty at the time you were captured?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you in a hospital?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was.

Mr. FLOOD. You were working as a surgeon?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. In a military hospital; yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Attending wounded Polish troops?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes. Polish wounded, because we only became mobilized the morning of the 17th of September.

Mr. FLOOD. On the morning of the 17th of September 1939?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes. I was in the hands of the Bolsheviks in the afternoon of the same day.

Mr. FLOOD. On the 17th of September 1939 you were on active duty as a Polish medical officer in a Polish military hospital?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You were then captured by the Russians?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Right.

Mr. FLOOD. Subsequently you got to Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you go?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Subsequently, because before I was taken to the south of Russia it was a small camp.

Mr. FLOOD. But you did get to Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. After a few weeks we stayed there we were transported to Kozielsk the 1st of November 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. November 1, 1939, you arrived at Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Right.

Mr. MITCHELL. While you were at Kozielsk, were you permitted to practice medicine? In other words, were you attending the wounded there?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No, not wounded too much. There were only sick people there. It was a small hospital directed by a Russian lady. There was some Polish doctor to take care of his friends, of course, under the supervision of this Russian doctor.

Mr. MITCHELL. Officially you were not permitted to tend your Polish officers?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many doctors did they have at Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I cannot say exactly, but I think about 500.

Mr. MITCHELL. Five hundred Polish doctors at Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is right.

Chairman MADDEN. Were they in the army as officers?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Reservists, mobilized. Of course, there were even some civilians.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you at Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. To the second part of April 1940.

Mr. MITCHELL. The latter part of April 1940. Where did you go from Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. From Kozielsk I was taken to Pavlischev Bor.

Mr. MITCHELL. How were you transported?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. By walking to the station and afterward by the train.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many went with you?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I cannot say exactly, but about 100.

Mr. MITCHELL. One hundred Polish officers?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were they all officers?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. You walked from the camp to the train?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MITCHELL. What kind of train was it?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. It was specially built for prisoners. I have seen the cars in Europe, with coupes with a small corridor. It had only a small window in the coupe with grates. We could not go out even from the coupe.

Mr. MITCHELL. Grates. You mean bars?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Iron bars.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were they individual cells?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Coupe, passenger cars in Europe, where you have a corridor.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Compartment?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Compartment.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you see anything in those cars, these trains?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. We looked for some writing, and we saw some place where it was washed out. Finally in the corridor we saw some notes probably by one of the officers who had left before.

Mr. MITCHELL. Left where?

Chairman MADDEN. This notice was written in these prison cars?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes, on the wall of the car.

The CHAIRMAN. On the wall of the car.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Written by a prisoner who could write. It was very high in the corridor so it was not noticed by the Bolshevik guards. We saw some place where it was washed out.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in Kozielsk with a lot of other Polish officers?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You probably knew that other brother officers of yours were being removed from Kozielsk from time to time?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Right.

Mr. FLOOD. I suppose you were wondering what was happening to them. You talked among each other, "Where are they going?"

Dr. SROKOWSKI. The Bolsheviks made suggestions that we were going to be given up to the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes, but you were discussing among each other, "Where are these fellows being taken to? Where are they going?"

Dr. SROKOWSKI. A lot of people believed that they were going back to Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. Certainly. So when you got on the cars in which other officers from Kozielsk had been taken away.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Naturally you thought that other officers from the same camp, and friends, may have put something on the wall to tell you something or give you some message, is that right?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were looking for those writings?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Prisoners of war always make notes. I remember we made some notes on the walls of the camp.

Mr. FLOOD. That is like the American expression "Kilroy was here." You were looking for that. Did you find it?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What did it say?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. It said that one of the transports which left, I don't remember exactly the day, but I would say about the 7th of April—

Mr. FLOOD. 1940.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. 1940. Was one station after Smolensk. The man who wrote this couldn't write the name of the station, but he wrote only that it was the first stop after Smolensk.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Which is Katyn, is it not?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The first station past Smolensk is Gniezdovo, is it not?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I cannot say.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. However, Katyn is near the first stop.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I don't know, only the train stopped at the first station, he wrote. He wrote in the letter the first stop after the big station.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is no railroad station at Katyn, but the nearest is Gniezdovo, which is the first station past Smolensk.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. He did not mention the name of the station.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It just said the first stop.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. It is very difficult, you know, because before they were taken off the cars maybe he couldn't see the name.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did he sign his name?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. O'KONSKI. All you saw was the writing but no name?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. How long were you on this train?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. We traveled about a half day. We stopped in a station and we didn't know what station it was. We were kept in the station about 20 hours. At the end of it we saw the station, from which it was about 35 kilometers to the camp, Pavlischev Bor.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you get to Pavlischev Bor?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. The second part of April 1940.

Mr. MITCHELL. The latter part of April 1940?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many Polish doctors were at Pavlischev Bor when you got there?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I would say a few; not too many. I cannot exactly say. I remember one dentist and there was one who before the war was one of my friends. He was a colonel in the Polish Army. Before the war he was professor of surgery in Kharkov University. He spoke Russian very well and the Bolsheviks gave him some information. I was very friendly with him because he was at the hospital where I was chief surgeon before the war. He had some friends among the Bolshevik officers who explained to him this group of officers will go to another camp which will be much more comfortable and with fewer officers we will have a much better condition of living.

Mr. FLOOD. What reason can you give for escaping? Do you have any idea why you escaped? If it is true that the other brother officers of yours at Kozielsk were killed at Katyn—and the evidence so far indicates that is what happened—if they were all killed at Katyn, how is it that you were not? Do you have any idea?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. It is difficult to explain. I was married to French, and my wife left Poland one day before war broke out. She wrote me a letter. I wrote to her from Kozielsk, and I have the letter.

Mr. MITCHELL. He wrote this letter from Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is the letter I wrote to my wife.

Mr. FLOOD. To your wife from Kozielsk.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Where was she, in France?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. In France. Of course they knew that someone might later be asking about me.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you ever met any of your brother officers who were in the prison camp at Kozielsk with you during all the time you were there? Have you ever met any of them alive since, except the ones that went with you to Pavlischev Bor?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I do not get your question.

Mr. FLOOD. Since the war have you ever heard anything, or have you ever seen alive any of the brother officers of yours who were in the Russian prison camp with you at Kozielsk other than the ones who were at Pavlischev Bor?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. You have never seen any of the others?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Never.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you ever heard of them?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In connection with and following his question through, you saw a list of the exhumed bodies that were found at Katyn grave; haven't you?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I didn't see exactly a list.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You heard the names and those names you recognized as being at that camp at that time?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes. There was one lieutenant who was in civilian clothes because he had not time to make his uniform. I lived in the same room with him and he told me that he had all his military papers hidden in his jacket. Afterward, finally I found his name exactly. I saw his name in this German report, identified by his first name and second name, and even his grade in the Polish Army.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Doctor, the previous witness and practically every witness before the committee so far who was captured by the Russians all stated that at many times they were questioned or interrogated with a view toward seeing if they could convert them to communism. Were you ever interrogated that way?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I was interrogated several times.

Mr. SHEEHAN. What was their main purpose?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. First of all, to know everything about you, because some Polish officers were in the soldiers' camps. It was not permitted, of course, and they did everything in order to find who were officers and who were not. Therefore, several times they asked me several questions, where I was born, who was my father, and so on.

In the beginning we thought it was a stupid investigation, but finally we found it was very intelligent because after 50 or 60 times they would put one question different. It was really difficult to memorize, if you wanted to give the truth. A lot of officers were hidden, and they finally were discovered.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Will you tell us why you think they wanted to separate the officers? What was their end purpose?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I think, my personal opinion, that they didn't want the Polish officers to have influence among the Polish soldiers. The first day in the prison camp they started propaganda, sometimes very low. I remember I listened to the propaganda. I was interested how they would try to change the minds of our soldiers. It was something very poor. I remember one of the Bolshevik officers talked to the soldiers, peasants, countrymen, and told them that here is really the best country in the world, where the miners can work sitting down in there and the machine works for them. The people were offended by so low propaganda.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have any idea how many of the officers were reservists who were prisoners with you, and how many were regular army, not the number, but the percentage? I am very anxious to find out about what the percentage of reservists was of those that were at Kozielsk.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I couldn't answer that question. Among doctors there were more reservists.

Mr. FLOOD. Most of the prisoners were reservists?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Reserves.

Mr. FLOOD. Among the doctors, you knew the doctors, and the chances are the percentage was just as high among the others, but you don't know that?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. We are trying to discover that because in nations where there is universal military conscription and where nearly everybody of any stature is a reserve officer, the destruction of the reserve officer corps is not only the destruction of military officers but it is also the destruction of the intelligentsia. The economic, the professional, the banking, the commercial, the entire leadership of a nation in central Europe is in the reserve officer corps. If you destroy the reserve officer corps you have killed two birds with one stone, not only the military officers but the entire intelligent leadership of a nation. That is the reason we are trying to find out what happened.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Among the doctors there were a lot of professors from universities. One was a professor in this Krakow University. It is very hard to remember. From the point of view of education I remember also a professor of politics, Professor Morowski.

Mr. FURCOLO. While you are on that point, there were a Professor Pienkowski who was a neurologist; Dr. Stefanowski who was personal physician to Marshal Pilsudski, and an eminent neurologist; Professor Zielenski, and Professor Nelken; and there was Dr. Wroczyński, former Vice Minister of Public Health. Do you remember them?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes. I used to know them before the war.

Mr. FURCOLO. They were at Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. They were; yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to ask you something else, if I may. I want to ask you if by any chance you knew a man named Jan Firtek, F-i-r-t-e-k?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I remember the name.

Mr. FURCOLO. Let me try to refresh your recollection by mentioning this. He apparently published something in London in the Polish Daily in which he gave some of his experiences at Kozielsk. Let me read briefly one thing and see if it refreshes your recollection in any way at all.

Did you know anybody there named Lieutenant Prokop? Was he at Kozielsk? Was there a Colonel Kuyba, K-u-y-b-a at Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I don't remember.

Mr. FURCOLO. The reason I ask is because I want to quote from something which was written by Jan Firtek. He refers to some of the prisoners leaving. One quotation, and they are on the train, is:

From here on we traveled northeast. Lying on one of the top bunks you saw scribbled on the wall with a match or a pencil, "the second stop after Smolensk we get out and climb into trucks." There was a date, but it was hard to make out the second figure. It might have been April 12 or perhaps April 17. Their inscription aroused a great deal of interest among us, and we tried to guess what it meant. Lieutenant Colonel Prokop, who was with me thought it might have been written by Colonel Kuyba, who had promised to leave clues if he could.

What I want to ask you is this: As some of these prisoners were being taken out of Kozielsk was there any sort of talk among them indicating that they would try to leave some clues for those who might follow them? Do you remember anything like that?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you by any chance know a man named Marion Gawiak, called Mike?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I remember the name. He must have lived in the other barracks. Most of the time I was in Kozielsk I was in the barracks for the doctors, all the doctors. Afterward in Gryazovets there was a barracks for officers and the soldiers.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did you know a Colonel Grobicki?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Not before the war. I met him for the first time in Kozielsk. After I was released from Gryazovets together with him, we went together to fight with the Fifth Division of Polish Army.

Mr. FURCOLO. He was in Kozielsk?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Further questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. How many doctors did you say there were at Gryazovets when you got there? You said you were in the quarters with doctors.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Not only one. There were, I think, 200 people in this small house. Possibly there were 500 doctors.

Mr. MITCHELL. At Gryazovets?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No; Kozielsk.

Mr. MITCHELL. I am talking about Gryazovets. How many were there?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I don't know. Maybe 10, no more.

Mr. MITCHELL. When General Anders was forming his Polish Army, how many Polish doctors reported to him, reserve officers or regular, medical officers of the Polish Army?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I couldn't say in the Polish Army. After the visit of General Anders I was known as chief medical officer of the Fifth Division. I went with him to Moscow and afterward I went to the south of Russia, Kharkov. There I was for a certain time chief medical doctor of the division. I think about this time there were 30 doctors from the other camps.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many doctors did you say you had under you then?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I think about seven in the beginning.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did those doctor officers come from?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. From the other camps with the soldiers.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know the names of those camps?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. There were several. I can remember there was one east of Moscow. I cannot remember now the names, though. These camps were only for the soldiers. In the Polish Army the doctors sometimes have the rank of soldier. Very often there were soldiers who were doctors.

Mr. MITCHELL. How many Polish doctors in all? Can you give this committee an idea how many there were with General Anders at the time the Polish Army was leaving Russia?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I couldn't. I was with the Fifth Division, which was a different place. The Sixth Division was in another place. Therefore, I cannot exactly tell you.

Mr. FURCOLO. From the time you were at Kozielsk from November 1939 to the latter part of April 1940 were you and the other prisoners there allowed to write to your families?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. First I was permitted to write and I wrote a letter November 25, 1939. We had some trouble. We didn't have paper, no money for stamps. Finally some Polish officers sold their watches, a thing which is always looked for in Russia, and from this transaction it was possible to buy some paper and stamps.

Mr. FURCOLO. You were permitted to write to your families?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes; only one time a month it was permitted to write.

Mr. FURCOLO. Once a month; but they would write to their families once a month.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Doctor, you just mentioned you went to Moscow with General Anders.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Not exactly that, because he came to Gryazovets and there was a very big ceremony. He gathered us together and told us we were free. Of course he flew, and I went by train. But the next day I met him in Moscow at an assembly or meeting of officers to make plans.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Did you see Russian officials in Moscow?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. What did you talk about?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. I didn't talk with them. I think General Anders and some delegate from the Russian Army.

Mr. SHEEHAN. What was your purpose in going to Moscow?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Mine? We went afterward to Pavlishchev Bor, nearby Kharkov, where we started to reorganize the Polish Army. We flew from Moscow to Kharkov.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words, you never questioned any Russian officials about the lost prisoners or anything?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. No. I met some afterward when, as I told you, I was chief of the medical service in the division in this camp in the south. They gave me officers to help me organize the hospital. I didn't speak about this question at all because we always had some lack of confidence in these men because we had had a very hard time when we were prisoners of war.

Mr. FURCOLO. Doctor, I want to call your attention to something that was in the Polish White Book at page 101. It refers to the fact that when the graves at Katyn were discovered, diaries were found on some of the bodies. This was in 1943. It quotes from the last sentence of two such diaries. I want to read you from one diary and then I want to ask you a question about it. This diary begins:

April 8, 1940, 3:30 a. m. Departure from Kozielsk station moving west. 9:30 a. m. at Yelmlia station. April 8, since 12 noon we have been standing in a railway siding at Smolensk. April 9, in the morning some minutes before 5, reveille, in the prison trucks and preparations to leave. We are to go somewhere by car and what next. April 9. It has been a strange day so far. Departure in prison coach is terrible. Taken somewhere into a wood, something like a country house. Here a special search. I was relieved of my watch pointing to 8:30 a. m. Asked about a wedding ring. Rubbles, belts, and pocketknife taken away.

That is the end of the quotation from the book and there the diary breaks off.

That diary is one of Maj. Adam Solski. Did you know such a man?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Personally I didn't know him, but he was a very stout man. I met him during my walks.

Mr. FURCOLO. Was his name Adam Solski?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. As I remember; yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Was he a prisoner in Kozielsk in 1940 at the time you were there?

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. If there are no further questions, Doctor, I want to note for the record that you have made a great sacrifice in appearing here today. The Doctor originally suggested and thought it would be best that he be what you might term "a secret witness" or give his testimony not in executive session because of the personal risk involved, not to himself but to others. He has made a special sacrifice in coming here today.

Doctor, the committee and the Congress want to thank you.

Dr. SROKOWSKI. Thank you, sir. I have done so because it was my friends who were killed.

Chairman MADDEN. Not only have you made a special sacrifice during the war period, but I think that sacrifice and appearance here today has been a great exemplification of your patriotism not only to your motherland but to the free liberty-loving nations everywhere.

The committee will recess for a few minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I might say that the witness we are about to hear has consented to offer his testimony but refuses to testify in public. He makes this refusal for the reason that he has relatives behind the iron curtain and he feels in his own mind there would be reprisals against his relatives. He is a very important witness. He is a Catholic priest, a DP, a former chaplain in the Polish Army.

It has been the policy of this committee since its organization that we not hold hearings in executive session. Other committees of Congress occasionally hold hearings in executive session. Because this has been the only committee taking testimony concerning an international crime, the committee feels that it cannot be accused by some of the countries beyond the water of holding star chamber sessions or of having testimony taken behind closed doors, and we have decided to maintain our policy of not holding meetings in executive session.

All members of the committee present here have interviewed this witness and have talked to him. We know his identity and his name and address. For that reason the witness will testify behind the board which you see there.

The witness has been sworn. I will swear the interpreter when the witness is brought out.

Will you raise your right hand. Do you swear that the testimony you will give from the witness now to be heard will be a true translation of his testimony, so help you God?

Mr. ROMAN PUCINSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DOE

Mr. MITCHELL. Father, where were you born?

Mr. DOE. I was born in Poland.

Chairman MADDEN. Speak loud so the committee can hear.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you ordained?

Mr. DOE. In Poland in 1934.

Mr. MITCHELL. Were you in the armed services of Poland during the war?

Mr. DOE. Yes, I was, and I was a prisoner of war, a German prisoner of war.

Mr. MITCHELL. Father, what information do you have about Katyn that would be of interest to this committee of Congress?

Mr. DOE. Yes; I do have information that is pertinent to the Katyn investigation, although I was not an eye witness to the massacre. I am a material witness, and I possess information on Katyn.

In the beginning of June 1945 I was a pastor, a chaplain, in a German DP camp for Poles named Verdan Am Allen, V-e-r-d-a-n, A-m, A-l-l-e-n.

Mr. MITCHELL. Proceed.

Mr. DOE. At that time a Russian appeared at this camp and reported to Major Gruber, G-r-u-b-e-r, and asked him for protection.

Major Gruber was a Polish Army officer serving as liaison officer with the British forces.

When Major Gruber heard this man's name and when he had heard this man tell him that he is a key witness to the Katyn massacre, Major Gruber's immediate reaction was one of doubt. However, he decided to interrogate the man at length.

When he completed his lengthy interrogation of this Russian, he came to the conclusion that the Russian was an authentic witness to the Katyn murders.

Major Gruber then came to me as the pastor of the camp for advice as to how to proceed.

We decided that Major Gruber should send a telegram to the Foreign Ministry of the Polish Government-in-exile in London advising them of this man. Major Gruber did this, but we received no reply from London.

Major Gruber then notified General Rudnicki, R-u-d-n-i-c-k-i, who was the commanding general of the First Polish Panzer Division. General Rudnicki appreciated the value of this Russian's information, but he said that he could take no part in it or take any action on it because it is purely a political matter. General Rudnicki advised us to wait a little longer for a reply from the Polish Government-in-exile in London.

In the meantime I secured the services of a competent Russian translator and interrogated the Russian personally. The interview lasted approximately 2 hours. The Russian was a man, a middle-aged person, between 40 and 45 years of age, medium build, blond, had the appearance of a typical Russian peasant, and he had a characteristic Russian name. I do not recall exactly at this time what that name was, but I do know that it was a typical, characteristic Russian name.

The Russian told us that he had his home in the area immediately adjoining the Katyn Forest. He told that in the location where later were found the graves of the Polish officers he grazed his cattle. I do not know whether at that time he was the sole owner of his own property or whether he was the member or partner of a collective farm.

One day, according to his information, the Russian authorities banned anyone from entering this particular area of the forest and surrounded it with a heavy guard. It was published throughout the area that entrance into this area or trespassing in this area would subject a person to immediate death.

Some secret work and construction began in that area. The entire population in the area, including this Russian, believed that it was some project that had some connection with the war effort. Consequently, at first they did not pay too much attention to this construction work or project.

Whether this work, this unusual activity in the forest, began toward the end of 1939 or the very beginning of 1940 I am not certain. However, as I recall, this Russian's observations centered primarily around the very early spring of 1940.

This Russian said that the populace, the neighbors around there, had begun talking about the fact that trucks were starting to arrive in this forest during the late night hours and that during the very early morning hours these same trucks left the area. The Russian peasant became very much interested in this movement. That is why one evening he hid himself in the bushes near the road leading into the Katyn Forest. He observed that at night—I don't recall exactly what time at night, but it was late at night—he had observed a large column of trucks driving into this roadway. The trucks were covered, but the Russian was close enough to the road to have heard the conversations and discussions emanating from these trucks. But he could not distinguish at the time what language the people in the trucks were speaking.

He remained in his secluded spot for several hours until the trucks made their return trip out of the forest. Then on the return trip he no longer heard any voices, and the back gates of the trucks were

open so that he could determine and establish that the trucks were empty. There was no doubt in his mind that the Russians had left these people somewhere in the forest.

He became extremely interested in what the Russians did with these people. As a result, on several occasions he crawled into the forest on his hands and knees to the location where these trucks had stopped. He said that he had to be extremely careful in this observation because the area was closely guarded and that his life was in danger. He was close enough to the actual scene to be able to see with the help of large reflectors and searchlights in the forest, that the Russians were removing these people from the trucks. These people were formed into columns and then in these columns they were marched a considerable distance from the trucks. They were guarded by Russian soldiers. I do not recall whether he said whether these Russians were NKVD soldiers or whether they were regular Russian soldiers. As these columns of people were marched away from the trucks he could hear shouts and screams for mercy, and also swearing by the Russians. He could see that the people who had been removed from the trucks were not dressed in civilian clothing but rather in army uniforms. The whole action lasted several hours. When the action was completed and the shouts subsided the Russians returned back to their trucks and went away.

For this Russian it was a great experience, for he had convinced himself and established that in that forest were committed great murders or crimes. The second thing that he had convinced himself of was that these were not civilians but rather people in uniforms, in army uniforms.

During the day he tried to get as close as he could to the area without being suspected, to observe what was happening during the day, and he had seen activity there in the form of certain people planting trees, young saplings in the forest.

The population in the area knew that in several tens of kilometers away from Katyn Forest are large concentration camps in which they had Poles, and as a result this Russian then began to suspect that these men being brought into the forest actually were the Polish soldiers.

He was further convinced of this fact when he realized that the shouts and screams and beggings for mercy that he had heard had been in a language which he could understand very briefly and some words could have sounded like Russian, some words in a language similar to Russian.

But he could not be certain that they were soldiers from these particular camps, because in Russia it was customary to transfer prisoners from one jail to another. They could have been soldiers from some other camps.

Toward the very late part of spring all this activity ceased, but the terrain, the immediate area of the forest continued to be under heavy guard and trespassing was prohibited.

This situation existed until the Germans invaded the territory. As soon as the Germans invaded the area the local population began telling them of the murders in the forest. This Russian told me that he went to the German Commission and told them of his observations as to the activity in the forest. The Germans investigated the forest

area and made copious notes and sketches of the area but took no further action at that time. It wasn't until 1943 when the Germans began uncovering or digging up the mass graves. At that time he told me that he was one of the key witnesses in the investigation conducted by the Germans.

Because he feared recriminations from the Russians for his testimony, he had asked the Germans to give him protection. The Germans first took him to Berlin and then took him to the city of Verdun, where he had worked for a German master, this Russian told me during my interview with him.

Since we received no reply from the Polish Government-in-exile in London, Major Gruber sent another cable to the Government. However, the second cable also went unanswered. We could not conceal this Russian too long in our camp, because he was tremendously fearful that the Russians would find him. He feared that if the Russians ever found him he would be murdered. He realized the value of his information to the Poles, so, consequently, he came to the Poles for assistance and sanctuary. The Russian remained in this camp for about 1 month. After this time Major Gruber and I began debating very seriously what to do with him. So we decided to notify the British Intelligence of the man that we were concealing. Major Gruber went to the British Intelligence and told them of this man and of the information that he had given the major and myself.

Within less than an hour an attractive, luxurious limousine came to our barracks and removed this Russian and his friend.

The British Intelligence thanked Major Gruber and told them how grateful they were for his services.

I am convinced that this Russian must be alive today somewhere in England, and it is my belief that the British authorities will bring this man forward when they consider the time is appropriate.

Major Gruber, after completing his work in the camp, returned to England. I believe that he can be found in London through the Polish Government-in-exile. I am certain that he must have complete details on this Russian, including his name, because at the time of our interrogation he made extensive and copious notes.

That is all that I know in this matter.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any questions?

Mr. FLOOD. I have one or two; but, first of all, I would like to have some dates established, if it is possible. Secondly, will you ask him whether or not the Russian peasant who heard the screams and shouts and swearing heard any gunfire. Just those two items, to begin with. Any dates that can be fixed, and did the Russian peasant say anything about any gunfire when he was in the forest.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have told the witness that Congressman Flood wants additional information as to dates. So the first question we will put to him is when exactly did this Russian peasant come to this priest.

Mr. DOE. He first came to the camp and then reported to Major Gruber, who in turn brought him to me, and this was in the beginning of 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. When was he turned over to British Intelligence?

Mr. DOE. It was either the very end of June or the very beginning of July 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the Russian peasant use any dates or indicate by year, month, season, or in any other way to Gruber or to the witness dates or time element as to what he saw?

Mr. DOE. As near as I can recall, he made these observations in the Katyn Forest during the very early part of the spring of 1940. The populace in the area of course thought at that time that this was some project that was connected or associated with the war effort.

Mr. FLOOD. I know that. What about gunfire?

Mr. DOE. Yes; he had heard revolver shots. Revolver shots differ considerably from rifle shots. However, I don't recall that he described in detail the exact method used in executing these people.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness says that he was a chaplain in a DP camp for Poles in June of 1945. Where was that? I don't want to know camp he was in, but what country he was in.

Mr. DOE. It was in Germany.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the witness ever report to the superintendent or commandant of the DP camp or to the DP commission any of the facts revealed to the British Intelligence or revealed here?

Mr. DOE. This is the first time that I am making these statements. I had not given this information to anyone else, including the Polish Government-in-exile in London, because I felt that in view of the fact that they did not reply to our two telegrams then apparently they were not interested.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did the Russian peasant tell you that he actually saw any of the murders committed?

Mr. DOE. The exact details of the technique used in murdering these Polish officers the Russian did not describe, but he did describe the screams and the pleas for help, and he did describe the hearing of the shots and he did describe seeing these trucks arrive in the forest with people in them and then leaving the forest with their tail gates down and empty.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did he say whether or not he had seen any of the executions?

Mr. DOE. He saw the way these people were removed from the trucks, the way they were organized and lined up into columns, and the way they were led away, and he could see this because of the search lights and the reflectors that were used to illuminate the area.

Mr. FURCOLO. I understand that part, but did the Russian peasant say whether or not he saw the actual killing of any of the prisoners.

Mr. DOE. He heard the shots, he heard the screams, he heard the pleas for help, but the actual technique, the actual act of executing these people, the actual fact of observing the actual execution of these people, I do not recall that he described to me.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did you last see Major Gruber?

Mr. DOE. The last time I saw him was in the fall of 1945. We had corresponded frequently.

Mr. FLOOD. This Russian peasant was in this DP camp for a month or more, and he was a very important witness to this crime. How many times during the month that the Russian peasant was in the DP camp did the witness talk to him about this matter.

Mr. DOE. I talked to him once for 2 hours. On the other hand, Major Gruber talked to him very frequently because this Russian was secluded in a private room and he did not go outside the room; he did not walk the streets or participate in any of the camp activities.

Mr. FLOOD. If the witness knows, does Major Gruber speak Russian?

Mr. DOE. No, Major Gruber talked to this witness through an interpreter.

Mr. FLOOD. Does the witness talk Russian?

Mr. DOE. I understand Russian because I attended Russian schools prior to 1914.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the witness attempt during the 2-hour interview with the Russian peasant to interrogate him and cross-examine him in such a way as to search out the veracity of the story?

Mr. DOE. Yes. I used various methods and techniques and efforts to ascertain the veracity of his statements and to establish whether or not he was some false witness.

Mr. FLOOD. Since the witness is a Roman Catholic priest and is also under oath and should be experienced in talking to peasants, is it his considered judgment, under all those circumstances, that the peasant was telling the truth?

Mr. DOE. I am convinced that he was to have been believed. Then of course there is the other consideration that this Russian realized the value of his testimony to the Poles, and consequently he came to the Poles for help when he needed it.

Mr. FLOOD. Is there anything in the record of that Russian peasant while he was in that camp that would indicate any psychiatric or emotional instability or anything which would affect the credibility of his statement?

Mr. DOE. This man appeared to me to be of a very sound mind and a sound outlook on life, and it did not appear to me that he could have fabricated the statements that he gave me.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. When did the witness last hear from Major Gruber?

Mr. DOE. I saw Major Gruber in the fall of 1945.

Mr. MITCHELL. Has he heard from him since?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness answered that on the basis of the frequent conversations between Major Gruber and myself during the ensuing months regarding this particular Russian, Major Gruber also was convinced that this man's testimony is reliable.

Mr. DOE. I have never seen nor heard of Major Gruber since the fall of 1945.

Mr. MITCHELL. What nationality was the interpreter that both you and Major Gruber used to speak to this Russian?

Mr. DOE. He was a Pole, a former prisoner of war.

Mr. MITCHELL. Prisoner of war of whom?

Mr. DOE. Of Germany. He was a former German prisoner of war.

Mr. MITCHELL. Does he know his name?

Mr. DOE. Unfortunately I do not.

Mr. MITCHELL. Does he have any idea or could he advise the committee where to contact such a person today? Would he be in Germany or where?

Mr. DOE. I do not know. He conceivably might have returned to Poland. I do not know where he could be found. But I am quite certain that Major Gruber can be located in England.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. No further questions.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you tell the witness we are very thankful for his testimony here this afternoon.

Mr. DOE. May I say a few words?

Chairman MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. DOE. The murders at Katyn Forest of the Poles were a very important and very serious incident because in the Katyn Forest there were murdered so many thousands of the Polish intelligentsia. The investigation of this committee of the United States Congress is being observed very carefully and with great interest by all Poles, not only here but also in Poland, if the information is getting through. The work of this committee is giving hope and confidence not only to Poles but to all of the oppressed people that the objectives of the United States are not only for peace in the whole world but for a just peace for all nations. I am certain that the names of the committee, including the chairman, Mr. Madden, shall remain gratefully inscribed in the minds of all Poles.

Chairman MADDEN. Tell him that we wish to thank him and we do hope that the work of this committee will serve a great deal to bring about a situation so that a thing like this can never occur again.

Mr. DOE. Thank you very much.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will now adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9:30.

(Whereupon, at 5:40 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 9:30 a. m., Friday, March 14, 1952.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Chicago, Ill..

The select committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 247, United States Courthouse, Hon. Ray J. Madden, chairman, presiding.

Present: Representatives Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Furcolo, O'Konski, and Sheehan.

Representatives Kluczynski and Sabath.

Also present: John J. Mitchell, chief counsel; and Roman Pucinski, investigator.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

The first witness this morning will be Mr. Ershov. The interpreter will be Mr. Mlynarski. The witness does not want to be photographed. I will swear the interpreter first.

Do you solemnly swear that you truthfully will interpret the testimony given by the witness in the cause now on trial correctly, so help you God?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. I do.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Mlynarski, now repeat the oath for the witness as the chairman states it.

Chairman MADDEN. Raise your hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearing now on trial will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ERSHOV (through interpreter). I do.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me say to the photographers that the committee at these hearings respects the right of a witness as to whether he wishes to submit to photography or otherwise. This procedure is very important because in this type of an investigation a witness may have very important reasons for not wanting to be photographed. If he insists on not being photographed, a witness is entitled to that protection. His relatives living behind the iron curtain are also entitled to that protection. I hope that the photographers will cooperate with the committee and the witness.

Counsel, will you proceed.

TESTIMONY OF VASILI ERSHOV (THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, BRONISLAW MLYNARSKI)

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask the witness, please, to state his full name.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Vasili Ershov, V-a-s-i-l-i E-r-s-h-o-v.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was he born?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Ukraine.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. 1906.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was his occupation before the war?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Before the war he was executive director or manager of a plant and of a sovhoz, an abbreviation for a land state owned and conducted by the Soviet Government.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Sovhoz is a farm operated by the state.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, sir.

The witness wants to give additional information.

Chairman MADDEN. All right.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The plant was a kind of a meat plant.

Mr. MITCHELL. Slaughterhouse?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Not quite a slaughterhouse. They made some food out of meat, sausages.

Mr. MITCHELL. A production plant?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. A processing plant; yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where was he during the war?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In the face of Leningrad until Berlin he was continuously on the offensive line.

Chairman MADDEN. Offensive?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Offensive.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was he in the Russian Army during the war?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In both times during the war and after the war until 1949.

Mr. MITCHELL. When did he enter the Russian Army?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He was called on the 22d of June 1941.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was he a commissioned officer or an enlisted man or what was his rank or rating?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He was the deputy commanding officer in the rank of colonel of the division commander on the general supplies. That means ordnance, I think.

Mr. MITCHELL. Of the Russian Army?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No; of that particular division.

Mr. MITCHELL. What place in Russia was he mobilized?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In the city of Leningrad.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask him to repeat that date again and what rank he had at that time.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The beginning of his military service was on the 22d of June 1941 in the rank of captain of an intendant, which is a supply officer of technical intendant of first class.

Mr. MITCHELL. Quartermaster. Will you ask the witness when he left the Russian service and where?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In the eastern part of Germany, at the beginning of the year 1949.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was going on in Germany at that time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. What happened particularly to him or to—

Mr. MITCHELL. To him, and was there any important event at that time?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Surrounding him, he asks?

Mr. MITCHELL. Ask him about himself.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He, like many thousands, tens of thousands of others like himself, was awaiting after the war was over for freedom, but we didn't be able to find freedom. We were victorious but we didn't get freedom. And why? We did not betray our nation, but we have betrayed Stalinism.

Mr. MITCHELL. How did he come to leave Germany and the Russian Army?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. On an airplane with the aid of the British occupation forces.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he go from Germany to the British zone?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes. He arrived in the British zone and settled his matters in the headquarters of the British forces.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who was with him on this airplane?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. His wife and his child.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is his status in the United States today?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He has not yet quite settled himself, but he feels himself completely free like an American citizen.

Mr. MITCHELL. Was he ever any time during his days in Russia associated with the NKVD?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask the witness now to tell the committee when he first heard about Katyn?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The first time he heard about Katyn, rather, read about Katyn was in the Russian papers dated January 1944.

Mr. MITCHELL. Which Russian paper was it?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Pravda.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is that a copy of it?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The same as this one.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is not the same paper, though?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. But it is the identical paper today of the date past.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you ask him to narrate anything he knows about Katyn for the benefit of the committee, how he heard about it, what he may have heard later on, who he knew who was in any way connected with Katyn?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. When he was the deputy of the commanding officer of the division on behalf of the supply, excuse me, of being a quartermaster, in the capacity of a quartermaster—

Mr. MITCHELL. Shorter sentences, tell him.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He supplied the division and the army with food, clothing, footwear, ordnance, gasoline, the technical equipment. In my division, as in any other division, there were penal units. In the Polish Army there is a gendarme system, MP, military police. In the Soviet Army there is the NKVD. NKVD is a civilian name. In the army it exists under the name of Smersh.

Mr. MITCHELL. Can you spell Smersh?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. It is an abbreviation or linking of two words, which means the death of spies, and it is spelled, S-m-e-r-s-h.

Within the headquarters of a division the unit of Smersh is included which is not subservient, not under the orders of the CO or the commissar.

Mr. MITCHELL. Generally how many people are in that unit?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. About 25 or 30 men. It was not strong.

Mr. MITCHELL. Continue, please.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. They take orders only from Beria.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who is Beria?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. A member of the Politburo, Minister of the National Security, state security. Within that body, that unit consisting of 25 or 30 men, is incorporated the commander [witness writing on paper].

Mr. MLYNARSKI. May I explain to you, sir? Here is that body called Smersh. Here is the chief, the head of that Smersh. Below there is a man who is also an executive, but he undergoes the orders of the chief who is here. The line topward, upward is Beria.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words, they take orders direct from Beria.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, through the man who is heading the Smersh, down the line to another chief.

Mr. MITCHELL. Continue.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Out of the number of 25 or 30 men the commandant which is down below has under him about 12 or 15 men. The duties of that commandant is the execution of all directives of Smersh. They execute the directives of Smersh. We may call those men and their superiors—their commandants—executioners or henchmen—the head of the henchmen. The commandant of Smersh in my division was Captain Borisov, B-o-r-i-s-o-v. He didn't make the impression of a normal person because during his lifetime he has executed—translating correctly, shot—more men than he had years in his life. When Borisov used to sleep he used to wake up every half hour, and behind his bed—the leg of the bed—he used to get a vodka bottle, drain it, and then go to sleep again. Without the liquor he could not sleep. He had a vision during the night hours of the executions which he had perpetrated. But taking into consideration the fact that I was the deputy on supplies, and on the strength of a secret order from Moscow, before every execution the henchmen received an established amount of vodka, before and after. The vodka was supplied or delivered from the stocks which the colonel was in charge of.

As Borisov could not wait for the moment to get the vodka in time before the execution, he used to come every day to the colonel begging him to give him the vodka in order to make him still alive. Before the execution or the shooting of four men in approximately November 1944 on the territory of Poland in the district of Malkinia-Gorna, M-a-l-k-i-n-i-a—G-o-r-n-a, Borisov came to the colonel asking him to issue or release him some vodka before the execution, and he wants to tell the story.

He says the Natchalnik, which means commander—superior, in other words—drank vodochka. What does that mean? A liter of vodka. We have drunk vodochka. I imagine, for myself, vodochka means vodka in the diminutive, a Swedish word. We have drunk plenty of vodka in the days Katyn. He was, of course, drunk and he bragged.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point will you ask the witness if anybody else was present at the time of the conversation between Borisov and the colonel?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Such matters are never discussed in the presence of a third party.

Mr. FLOOD. The answer is "No"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The answer is "No."

In April 1940 Borisov and his unit—he and his men or unit—have destroyed or shot over 400 Polish officers in Katyn. I tried not to listen to him too much because Borisov could have on a following occasion tried to testify whether the colonel is not getting too much interested in that matter, but nothing happened of that kind. He simply was drunk and told the story.

Apparently Borisov did not personally do any shooting, as the stories are told that the victims were led to the edge of the hole and shot.

They have built or made a fox hole. They used to bring, to fetch the Polish officers into the fox hole where they did the shooting in order to avoid any resonance—any noise.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Does he mean soundproof? Is that what he has in mind?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Less than it would be in the open. That is what he knows about Katyn from the mouth of a man who has executed—performed the executions of Polish officers in Katyn.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Will you ask him whether Borisov placed a date on these shootings?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. In the month of April 1940. He cannot recite the date in the month of April. He would like to say something else.

Chairman MADDEN. Go ahead.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. How those atrocities—I am translating literally—have been received by the Russian people.

Mr. MITCHELL. What atrocities?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. The Bolshevik atrocities concerning Katyn. The Soviet Union nations are fully convinced that the killings, the shootings of 13, maybe 14—the figure is unknown—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Thirteen or fourteen thousand?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Thousand—is at the hand of the NKVD.

Why do we think that way? Why do we talk that way? Let us make that matter clear, why we had to destroy thirteen or fourteen thousand Polish officers. We have to understand that thirteen or fourteen thousand officers represent the strength of 250,000 men, that men of the strength of 150,000 to 250,000 are denied officer leadership. That is No. 1.

Second, that they had to destroy the bulk of the Polish intelligensia. That was something to think about. In other words, to destroy potential enemies that may be active someday in the future.

Furthermore, the Russian nations were fully aware of the atrocities in Winnitza.

Mr. FLOOD. By the "Russian nations" does he mean the various component states of the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Using their expression "Russian nations" he understands that that expresses actually, as you said, sir, the nations which comprise the Soviet Union.

Mr. FLOOD. The answer was "Yes"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, sir; but may I add what he explained to me.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That when he uses the expression "Soviets" let's say briefly, then he means the henchmen of the regime, and he mentioned the name of Stalin himself.

During the Second World War against Hitler in all the areas where the Red army was on the defensive the Red army was burning and

destroying completely, flattening all these towns and villages. For that purpose there were special units that were walking with torches. The communities which were to be burned by the Bolsheviks——

Mr. FLOOD. I beg your pardon. Did he say in all areas where the Russians at that time were on the defensive or the offensive?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Defensive; in the retreat.

Mr. FLOOD. Ask him is he not describing what has been referred to as the Russian "scorched earth" defensive policy. Is that it?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He takes the Lenin formula, which says that the victory of the proletariat in the whole world is inevitable.

Mr. FLOOD. Now just a minute. He was describing the burning of certain areas along a defensive front. Was that in execution of or carrying out the Russian scorched-earth policy of defense at that time? Is that answer "Yes"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He is going to reply.

The Soviet Government had in mind that all the populace, the people that lived in those areas who haven't yet succeeded to retreat are the traitors of the nation and the accomplices of Hitler, and therefore they had to be destroyed.

Mr. FLOOD. What relationship does that have to Katyn Massacre of the Polish officers at this point?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He wants to explain that the Bolshevik system is based on blood, and without blood cannot live.

Mr. FLOOD. That may very well be. He does not have to convince us very much of that. We have reasonable cause to believe that is probably so under certain circumstances. He gave us one reason why it was necessary from the Russian point of view to destroy the Polish officers. He was about to give us a second reason. What is the second reason?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He repeats that he has said that before, that one is to deny the leadership of the Polish Army by officers.

Mr. FLOOD. He gave one reason in two parts. Part 1 of the first reason was military necessity or advisability, and part 2 of the first reason was the destruction of the intelligentsia leadership of a nation.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. With regard to the second point he explains that this would be the destruction of the highest grade, if we may say so, of the Polish intelligentsia, and then by doing so only the lower grade would remain.

Mr. FLOOD. In other words, the answer was again "Yes." We understand that?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Does he have any other reason besides the ones just given that at this time he can suggest to the committee would be the motive for the Russian killing of those Polish officers? What other motive could they possibly have, in his opinion?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. It was a coordinated plan to annihilate the living substance of the Polish Nation in perfect accord with Hitler.

Mr. FLOOD. We seem now to understand his opinion of what the motives were. I would like to ask one or two questions about his conversations with the commandant of the execution squad or the Smersh unit, Captain Borisov. Will you ask the witness if he ever talked to Borisov after the first conversation that he described with Borisov?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He had been seeing him until 1945, and, in short, now and then they both touched that subject.

Mr. FLOOD. So between 1944, the date of the first conversation, and 1945, he held different or several conversations with Borisov and talked about the Katyn shootings?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes; and not only with him.

Mr. FLOOD. What does he mean by "not only with him"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He had also a conversation with one of the prominent workers, as he says it, or rather members, of Smersh.

Mr. FLOOD. Of Smersh or of Captain Borisov's commandant squad?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No; he says it was with Smersh, nothing to do with Borisov.

Mr. FLOOD. Then he had a conversation with some member of the Smersh unit.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was that member, if he recalls?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He remembers very well.

Mr. FLOOD. What was his name and rank?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Please put it down. Lieutenant Ilyasov, I-l-y-a-s-o-v. He was the head of Smersh, the Fifteenth Motorized Division.

Mr. FLOOD. Then this was not the Smersh unit of the colonel's own division?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No; it wasn't his division.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the nature of that conversation with Ilyasov?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He will tell you. The officers used to talk among themselves about it, saying that Poland is not a member of the Allies because the Poles have suffered a great from the Soviets, and because of that it may become, ensue, that in a future war the Polish nation will stand not with but against the Soviet Union. And Ilyasov replied, "Before that we will give them notice that the way we have done it, executed as in Katyn."

That is the second example for the committee.

Mr. FLOOD. In other words, Colonel Ilyasov was going to use the massacre at Katyn as a warning to the Poles to stay in line with the Russians; is that it?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He says that the Bolsheviks don't say that, they don't speak that way, but they think that way.

Mr. FLOOD. Was it common talk about Katyn among the Russian officers in his command, in his division or in his area? Was it common talk about Katyn in their private conversations?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No; it was not a common subject because our nation is aware of atrocities of much higher and greater scope. Katyn is just peanuts.

Chairman MADDEN. What does he mean by saying Katyn is just peanuts?

Mr. MITCHELL. Did he actually say "peanuts"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No; that is my expression. I want to correct that. He says trifle.

The Polish people who live here and elsewhere, Americans of Polish extraction who live here, about 35,000,000 strong, in freedom, that we don't realize here that the Bolsheviks if not directly with a bullet, they destroy or have destroyed 25,000,000 people with other methods.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you ask him if Captain Borisov ever denied to him the story that he first told him, drunk or sober, in any conversations he had with him after the first time? Did Borisov ever say, "Forget about it. Forget I said it"?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. No, sir. He would like to reply to your first question about using the word "trifle." He wants to explain further the word "trifle," referring to Katyn.

Let's take Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, East Germany, East Austria, China, the people of the Soviet Union, and the Korean affair. The Korean affair is a problem of the strength of the American nerves, whether they will stand it or not. If the American nerve fails to stand that pressure, then it will spread both eastward and westward. I would like only to warn the people and the distinguished committee that it is not the Russian nation that does that. The Russian nation is a nation that is friendly; the Russian nation is a member of the friendly nations to whom we all belong. The 13 members of the Bloody Kremlin—I know that I will not live long, but I am not afraid. I have to try to save the whole free nations. I have to say the truth what bolshevism is represented by. Otherwise, I would be an unworthy man if I would not have said that. That is my resolution.

I think that all the free nations of the world are bound to, have the duty to, to join hands around the the free world and around the free United States, the country which first now steps out for the fight, the struggle against the bad man.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask a question. Ask him in connection with that word "trifle" if it isn't an established policy of the Kremlin criminals to liquidate opposition wherever they go, that Katyn is only a small sample of what they have done wherever they have gone. Ask him if it isn't their firm and established policy wherever they go to kill off the opposition and the leadership.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask him also if all the people were added up, the murders and the various purges in the various countries they have taken over, if the figure would not reach over 25 million people that they have already murdered.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. For the period?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ever since they took over in 1917.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He means to say that what he implied was that since 1939 and through the march over through Poland throughout the period of the war. Then he added that free Poland does not exist, that Marshall Pokossovski governs.

Chairman MADDEN. Any more questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. No more questions.

Mr. FURCOLO. Several books and documents refer to a conversation that is supposed to have taken place between Beria and I think another man something like M-e-r-k-u-l-o-v, and someone else—I don't have the book with me at the present time—in which a prominent and high Russian official was supposed to have said with reference to the Polish prisoners at Katyn, "We made a great mistake about them." Do you know anything about such a conversation?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He only expresses and tells what he knows. He may think differently about matters, but he will not expose them as

long as he doesn't know thoroughly what he has to say. In other words, I understand that he doesn't know enough to say "Yes" or "No" to that.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is certainly the attitude we want him to take as a witness. My question is, have you at any time heard anything about such a conversation.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He starts by saying the psychology of the Kremlin—

Mr. FURCOLO. I don't mean to interrupt you, but I think you could probably answer this question very briefly.

Chairman MADDEN. I think he said he didn't know.

Mr. FURCOLO. I am merely asking. I understand that you yourself were not present at such a conversation. My question is, At any time have you heard about such a conversation from anyone? Have you heard any reference to that? You can answer it either "yes" or "no," and then I can go ahead from there.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He says that he is trying to reply to your question for the first time and you don't let him tell it.

Mr. FURCOLO. Go ahead and answer.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He is not a gramophone and he can't repeat himself identically each time.

Mr. FURCOLO. Tell him he is doing all right. Tell him to go ahead in his own way.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He said before, the psychology of the Kremlin, those who know everything, the henchmen who know everything, geniuses, is that what the Kremlin is doing is always correct and never to admit any faults.

Chairman MADDEN. If you will pardon me, I think the first question, the question of Congressman Furcolo was answered when he asked whether or not he knew anything about Stalin or Molotov making the statement, "We don't want to make the same mistake that we made at Katyn." I think he said he didn't know anything about that, did he not?

Mr. MLYNARSKI. Yes, he did.

Chairman MADDEN. I think he answered that.

Mr. FURCOLO. Let me ask you this question: Various books and documents have referred to a conversation that is supposed to have taken place between Stalin and someone else in which Stalin, with reference to the prisoners at Katyn, is supposed to have written out the word "liquidate." I realize that you were not present at such a conversation. I merely asked, have you at any time heard anything about such an occurrence.

Mr. MITCHELL. Either from Russians or from any other nationality.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. There is no such thing as a virtue, but there is an order set by the Bolsheviks that every one has to be liquidated who is against Bolshevism, and that the Polish Army represented by the Polish officers was the potential enemy of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it had to be liquidated.

Chairman MADDEN. Any more questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. No further questions.

Chairman MADDEN. We want to thank you, tell him.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to have a few minutes with the committee and the witness.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Interpreter, we would like to tell the witness we thank him for coming here and testifying today. His testimony is very valuable to the committee.

Mr. MLYNARSKI. He wishes to thank you and he appreciates the opportunity, and he says it was his duty to do it.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will recess for 10 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. CASIMER SKARZYNSKI. Will you be sworn. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearing now being held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I do so swear.

TESTIMONY OF CASIMER SKARZYNSKI, CALGARY, ALBERTA, CANADA

Chairman MADDEN. State your name to the reporter.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Casimer Skarzynski, C-a-s-i-m-e-r S-k-a-r-z-y-n-s-k-i.

Chairman MADDEN. And your address?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. My address is Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask the witness, do you have any objection to being photographed?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Not during the hearing, if possible.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me say to the photographers that this witness does not object to being photographed before he testifies. Naturally it is against the rules of the committee to take photographs of a witness when he is testifying, but he hasn't proceeded with his testimony and there is no objection to photographs as long as the witness does not object.

I will say to the photographers there is no bar against their remaining in the courtroom as long as the witness doesn't object.

Counsel may proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Skarzynski, will you state to the committee where you were born and when?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I was born in Poland.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where in Poland?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. In Warsaw, in a small village near Warsaw, in 1887. I am 65 years old.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did you go to school?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. In Austria near Vienna. I finished my high school and college in Kalksburg, near Vienna, Austria. Then I was 1 year in the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, in the School of Political Sciences in Paris, France; and then 2 years in the Institute Supérieur de Commerce in Antwerp in Belgium.

Mr. MITCHELL. What was your occupation immediately before the war?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. In the last 15 years before the war I was the vice president of the Polish Pulp & Paper Co., Ltd.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you on September 1, 1939: in what city and town?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. In Warsaw.

Mr. MITCHELL. What happened? Will you kindly tell the committee what happened to you as an individual from that time on?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. From that time on I stayed in Warsaw for a few days and then there was an order to evacuate the male population from Warsaw. I went east to the place of my wife's family and then the Germans advanced. Then I came back to Warsaw and went back to my office and stayed there until December 1939, at which time I was fired by the Germans. The whole board of directors of this company was fired by the Germans because the plants were taken over as private property of the German Reich. I was then without employment. I volunteered to the Polish Red Cross in the first days of January 1940.

Mr. MITCHELL. You volunteered?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I volunteered; I offered my services to the Polish Red Cross, with which I had nothing to do up to then. Then the Polish Red Cross told me that I am nominated general secretary because the board of directors was being completed. The general secretary and the chairman were in London or in Geneva. I couldn't tell you that. Anyhow they were abroad at the beginning of the war and could not come back. So the corporation nominated me general secretary. That is how I started my war work. Shall I continue?

Mr. MITCHELL. Continue, please.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. During the first days of my presence in the office of the Polish Red Cross I had especially to organize the financial life of the Red Cross because it was a new situation, and in the meantime, of course, I held the meetings of the board of directors. I heard then that at the end of January 1940 we had been told by the Germans to prepare camps to receive Polish officers who were supposed to come back from interment in Soviet Russia. Since November already the families of these officers started to get letters from them, and we knew more or less where they were. We knew about the three camps. We didn't know——

Mr. FLOOD. What three?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov. We didn't know much about them, but we knew they were at three camps somewhere in Russia. I knew personally the names of Kozielsk and Starobielsk. I didn't know then the name of Ostashkov, but I suppose the others did. When the Germans told us that we were supposed to prepare camps to receive them, of course this news electrified the families and the whole nation, 14,000 families, a figure which we didn't know exactly then. There was feverish work started at once. We organized refugee camps at Terespol, at the border of the then zone between Germany and Russia. We sent there nurses, doctors, supplies, all that we could. It was not much but we did what we could. We were expecting these officers.

In the meantime we started correspondence with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva and with the German Red Cross, which was to a certain extent our controlling authority since the occupation. The Germans told us that Russia not having ratified the Geneva and The Hague conventions about the Red Cross and about the methods of warfare, we could not expect any news from our men in Russia and that we must wait for the individual men to write first, that no inquiries could be made to Russia.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point there were communications directed in writing by the Polish Red Cross, which you know as a fact as general secretary, to the German Red Cross in Berlin?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And to the International Red Cross in Geneva?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. There is no International Red Cross. There is only an International Committee of Red Crosses, which is the linking body of all National Red Crosses.

Mr. FLOOD. With headquarters at Geneva?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You wrote letters to Geneva and to Berlin—

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. For the purpose of soliciting information about these Polish officers?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. When were those letters written?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. They were written since December 1939 because we started at once to send them what we knew about the list of families.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. You started to write these letters we have just talked about as far back as December of 1939?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; the first letters.

Mr. FLOOD. Dr. Gorczycki—

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. He was the general manager of the Polish Red Cross.

Mr. FLOOD. At the time you were identified with it?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; the whole time between 1940 he was already there, until 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. Counsel for the committee has handed me what purports to be a letter to the Committee of the International Red Cross, War Prisoner Agency, Geneva, in care of the German Red Cross, dated Warsaw, March 18, 1941, with the letterhead of the Polish Red Cross, Information Bureau, with certain Polish writing, signed by the Director of the Polish Red Cross, Dr. Gorczycki. Will you have this marked as an exhibit?

(Letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 6" and filed for the record.)

Mr. FLOOD. This obviously is a copy of the letter this purports to refer to. I now show you exhibit 6, and ask you if you can identify this letter yourself or, if you cannot identify this exact exhibit, does it represent the type and nature of letter that you tell us was written by the Polish Red Cross through the German Red Cross to the Red Cross International Committee in Geneva at the time?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is exactly a copy of the letter, one of the many letters.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know of this particular letter of that exact date?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. It, however, represents the nature of the letter to which you refer?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Exactly. There were many others before and after during the whole war to the International Committee.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I think this should be made a part of the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 6" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 6

POLISH RED CROSS,
INFORMATION BUREAU,
WARSZAWA ULICA CZERWONEGO KRZYŻA, 40,
Warsaw, March 18, 1941.

*To the Committee of the International Red Cross War Prisoners Agency—
Geneva, in Care of the German Red Cross.*

GENTLEMEN: The information bureau of the Polish Red Cross acknowledges receipt of the letter dated 29.1.41. Mil. Pol. G.P. 133, enclosed in the letter of the German Red Cross dated 11.II.41, No. VII/4-Br./HC and submits the following details collected by us concerning the Polish prisoners detained in Soviet Russia.

Ad. 1. The Polish Red Cross has received a large amount of letters from prisoners detained in officers prison camps in Russia until Spring 1940. From then on, until November, all correspondence with officers interned in Russia ceased. Since November, some letters, but in negligible quantity, were received again.

Ad. 2 and 3. We suppose, basing all our conclusions on our informations, that prisoner camps in U. S. S. R. are divided into three classes.

The camps situated in Russia at Starobielsk, Kozielsk, Ostaszków were mainly used for members of the Police Force, Military Policemen, Officials of the Courts of Justice, Attorneys, Judges, and members of civil courts. Letters from Starobielsk and Kozielsk were received until spring 1940. Since then they ceased completely. Camp Ostaszków was mailing always the smallest quantity of letters and was the first to stop all correspondence. It can be assumed from families of the detained and from the descriptions given by the prisoners themselves and by the civilian refugees which have been liberated and were allowed to return to Poland, that the camps of Starobielsk and Kozielsk's were slowly liquidated from March until end of May 1940.

The prisoners, by groups, were sent to an unknown destination. We have received no news from Camp Ostaszków.

It was learned in July 1940 that two camps for officers were organized at Griszowiec, district of Wologda, where 400 officers from camps Starobielsk, Kozielsk, Ostaszków, and also Pawliszczew Bor were transferred. We know very little about this last concentration camp.

We have a list of addresses of prisoners camps in U. S. S. R. besides the frontier camps mentioned at the beginning of this letter.

1. Moscow central post office, Box 11/C-12. This is the address of prisoners of Kozielsk camp.

2. Moscow central post office, Box 11/C-15. This address has not been verified yet. Only one letter from a prisoner formerly at Starobielsk was received.

Two kolkhozs near Kozielsk, Popielewo and Kombinat, are reserved for civilian prisoners, there are no military in both cities. During August, September, and October the Polish Red Cross using question forms issued jointly with the German Red Cross using 500 inquiries to Moscow to the Commissary of the Interior, war prisoners central agency. Those inquiries concerned persons arrested by the police or detained at different camps. In January 1941 we have received from the Union of Red Crosses and Red Crescents of the U. S. S. R. 87 replies, all of them negative.

DR. WŁ. GORCZYCKI,
The Director of the Polish Red Cross.

Mr. FLOOD. Go ahead.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. We waited at this camp ready to receive the officers for several months. I don't remember exactly if it was in April or in May 1940 that the German authorities told us to close the camps, telling us that the officers won't come back.

Mr. FLOOD. What German echelon of command told you that, military or German Red Cross?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Military. That was the representative of the German General Government. You know the Germans when they

invaded Poland they took over a part of western Poland and incorporated it into the Reich, against of course all the conventions. Russia took the eastern part, and the middle was some territory left under the name of General Government.

Mr. FLOOD. This was a German military occupation government.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. A German military occupation government. They didn't want to use the name Poland. They just called that General Government.

Mr. FLOOD. Were those instructions given directly to you or did you hear about them?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The instructions were given by a representative of the German Government to Dr. Gorzycski.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the date of that directive or that order?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I don't remember. It was about April or May, or maybe the first day of June, but not later, 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that the substance of the order?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It was the substance of the order. It was a verbal order.

Mr. FLOOD. A verbal order.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I was simply notified that the camps should be closed and that we are not supposed to expect any officers to come back from Russia. From then on the correspondence with the families, first, and the International Committee became more and more active during these 2½ years which had elapsed since that moment and the discovery of Katyn. To realize the atmosphere under which we were at the moment of the discovery of Katyn, you must remember that the Polish nation and Hitler's, too, the part of the nation under Germany, was subject to the most bestial atrocities of the Germans, and we were witness to atrocities which are beyond description. I won't take your nerve and your time to describe them, but we were all the time under German most atrocious pressure. At the moment when the Katyn discovery was made we were just witnessing perhaps the most atrocious move of the Germans in Poland, which was the liquidation of the Polish citizens of Jewish descent. It started in the winter of 1942-43 just in the time when Katyn was discovered. All of these atrocities created an atmosphere of hate for the Germans, and it is strange to say but the whole Katyn story on behalf of the Polish Red Cross is a story of a struggle not with the Russians but with the German authorities under which rule we were. It is normal and human. We knew about Russia, but we knew not much, and we were under the Germans.

Chairman MADDEN. What year are you referring to?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I am referring to the 2 years, more than 2 years from the beginning of the war to the discovery of Katyn, to make you understand the atmosphere under which we were.

Chairman MADDEN. That is about 4 years?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No; between, say, January 1940 and April 1943.

Chairman MADDEN. About 3 years?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. About 3 years. On the ninth of April 1943, before anybody knew about the Katyn affair, the chairman of the Polish Red Cross had a phone from the propaganda department of the German Government in Warsaw, and he was summoned to come at once to a meeting where a special envoy of Dr. Goebbels of the

Propaganda Ministry in Berlin, was supposed to have a speech. The chairman refused to go under the pretext that he couldn't go immediately and that it was a propaganda move. To his surprise the German received his refusal very politely, for the first time since the beginning of the war, and he told him, "It is all right if you can't come, and I will come to you in the afternoon and I will tell you or phone you what was the result of the meeting."

In the afternoon he phoned again the chairman and he told that an envoy of the German Propaganda Ministry, of Dr. Goebbels, made a speech to all kind of Polish institutions and organizations and that he told them about the discovery by the German military authorities of a mass grave of Polish officers allegedly massacred by the Russians and that he is of the opinion and the German Government is of the opinion that the time had come for reconciliation between the Polish and the Germans under the sign of the joint effort to fight for the civilization of Europe against the barbaric East.

The German couldn't expect the Polish nation, after all this terrible atrocities they committed, to join them enthusiastically in their fight against Russia because Germany was guilty of their own crimes. But that is what they expected. In the beginning we had the best co-operation from the German authorities, which was news for us, until the moment they saw that this hope that the Polish nation was going to jump to the neck of Germany because the Katyn crime was dispelled. Since that time we worked under different conditions.

When the German representative had come back after this phone call he told the chairman of our Red Cross that on the following day a plane is leaving Warsaw and there are two seats reserved for the Polish Red Cross Board of Directors, and that this envoy of Dr. Goebbels is going to fly with them. The chairman refused again because he said that is a pure propaganda move, and the Red Cross must keep away from any propaganda. He was received again very politely by the Germans. We waited for 2 days, and in the meantime we got in contact with our underground authorities, and the public didn't know yet about Katyn. It was not yet official.

Mr. FLOOD. You got in touch with what underground authorities?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. With the Polish underground authorities in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. Who were operating during the German occupation?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. During the whole time of the German occupation: We had one liaison officer, only one man in link with them, because the need for secrecy, and he was Dr. Gorczycki. He was the only one who had a contact between the Red Cross and the underground. Nobody at first wanted to know. In the secrecy of the underground one man has one task, and he was the liaison. The underground told us that, whatever happened, we must take part as much as we can, and we decided to exhume the bodies to enable the families to get a list of the identified officers and to try to know who did the murder.

I must tell you, gentlemen, our first impression was the absolute impression that the Germans did it, and that we had to do with a German provocation, after seeing what we saw during these 2½ years.

The day after, on the 12th of April, came one of the men who was on the Katyn propaganda mission, a very well-known Polish author

who was there. He came back and told us that it was his duty to report to the Polish Red Cross as the last remnant of Polish sovereignty, which we really were.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you give us his name?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It was Ferdinand Goetel. He is now on this side.

Mr. FLOOD. Where is he now?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. As far as I know, a few years ago he was in Italy. I couldn't tell you where he is now.

FROM THE FLOOR. In England.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. He is an intelligent man. He gave information personally to me because he was my good acquaintance. From his point it seemed to appear that it was a crime really; that there are the bodies of a thousand Polish officers over there; and that the crime seemed to him to be committed by Russia. We still had our suspicions, and we still did not quite believe who did the crime.

On the 14th of April Dr. Grundman, from the propaganda department of the German Government, came personally to see me and told us that the plane had already left Krakow, and two high officers of our Red Cross, the Krakow branch, were already in the plane with a delegation of the Polish clergy, and that we are supposed to join the flight and to send a delegation of the board of directors to inspect Katyn.

Chairman MADDEN. There will be a 30-second recess.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. Will you continue, please?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. We were told the fact that the plane was leaving and that two high officers of the Polish Red Cross in Krakow were already on the way. The Krakow branch of the Polish Red Cross was important because the capital of the general government was Krakow, not Warsaw. The branch of the Polish Red Cross there was under immediate pressure of this main military of Krakow. We had to decide in a very short moment.

We refused to send a delegation of the board of directors for the same reason that I told you, not to further propaganda, but according to the instructions received by the underground we decided to send a skeleton exhumation crew to be left to start to work immediately, if necessary, and one member of the board of directors who was supposed to head this group and who had the power to decide whatever he thought necessary to do the work, start the work or to abandon it, or to refuse to do it. It happened that the board of directors nominated me for this task. That is why I flew to Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. At this minute when you left Warsaw to join the two Red Cross Poles from Krakow to go to Katyn——

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I joined them in Warsaw.

Mr. FLOOD. It was your understanding, even though you went with this skeleton crew, that no decision had been made by the Polish Red Cross at that point to actually cooperate.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. That decision was to be left to you as the chief of the delegation after you were on the field at Katyn and decided then and only then whether or not you would recommend that the Polish Red Cross proceed; is that it?

“ Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes, and I had the right to leave this skeleton crew or not. It was on the 14th of April at 3 p. m. that we left Warsaw in a plane. On this plane was not a delegation of the Polish clergy as the Germans told me, but just one priest sent by the Archbishop of Krakow to give the benediction to the bodies and to pray, just one priest. Then there was a German head of the delegation, of course, Mr. Zenzinger. Three Germans were there at the airport who were told to me as being members of the Berlin criminal police. They were supposed to go there because they were interested in the legibility of documents, the ability to be read, legibility of documents found on the bodies. I suppose they were members of the Gestapo, but I can't tell you that. Three very suspicious young Poles were serving the Germans, one a doctor of the only German paper published in the Polish language, one a movie operator, a man who took pictures, one only, and another young fellow who was an employee.

Mr. FLOOD. By suspicious you mean you were suspicious that they may have been collaborating with the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. They certainly were, especially the man who was a doctor of this paper.

Mr. FLOOD. By doctor you mean editor?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Editor. Certainly he was collaborating. The others were just physical employees hired by the Germans. We flew 2 days to Smolensk. We spent the night in Minsk, and then we came to Smolensk in the afternoon on the 15th and spent the night again without being permitted to go to the graves.

Mr. FLOOD. The 15th of what?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Of April. Of course Smolensk was a wholly militarily occupied town, and we had to take our meals with the German officers, which was not very pleasant to us, but we couldn't help it. We were invited to the officers mess of a unit which was called the propaganda company. It was a unit which the German divisions or armies had, which was supposed to keep up the Nazi spirits among the troops. This propaganda company was the unit which discovered Katyn. I believe the commanding officer was not an important officer, but just a subaltern level. Lieutenant Slovencik from the late Russian Army, and Second Lieutenant Von Arndt, who told me he was a lawyer in Berlin before the war—these two gentlemen were the hosts and received us in this mess. We had a very frugal meal. After the meal Lieutenant Slovencik spoke and explained first his version of how the Germans discovered the Katyn graves. He started with a lie. He stated that in 1939 the Germans conquered Poland and gave a part of the conquered land over to Russia, and that is how it happened that many Polish officers got into the Russian Army.

Mr. FLOOD. What language did he speak?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. German, of course.

Mr. FLOOD. You all understood German?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I understood German. Some of us did and some didn't.

Mr. FLOOD. You did?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I did, of course, and that he, being the CO of this company, heard in Smolensk that in 1942 some Polish workers hired by the German authorities for some work in contact with the native population heard about a massacre of Polish officers and that this

Russian peasant showed them the place. These Polish workers were supposed to have made some digging and found some bodies, and being afraid of the number of bodies, they covered the graves up again and put three birch crosses on the spot. Then they went away with their units somewhere east with the advancing German armies. That is the version of Lieutenant Slovencik.

He said that these rumors grew in intensity during the year he was in Smolensk and that he then decided on his own accord to investigate what was the matter about these rumors, and that he discovered these seven graves in Katyn. Being deeply shocked by the tragedy of these Polish families, he wired about his discovery to his superiors in Berlin, and he is very proud to state that the Feuhrer answered.

Mr. FLOOD. He wired his superiors in Berlin directly from the field, did he say?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. From the propaganda company in Smolensk where the headquarters of his company were. I suppose it went—

Mr. FLOOD. Through channels.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Through channels. And that the Feuhrer himself gave him the answer and was satisfied with his initiative, of which he was very proud, and that the Feuhrer gave him the order to cooperate with the Poles and to do everything possible to enable the families to get the names of the victims and to get everything on the bodies of the victims.

He finished his speech by an appeal to the Polish nation about the necessity to join again the Germans in their fight against Russia.

I was the only one to answer, and I answered him that I came here just for the purely technical purpose of exhumation. I talked about half an hour about some details as to the organization of that eventual exhumation to be decided tomorrow. He promised me his full cooperation, and he was very cooperative. Then I could not help, I had to rectify his mistake in his speech. I told him it wasn't true that the German Armies conquered all of Poland and then gave over one part of the territory to Russia, but that Russia entered Poland during the fight on the basis of the pact between Von Ribbentrop and Molotov. I told him then that as to the appeal to the Polish nation I must state and have the right to reply that every Pole would be deeply shocked by this discovery, but inevitably will link this matter with the fact that it was done at a time when Russia, the present enemy of Germany, was their friend and ally, on the basis, again, of this pact.

I must say that the German officers didn't answer a word.

Chairman MADDEN. A little louder.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That was the end of this meeting, and we went to sleep. On the day after that we were driven to the graves which, if I am not mistaken, is only about 15 kilometers west from Smolensk. The approach to the site was terrible because we saw already 300 bodies exhumed, lying around the grave. The grave was open, the upper layers emptied and lying around. There were huge red crosses flying. They were not red crosses of our type. They were hanging vertically, not horizontally. They were just for propaganda purposes. With this one priest we went around, our crew, and we saw all these bodies, and we stated then that the 300 bodies were all shot by a shot through the head.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, was the group that went from Smolensk with the Germans to the graves in the Katyn Forest on that day only your Polish group?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It was a group which was in the plane, our Polish group plus the Red Cross group, plus the priest from Krakow, plus a doctor I had with me. I didn't know him. Maybe I wanted his advice. Plus the three Berlin policemen, the chief of the delegation, and the three young Poles in the service of the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. Right.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. We saw all these 300 bodies were certainly shot dead, killed by a shot through the base of the cranium. I didn't see any other ones, just the ones with the classical wound. We saw some bodies which were tied with a rope. The men had winter clothes; the coat covered the head.

Mr. FLOOD. How do you mean?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The particular bodies which were tied.

Mr. FLOOD. How was the coat over the head? What do you mean by that?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The winter coat——

Mr. FLOOD. Overcoat, we call it here.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The overcoat was taken off the body and covered the head and then tied with a rope. At the same time the hands were tied backward with the rope.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you see the hands tied behind the back yourself?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; several bodies.

Mr. FLOOD. Was it a rope or a wire?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. A rope. I never saw a wire. Then there was a rope joining this rope of the neck with the rope which tied the hands. It was a perfect hobble. The coat was put over the body in a way that the slit at the end of the coat was exactly at the place where the revolver had to be put. You saw the head in a narrow patch on the back on the place where the revolver had to be applied. I saw one body with the mouth filled with something like sawdust. I didn't try it with my fingers, of course. It looked like sawdust. I was told afterward that there were some others.

I saw then the bodies of two generals, Smorawski and Bohaterowicz. The bodies were quite well preserved. The hands were perfectly preserved, even the fingernails.

Mr. FLOOD. How do you know those were the bodies of two generals?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The generals had a special stripe alongside the trousers and, of course, with shoulder straps.

Chairman MADDEN. These bodies where the mouth was filled with sawdust——

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I saw one.

Chairman MADDEN. Did they have a bullet hole in the back of the neck the same as the others?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The same as the others.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Madden, I would like to point out for the members of the committee that is a significant bit of testimony, the sawdust in the mouths, because the secret witness we had in Washington, the hooded witness, who was an eyewitness, stated that in many of the shootings he saw apparently the Russian officers would reach down into a box of sawdust or something and stuff their mouth before they

either shot them or threw them in the grave. This gentleman corroborates that evidence, which is the first direct testimony we have had of that fact.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I saw one body, and I have been told by the Germans that there were others. I don't know how many others.

The priest took his liturgical dress, and we all joined in the prayer. He immediately fainted after the prayer. He was a very poor man. He couldn't stand the smell. We had to revive him in about half an hour.

We continued to inspect the bodies. After seeing 20 or 50, it is about the same for 300 or a thousand. There is no difference. They were all in the same condition.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the Germans have medical officers or medical corpsmen there pointing out to you?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No, not with us. They were in another place that I will tell you about in a minute. The uniforms were well preserved, all the distinctions. The distinctions in the Polish Army are on the shoulder straps. That is how I could tell the generals, not only the trousers but also the shoulder straps. The Polish eagles on the officers' caps, the buttons and the decorations were in a perfect state. The uniform, which was of very good quality in the Polish Army in 1939, was in a very decent state. The boots, too. I mean the upper part of the boots, because the soles were certainly worn out through this month of life in Kozielsk and the internment.

We stayed there for several hours. I refused three times to talk for the broadcast. They wanted me to broadcast my impressions. Of course I refused. I told them I am going to do that under the condition that I am not going to join the German propaganda.

Mr. MITCHELL. This is right at the site of the graves?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Right at the site of the graves. Then I had two talks with Russian peasants. The day before at this famous meeting I saw pictures taken of depositions of the Russian peasants which say, as I suppose you all know, that in April and May 1940 there were cars coming to the station of Gzieszdovo, that in these cars were Polish officers, that these officers were taken into special trucks which are made in Russia to transport prisoners. The population called these trucks the Black Raven. That was the name in Russia, Black Raven. That these trucks took the Polish officers to the place of Katyn—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are you telling us now of your conversation with these Russian peasants?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. What I read the day before. And that from this forest they heard shots and cries.

I talked to them. I knew, of course, that these people told the truth. I had that impression. I talked with two of them, and they repeated the same thing which I saw the day before in the paper.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You say you talked with two peasants. Were these talks with the peasants arranged for you by the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The peasants were there waiting.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that arranged by the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Certainly.

Mr. FLOOD. What language did they speak?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Russian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you speak Russian?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there any German officers present while you talked to them?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Lieutenant Slovencik was present. I didn't have the impression of any of these Russian peasants being under pressure, certainly not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did anything happen there that would indicate to you that there was any pressure used upon them by the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No; then I talked to the second Russian peasant without any assistance. I talked with him for maybe 3 or 4 minutes alone, and he repeated the same thing to me in Russian with the clear eyes of a Russian peasant, and you could see he was telling the truth. Then the Germans started to crowd around us. I saw a German with a microphone approaching, wanting to take this conversation. Then I stopped at once and went away.

Mr. FURCOLO. At the time you were talking to him, Slovencik probably couldn't talk Russian anyway, could he?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. He couldn't. I suppose he had some knowledge of the Russian language. He knew some words, but he didn't speak Russian. Some of the other Germans could.

Mr. MITCHELL. When you were interrogating these Russian witnesses could you ask them any questions you wanted to?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Sure, certainly. There was not pressure there.

Then we drove to a place near the graves, about one mile and a half, where there was a police station. This police station was under the command of a Second Lieutenant or Lieutenant Voss, a police officer; V-o-s-s.

Mr. FURCOLO. Before you get to that, had these Russian peasants told you the same thing that was in the depositions?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The same thing. Especially in this short conversation where we were alone, in a very short and rapid way to get it out of him, he confirmed that exactly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you happen to remember the names of any of these peasants?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I remember one named Kisielev, K-i-s-i-e-l-e-v. Then we went to the station; we drove to the station where we found this police officer Voss, and Dr. Buhtz. Dr. Buhtz was there, and he had a kind of small laboratory which was installed to make legible some documents which could not be read. Those documents and decorations were exposed on a kind of a table, and all those documents were really prior to May and April 1940. Of course that was not proof for us because the exhumation was done without us, but we saw that. I once again refused to broadcast. Then I was asked by the Germans privately and personally to express my opinion about what I saw, and I told then that I was of course deeply shocked and that I must underline with satisfaction the spirit of the army. In the meantime I had already decided to leave the three men in Katyn, and leaving them at the mercy of the German Army alone on foreign territory occupied by one of our enemies, I couldn't imagine they could work out the full cooperation of the Germany Army. I wanted to make a good start. The German Army was cooperative in Smolensk.

Before leaving I talked to the head of the three-man crew which I left in Katyn, Lieutenant Rojkiewicz, volunteer worker of the Red Cross in wartime, R-o-j-k-i-e-w-i-c-z, that he has to organize these exhumations according to the instruction of the Germans as arranged with Lieutenant Slovincik, that he has to comply of course with all instructions given by the Germans, with one exception, that if he should be deprived of the right to read the documents and to see documents immediately at the exhumation as well as at the police station where they were stored, if he had not full freedom to do that, he was supposed to pack his things and come back to Warsaw, because we had the impression—we didn't know then that we could in the future make a medical-legal investigation of the documents. We didn't know the amount of documents that were going to be found there. We thought that the only possibility to have an idea about the date of the murder was to read the documents on the bodies as the bodies were exhumed. That is why I told them, not knowing exactly the organization of the work, how the Germans would do it, in spite of their cooperativeness, I told him that in case the Polish crew should be deprived of the right to read the documents, to have insight to them, then they should simply refuse to continue and come back to Warsaw.

They didn't have to do that. There was friction between them and the Germans, but they had the right to look at the documents on the bodies and to look at the documents at the police station. That was the most important thing. So I came back to Warsaw, leaving this crew.

Mr. FLOOD. How long were you at Katyn, in hours?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. About 6 hours, not more.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever go back?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No. I will tell you why: I came to Warsaw, and on the 17th the Board of Directors met again, and we prepared a statement to be given to the Germans, if necessary, and this statement contained only eight laconic points: That I had been there; that I stated the presence of these 300 bodies; that I stated the shot wounds through the head; that the murders had not been committed for robbery because the pockets were full of money, wallets, purses, documents, et cetera; that the documents which had been shown to us seemed to prove that the date of the murder was April and May 1940—

Mr. FLOOD. You stressed the word "seemed."

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Why did you use that word at that time?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Because we didn't take the documents ourselves. They were presented to us by the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. This was a report that the Polish Red Cross directors were preparing in case the Germans asked you for one?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is it.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they ever ask you for one?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; the same day. And as the last point, that we were ready to take the task of exhumation but of course this task is only possible with the fullest collaboration of the German Army, impossible otherwise. The last point I stated, that the German Army was very cooperative, was on purpose, as I told you, to make a good start, and it was true.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that report?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; I have it here.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you let me see it?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It is in Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me see it anyhow. [Document handed to Mr. Flood.]

AFTER RECESS

Chairman MADDEN. The hearing will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF CASIMER SKARZYNSKI—Resumed

Mr. FLOOD. When we recessed, I was asking you if you had a copy of the Polish Red Cross report that you had prepared in anticipation of a German request for such a report.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And you told me you had prepared such a report—by “you,” I mean the board of directors of the Polish Red Cross at Warsaw—and that you had it here, and you presented me with a document which you say is a copy of such a report, written in Polish.

I have presented that to my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, Congressman Machrowicz, who reads and understands Polish, and he tells me it is such an instrument as you say.

Will you find there for me that part of this document which contains the eight points which you gave the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It was prepared to be given eventually.

Mr. FLOOD. Prepared to be given eventually, and I understand it was afterward given.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It was given afterward.

There it is [indicating].

Mr. FLOOD. I have shown page 12 to Congressman Machrowicz, and he confirms your statement that pages 12 and 13 do contain the eight points that you have detailed for us.

I would like these two pages to be translated from Polish into English and inserted at this point in the record. Will you, Mr. Pucinski [addressing the investigator for the committee], see that those pages are so translated and inserted at this point?

Chairman MADDEN. Will you mark that as an exhibit?

Mr. FLOOD. I want that incorporated as part of the record.

(The pages referred to were marked “Exhibit No. 7,” and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 7

[Translation from Polish, pages 12 and 13]

The next morning I submitted an oral report on my journey to the Central Board. The report was given in the minutes of the Presidium's meeting No. 332. From this report the following facts emerged:

1) At the locality of Katyn, near Smolensk, there are partially excavated mass graves of Polish officers;

2) Relying upon the examination of about 300 bodies so far exhumed, one may state that these officers were killed by bullets fired into the back of the head. The uniform nature of the wounds in all [the bodies] proves beyond doubt [that the executions were] mass executions.

3) The murder was not motivated by robbery, because the bodies are in uniforms, in boots, with distinctions, and a considerable number of Polish coins and banknotes were found on the bodies.

4) The murder took place in March–April 1940. This judgment is based upon the documents found on the bodies.

5) Up to now, only a small number of the murdered persons (150) have been identified.

6) If identification and registration of the murdered people is desired, the team sent to Smolensk should be increased by 5 or 6 persons.

7) The work of our Technical Commission can be developed and carried on only jointly with the work of the German military authorities competent in this area.

8) Our Commission received the kindest and fullest collaboration from the German military authorities in this area.

The first 6 of the above points do not require any discussion. With regard to point 7, the performance of an independent investigation by the Polish Red Cross alone at Katyn Forest was absolutely impossible. That the Polish Red Cross undertook the work of exhumation on such a scale outside the frontiers of Poland, in a foreign country devastated by the war and occupied by our enemies, and moreover near the front (Smolensk is now only 30–40 km. from the front line), might [indicate that they] might have had in mind an investigation undertaken only with the assistance of the German army. (It should be borne in mind that in the Katyn affair, as in all other affairs, the ends of German policy and those of the Polish Red Cross were totally different.) The aim of the Polish Red Cross was to bury the bodies of the Polish officers in new graves as soon as the wearisome and complex work of exhumation and identification had been accomplished. The German authorities, however, were interested in propaganda. This discrepancy of aims has led to frictions which will be discussed *infra*. It was beyond any doubt that the German propaganda would give up the control of the work in order to ingratiate itself with Polish public opinion. Although this undertaking was in the interest of propaganda to some degree, [propaganda] was nevertheless a secondary motive. The Polish Red Cross was to choose either to give up the work or to accept a modest executive function on the spot, under German control. For reasons mentioned above, the Polish Red Cross has decided to choose the latter alternative.

With regard to point 8, the Central Board having its Technical Commission near Smolensk in full dependence upon the German army, and having in mind the importance of the work of the Commission, it [the Central Board] deemed it advisable to give . . .

[Translated by: Dr. Peter Slesanowicz, Foreign Law Section, Law Library, Library of Congress May 14, 1952.]

Mr. FLOOD. You told us this morning that one of the things that encouraged the Polish Red Cross to cooperate with the Germans and go to Katyn, or at least to determine if you would cooperate, was the urging of the Polish underground so to do.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the Polish underground expect you to report back to them?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Certainly.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you make such a report to the Polish underground?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The day after my return from Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. You will have to talk a little louder.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The day after my return from Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. What day did you return from Katyn to Warsaw?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The 17th of April 1943.

Mr. FLOOD. The 17th of April 1943. What is the date of the Polish Red Cross report to the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The 17th of April, the same date, in the morning. I came back from Katyn in a German aircraft on the 16th at night without stopping, from Smolensk to Warsaw. On the 17th, in the morning, we had this meeting of the board of directors of the Polish Red Cross, and we elaborated the eight points. Then in the afternoon, I was summoned to appear before the Germans, the propaganda department of the government.

Mr. FLOOD. You were?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I was personally.

I met there Dr. Grundman, the same man who informed me first about Katyn, Dr. Heinrich, who was the official supervisor of the Red Cross, an SS man, and two Gestapo men presented to me as such. They told me these two gentlemen belonged to the Gestapo, the Geheime Staats Polizer.

They asked me to report what I saw at Katyn, and then they summoned me to give an interview to the press, which I refused. When they heard my refusal, Dr. Heinrich told me, "All right, you can refuse, but then you must write a letter to the press, and this letter we intend to send to London——"

Mr. FLOOD. What press?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The German press, of course—"send to London to make your compatriots from London know what is in Katyn."

Mr. FLOOD. By "compatriots in London," what did he mean?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. After having refused the interview, they wanted me to write a letter, a report about my Katyn visit, and this report was supposed to appear in the whole of Germany; and, of course, necessarily appear also in the English press, the British press, in order to open the eyes, as they said, of my compatriots in London, to make them understand what Germany was after.

Mr. FLOOD. By "compatriots in London," do you mean what we refer to as the Free Polish Government?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Exactly.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you do that?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No, I refused. I must say this time I was a little scared in refusing.

Mr. FLOOD. It was about time you got scared refusing.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I told them I refused because, "first of all, it would be the same thing as an interview; and secondly, because I am convinced that it wouldn't have the effect you expect, because my compatriots in London would have the impression that I had the choice between sending the letter or being sent to a concentration camp." That was the moment when I was scared.

Dr. Grundman, of the propaganda, saved the situation because he started to laugh aloud, and he said, "The man is right." So that is what finished it.

Then Dr. Heinrich, in a rather angry tone, told me, "Well, then, I, as supervisor of the Polish Red Cross, summon you to give me today by 5 p. m. a report of your visit."

Mr. FLOOD. And that is the report we have just placed in the record?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is what has been placed in the record, and nothing else has been given to the German propaganda.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all the Germans got from the Poles?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You say you did make a report to the Polish underground?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. And that took months, and that is this document.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you make the same report to the Polish underground that you gave to the Germans?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you make a report to the Polish underground?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I did, the same day I did to the Germans. I met the chief of what was called the civilian service.

Mr. FLOOD. I thought you told us this morning that only the president of the Polish Red Cross had a contact with the underground. How did you get it?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I got it when a friend of mine, who was manager of a Polish bank, phoned to me the same day after my return from Katyn, and told me, "You are going to meet today the chief of the civilian fighting forces of the Polish underground," and that was Mr. Stefan Karbonski, who is today in America. Stefan Karbonski was the chief of the civilian defense, not in the passive meaning but the active meaning.

In this office room of this bank director, my friend, I met him, and I gave him a verbal report, about 2½ or 3 hours, about my visit in Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever prepare a written report for the Polish underground?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No. We always avoided anything in writing.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there a liaison or a direct connection, or were they the same units, that is, the Polish underground, the Polish defense forces, and the London Free Polish Government?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The same.

Mr. FLOOD. The same outfit?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The same outfit.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the difference, if there was a difference, between the oral report you gave to the representative of the underground that day in your friend's banking office, and the report that you officially gave the Germans in writing?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The Germans we gave only the laconic eight points; and to Karbonski I repeated what I told you today, perhaps in a little more detail, because I had 3 hours' time.

Mr. FLOOD. You reported to Karbonski, the underground representative, everything you have told us thus far today, but not so much detail?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. More detail, because I had more time, but nothing more.

Mr. FLOOD. Exactly. In this report to the Germans you told me this morning that your conclusion was that from your observation it seemed that the Russians had done the killing at Katyn, from the German report.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It seemed that the killing was done on those dates.

Mr. FLOOD. It seemed on those dates. What did you say to the chief of the underground or the underground representative with reference to that? Did you qualify it to him, or were you more decisive?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I was more decisive.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you say?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. My personal intimate conviction is that the Russians did it.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that your conviction then?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It was.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you so report to him then?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Is it your conviction now?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Has anything occurred between that day and this to change your opinion?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No.

Chairman MADDEN. Have you finished?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Not yet.

Mr. FLOOD. Just to emphasize it, what was your opinion? I want that repeated.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. At the moment I came back from Katyn?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. My personal impression—it wasn't an opinion, because I couldn't dare have an opinion about a complicated thing such as a murder, but my personal impression was that the Russians did it, and that I repeated to Karbonski. It wasn't an opinion. It was an impression. A person could have been proven false.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Has that impression been strengthened by anything since then?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; many things.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, would you consider that your considered opinion?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Definitely; my conviction.

I forgot to tell you one very important thing. When I was at the Katyn graves, I asked the German officers how could they imagine that there are 11,000 corpses there when I saw, out of the seven graves, I thought something between four and six thousand. The Germans told me very naively, "Yes; we know there are more than that here, because we multiplied the coefficient of the density of the bodies in the graves by the whole area which you see here, and that is how we get the 11,000."

That was, of course, nonsense, because they wanted the figure 11,000, knowing there are about 11,000 officers in Russia. They discovered the graves of the officers, and they wanted to make the propaganda story a bigger one, and they launched the figure of 11,000.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, you know, and it has been indicated on the record of the committee by several reputable witnesses at other hearings, that the number of Polish officers moved from Kozielsk coincides almost exactly with the number of bodies found at Katyn.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Exactly.

Mr. FLOOD. The number at Starobielsk and the other camps was not an issue at Katyn, at least so far.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Not at Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me ask you one more question. Why did you tell the Germans one story and the Russians the other, with reference to the decisiveness of your conclusion?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The Russians? I never told the Russians.

Mr. FLOOD. I beg your pardon, the Free Poles. You told the Free Poles one story with decisiveness, and you told the German a watered-down version of it.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes; and we continued to tell that to the Germans, because we didn't want the Germans to have the impression that we joined them in their opinion. As long as we could, as long as the investigation wasn't finished—and it wasn't finished officially on

the 1st of September 1944, when the Germans retired from Poland—we always told the Germans “we don’t know, because we did not finish the investigation,” always with the same psychological intention not in the slightest to join the German propaganda and be cause to sign or to declare something according to German wishes.

Mr. MITCHELL. You just stated a few minutes ago that the Germans knew that there were about 11,000 officers. How did they know?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. There was a conference between Germany and Russia in December 1940 in Cracow about the repatriation of the Poles under Russian domination. We didn’t know what was the object of this conference, but after the conference we had been told to prepare the camps to receive the officers. We know that at that time Russia had the exact number. Russia had already three camps open. We are sure that the Germans knew it, and the proof of it is that Goebbels anonymously determined Katyn as the mass grave of all the officers which were in Russia, and he stated 11,000. He must have known this figure.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to ask you this, Mr. Witness: I understood you to say that in preparation for the officers that you expected to come back again, your group was preparing some camps in the expectation that they would return.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. Then I understood you to say that in April or May or June of 1940, you were notified the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov had been closed, and you were not to expect any officers back from Russia?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No. We were notified simply by the Germans that we have to close our reception camp.

Mr. FURCOLO. That was the Germans who said you should close yours?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, you never got any word from Russia in any way that they had closed their camps?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FURCOLO. As part of your duties in the Red Cross, you learned that the families of these prisoners had been getting letters from them once a month, or something like that?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. I am referring now to the prisoners in the camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov. You did learn that those families had been getting letters from their menfolk who were prisoners, at least in the latter part of 1939 and the first month or two of 1940?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FURCOLO. I am interested in finding out whether any of those families heard from any of the prisoners at any time after, say, April or May of 1940? Did you, in the course of your duties in the Red Cross, have occasion to be in touch with the families of those men sufficiently so that you can give us an answer to that?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Certainly.

Mr. FURCOLO. What would your answer be?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The answer would be that after June, the end of May or June 1940, no more letters came from the three camps.

Mr. FURCOLO. As part of your duties, you naturally made it your business to inquire around among the families so you could be fairly certain of it?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The families came to us asking us about the whereabouts of their dependents, and we could do nothing else but write to the International Committee of Red Crosses. We got the answer from the German Red Cross that if a man disappeared from one of the three camps, the only way to do is to write to the police authorities of the given nation, and many families wrote to the police authorities and received a letter back with a stamp, "Departed. All the men evacuated," or "His present address is unknown," or "The camp has been closed. Present address unknown."

Chairman MADDEN. The hearing will recess for about 30 seconds.

I wish to announce that the dean of the Congress has just come in the hearing room, Congressman Sabath. Congressman Sabath is the oldest man, in point of service, of any Member that ever sat in the House of Representatives in the history of the Nation.

Forty-four years, is it, Judge?

Mr. SABATH. Forty-six years.

Chairman MADDEN. And he does not look to be over 46 years old. [Applause.]

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Since we have introduced Congressman Sabath, I think it would be fair to Congressman Sabath also to let it be known that it was to a great extent thanks to the assistance and guidance of Congressman Sabath that this committee was established by the Congress. I think we should give proper credit to Congressman Sabath for his efforts to probe this Katyn massacre. [Applause.]

Chairman MADDEN. I will say further that Congressman Sabath was a great aid as chairman of the Rules Committee in passing the resolution which cleared the way for this investigation to get on the floor of the House.

The hearing will now proceed.

Mr. FURCOLO. Would it be fair to say, then, Mr. Witness, that in the course of your duties in the Red Cross, you came in contact with many hundreds of families of prisoners of the three camps I have mentioned who had been receiving mail from them in the latter part of 1939 and the first 2 or 3 months of 1940, but who, after April or May of 1940, no longer received correspondence from their menfolk?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That would be correct; except the contact wasn't personal between me and the families. It was just in exceptional cases. It was between the information bureau of the Polish Red Cross, with about 270 employees, and we created a lot of files about the wounded and missing men which would fill this room. These files were all burned during the Warsaw riots.

Mr. FURCOLO. I had better preface this question by a very brief statement. Of course, as you know, we are trying as much as possible to document everything in this committee. The case that we make out eventually is going to be stronger in accordance with the degree of documentation we have. I want to ask you this question: In the course of my study into this matter, I have many times come across the statement that immediately after the discovery of the massacre,

the Polish Government asked the International Red Cross Committee to investigate impartially, and that the German Government asked the International Red Cross Committee to investigate impartially. For some reason, such an investigation was not held. The books and papers and documents that I have read all practically unanimously indicate that the reason it was not held was because of the fact that the Soviet Government also would not participate in that request.

I asked former Ambassador Romer, when he was on the stand, whether or not such a request had been transmitted to the International Red Cross Committee by the Polish Government, and whether a similar request had been transmitted by the German Government, and the answer was, "Yes." I then inquired, as I have of other witnesses, whether or not the Russian Government had ever refused to join in making such a request. Up to this point we have not been able to locate a witness who has been intimately enough connected with it to be able to tie it down that the Russian Government either did or did not.

I wonder if you, as an official of the Polish Red Cross, and who was intimately associated with it, can help us on that point, because it is of vital importance.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. A few days after my return we had knowledge of the fact—through, of course, the secret radio—that the Polish Government-in-exile sent a telegram to Geneva asking for an international commission. The German Government didn't, because the German Government didn't want in this way indirectly to acknowledge the existence of the Polish Government-in-exile, and the German Government wanted us, the Polish Red Cross, to send a telegram to Geneva, whose counterpart would be sent by the German Red Cross to Geneva. They avoided the government in order not indirectly to acknowledge the other one.

We refused for a long time. We said, "We are not in a position to act for a nation or for a government. We are just the Polish Red Cross, a national association, a private association of the Red Cross, and we are not able to send a wire to Geneva."

Then they told us, "The German Government didn't, but the German Red Cross did, so your way is open."

Finally we had to give way. Again, we didn't send a telegram asking for an investigation, which was not our role and not our right, but we simply gave an extract of these eight points to Geneva.

Three days afterwards we got a reply, which is in this same document, from the international committee. This reply stated that, "We have received already from two different sides the same demand, the same news about the discovery of Katyn. We are ready to send an International Commission, and the members of the Commission are already chosen, but according to a circular letter we sent to all belligerent nations at the beginning of the war, in the first 2 weeks of the war, we are able to undertake the task of an investigation in our name, in the name of the International Committee of the Red Cross, only in the case of the agreement of all interested parties, and the agreement of Russia never came."

Mr. FURCOLO. That is the point I want to get to. I want to find out definitely. Whatever preliminary steps may have been gone through, is it true that at some time or other shortly after the massacre, the Germans, either through the Red Cross or their Government or some informal organization, and the Polish, either through their Red Cross or their Government or some informal organization, did ask for an impartial investigation through the cooperation of the International Red Cross Committee, but that the Russians either refused to ask for that or simply didn't join in the request which, because of this international situation that you have mentioned, in effect meant that there could not be any impartial, unbiased investigation by the International Red Cross Committee?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is exactly it. The Russians never asked to give access. Certainly they didn't give it. Or maybe there was a kind of a telegram from Geneva to Russia—but that only Geneva could tell you about—and then refused by Russia. I couldn't tell you about that.

Mr. FURCOLO. Was it a situation such that in the absence of a request from Russia for action by the International Red Cross Committee, the International Red Cross Committee would not be able to take steps to make an impartial investigation?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. It couldn't do it, according to its charter, without the agreement of all interested parties.

Mr. FURCOLO. It could not make an impartial investigation in accordance with its charter without the agreement of all the interested parties?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. And Russia and Germany were both interested parties in the sense that the circumstances showed that either one or the other was responsible, is that right?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Certainly, to a certain extent.

Mr. FURCOLO. The next step in the situation is that Russia, by not asking for one, in effect prevented any such impartial investigation?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Exactly.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all I have.

Mr. FLOOD. You told me that you left an investigating team of the Polish Red Cross on the field at Katyn under your orders.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did that team of the Polish Red Cross ever make a report back to you?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Certainly.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that report?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes. It is in there, too.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you select from that document and have them marked as an exhibit, Mr. Mitchell, those pages of the document which constitute the report of the field team of the Polish Red Cross which made the investigation at Katyn and reported back to Mr. Skarzynski? Will you show them to Mr. Machrowicz, Mr. Mitchell, and see if they are what the witness says they are, and if Mr. Machrowicz says they are, will you have them translated and inserted in the record?

(The pages referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 8" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 8

[Translation from Polish]

C. Report of the Technical Commission on the Progress of Work at Katyn

The following is the text of this report:

"On April 17, 1943, the Commission, provisionally composed of three persons, undertook the work, which was divided in the following way:

1) Mr. Rojkiewicz Ludwik—examination of documents at the Secretariat of Field Police;

2) Messrs. Kolodziejski Stefan and Wodzinowski Jerzy—searching for and securing of documents found on the bodies in Katyn Forest.

On this day, however, the work was interrupted because the delegation of Polish officers from German prison camps arrived. [They were:]

1) Lieutenant Colonel Mossor Stefan, cavalry, Oflag II E/K No. 1449.

2) Captain Cynkowski Stanislaw, Oflag II E/K No. 1272.

3) Sub-Lieutenant Gostkowski Stanislaw, Oflag II D. No. 776/II/b.

4) Captain Kleban Eugenjusz, Oflag II D:

5) Sub-Lieutenant Rowinski Zbigniew, flier, Oflag II C. No. 1205/II/B.

6) Captain Adamski Konstanty, armored division, Oflag II C. No. 902/XI/A.

The members of the Polish Red Cross Commission had the to see the pits and documents jointly with the officers [who had arrived from German camps]. The behavior of the Polish officers toward the Germans was full of reserve and dignity. During a short talk apart, they acknowledged with apparent satisfaction that the Polish Red Cross had undertaken the technical functions of the exhumation, separating itself entirely from political [work].

On April 19, the members of the Commission were trying to get in touch with Lieutenant Slovenzik in order to settle the details of the operation. Since they had no means of transportation, these endeavors were unsuccessful. After waiting in vain until 14 o'clock on April 20, Mr. Ludwik Rojkiewicz went on foot to the Secretariat of the Field Police in order to get in touch with him. He turned back, however, having met a motorcar on the way, on which the members of the Polish Red Cross Commission, Messrs. Kassur Hugon, Jaworowski Gracjan, Godzik Adam, were riding. These members [of the Polish Red Cross] left Warsaw on April 19 at 12:15 o'clock, together with representatives of the foreign press composed of a Swede, a Finn, a Spaniard, a Belgian, a second Flemish Belgian, an Italian, and a Czech, besides one Russian emigrant from Berlin and Professor Leon Kozłowski, former Prime Minister of the Polish Republic who lived there in Berlin, and three clerks from the Berlin Division of Propaganda.

Mr. Kassur assumed leadership of the Technical Commission of the Polish Red Cross. During conversations held on that day with Lieutenant Slovenzik, the following questions were raised:

- 1) the quarters for the members of the Technical Commission;
- 2) the spot of the work;
- 3) the means of communication for the members of the Commission;
- 4) the organization of the work of the Commission;
- 5) the preserving of documents;
- 6) the choice of a place for the new graves.

Because of the distance from Katyn to Smolensk (14 km.) and to the lack of means of communication, the members of the Commission were quartered in a separate barrack in the village of Katyn, on the estate Borek, which was owned by a Pole, Mr. Lednicki, before World War I. This estate was 3.5 km. away from Kozie Gory. At this time the field hospital of Todt's organization was located there. The members of the Commission remained on this estate until May 20, and from May 21 to June 7, 1943 were quartered in the house attached to a village school near the station of Katyn. The members of the Commission were receiving food all day on the spot at the officers' mess of the Todt's organization. The rations were of the sort assigned to the nearby front detachments. It should be noticed that this food was sufficient.

Because of the lack of suitable accommodations in the forest, the work of taking out and examining the documents had by sheer necessity to be divided in such a way that the taking out of the documents and the reburial of the bodies was performed on the spot, i. e., in the forest of Katyn. A preliminary exami-

nation of the documents was carried on at the headquarters of the Secretariat of the Secret Police a few kilometers away from the forest of Katyn in the direction of Smolensk.

Lieutenant Slovenzik expressed his opinion that the Polish Red Cross should bring its own means of communication to Katyn. After the explanation that all the Polish Red Cross' automobiles were requisitioned long ago, this problem was solved in the following way:

a) in order to get from the quarters to the forest of Katyn and back [the members of the Polish Red Cross Commission] were allowed to stop the military and private cars on the highway;

b) a motorcycle was delivered to furnish transportation to the office of the Secretariat of the Field Police.

The work was divided in the following way:

a) one member for the exhumation of the bodies;

b) two members for searching the bodies and removing the documents;

c) one member for examining the successive numbers of the bodies, which were then taken away to fraternal graves;

d) one member for the burial of the bodies;

e) two to three members for reading the documents;

f) since April 28, i. e., from the very moment of the arrival of the rest of the members of the Commission, Messrs. Wodzinski Marian, Cupryjak Stefan, Mikołajczyk Jan, Krol Franciszek, Buczak Władysław, Płonka Ferdynand, the doctor of forensic medicine Dr. Wodzinski and his assistants from the Krakow dissecting laboratory were performing examinations of the bodies not identified by means of documents.

The procedure of the operation was as follows:

a) the bodies were exhumed and laid upon the ground;

b) documents were removed;

c) a doctor performed an examination of the bodies which were not identified;

d) the bodies were buried.

The work used to last from 8 o'clock to 18 o'clock every day, with one and a half hour for lunch.

The Commission states that the exhumation of the bodies has met with great difficulties. The bodies were pressed, [having been] chaotically thrown into the pits. Some bodies had their hands bound behind. The heads of some bodies were wrapped in overcoats, which were bound about the neck with a string. The hands were also bound at the back, in such a manner that the string was attached to the string tightening the overcoat at the neck. The bodies bound in this way were found mainly in one special pit which was inundated by subterranean water. The victims were extracted from this pit exclusively by members of the Commission. The German military authorities, because of the difficult working conditions, intended to refill this pit with earth.

In one pit there were found about 600 bodies laid face downward in layers.

The lack of sufficient number of rubber gloves caused great difficulty [in the work].

The exhumation of the bodies was being performed by the local inhabitants, who were driven to work by the German authorities. The bodies carried out from the pits on the stretchers were laid one beside another. Then the work of searching for documents began, in such a way that each body was searched individually, in the presence of one of the members of the Polish Red Cross Commission. The workers unstitched all the pockets, pulled out their contents, and handed over all articles thus found to the member of the Polish Red Cross Commission. The documents and the articles were placed in envelopes marked with a successive number. The same number was impressed on a small plate and fixed to the bodies. Boots and even linen were unstitched in order to search for documents in a more thorough manner.

(Translated by: Dr. Peter Siefianowicz. Supervised by Dr. Vladimir Gsovski, Chief, Foreign Law Section, Law Library, Library of Congress, May 14, 1952.)

If no documents or souvenirs were found, monograms (if any) were cut from the clothing or underwear.

Members of the Commission charged with the collection of documents had no right to examine or separate them; their duty was limited to placing in envelopes the following objects:

a) wallets with their contents,

b) all loose papers,

c) [military] decorations and souvenirs,

- d) religious medallions and crosses,
- e) one epaulette [from each body]
- f) change purses
- g) all valuable objects.

They were instructed to remove loose Polish banknotes, papers, coins, tobacco pouches, cigarette paper, wooden or tin cigarette cases. These instructions were issued by the German authorities so as not to overload the envelopes. The envelopes so prepared were tied with string or wire, numbered consecutively, and placed on a special table. They were handed over to the German authorities, who sent them twice daily by motorcycle runner to the Military Police Secretariat. If an envelope could not hold all the documents, another with the same number was used.

At the office of the Military Police Secretariat documents brought in by the motorcycle runner were taken over by the German authorities. The preliminary investigations and the ascertaining of names were done jointly by three Germans and representatives of the Technical Commission of the Polish Red Cross. The envelopes were opened in the presence of Poles and Germans. Documents found on the bodies had to be carefully separated with small wooden sticks from dirt, rotted matter, and fat.

First, documents were sought which would establish beyond doubt the identity of the victim. Identity was established on the basis of identity tags, identity cards, service cards, mobilization cards, even inoculation certificates issued in Kozielsk. In the absence of these, other documents were examined such as correspondence, visiting cards, notebooks, notes, etc. Wallets and purses containing Polish National Bank banknotes and coins were burned, and foreign currency, except Russian, and all gold coins and objects were deposited in the envelopes. Names which had been established and the contents of the envelopes were described by one of the Germans on separate sheets of paper in German, and the original numeration was maintained. The Commission gives the following explanation why the initial lists were only in German. Namely, the German authorities declared that they would immediately dispatch lists of the names to the Polish Red Cross as well as the documents after they were used. The Commission saw no reason to prepare a second list, especially since in the initial stage the personnel of the Commission was very small. If there were difficulties in establishing personal data, the notation "not recognized" was entered under the corresponding number, and documents discovered were listed. Such documents were sent by the German authorities to a special chemical laboratory for a detailed examination. [There.] when a positive result was achieved, the name of the victim was noted under the same number but on a separate list. It must be stated, however, that corpses without documents or souvenirs were present among the victims also. These were also given a number and a notation of "not recognized" was entered.

After the contents of an envelope were noted on a sheet of paper, all documents and objects were put into a new envelope under the same number, on which its contents were noted. This was the duty of the German members. Envelopes examined, separated, and numbered in this way were put into packing cases. They were placed at the exclusive disposal of the German authorities. Lists, typed in German, could not be checked by the Commission with the manuscript because it was not at the Commission's disposal. This system was followed from number 0421 to number 0794 in the presence of Mr. Ludwig Rojkiewicz. During the identification of numbers from 0795 to 03900 Messrs. Stefan Cupryjak, Gracjan Jaworowski, and Jan Mikolajczyk were present. The working method of the above-mentioned was almost identical with this difference, however, that they prepared their lists in Polish, which as occasion arose were sent to the Headquarters of the Polish Red Cross. From number 03901 to 04243 Mr. Jerzy Wodzinowski was present, and the same procedure was maintained. Identification of bodies numbered 1 to 112 and 01 to 0420 was performed exclusively by Germans before the Polish Red Cross Commission arrived. The Commission states that during the examination of documents, diaries, army orders, some correspondence, etc., were removed by the German authorities for translation into German. The Commission is unable to state whether such documents were returned and placed in their corresponding envelopes.

During the work of the Technical Commission of the Polish Red Cross in the Katyn forest, in the period from April 15 to June 7, 1943, 4,243 bodies were exhumed. Of these, 4,233 were taken out of 7 excavations placed closely together, which were discovered by German Army authorities in March 1943. The eighth grave was found on June 2, 1943, and only 10 bodies were removed from it. They

were buried in the No. 6 grave, which was still open at that time. German authorities stopped exhumation work from the summer until September, and the eighth grave after the exhumation of the ten bodies was covered up again.

Careful soundings by the Germans in the entire area were made for they were anxious that there should be little discrepancy between the announced figure of 10,000 to 12,000 victims and the reality. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that no more graves will be discovered. In grave No. 8, judging by its dimensions, the number of bodies should not exceed a few hundred. Soundings in the area have discovered several mass graves containing Russian bodies in varying degrees of decomposition.

All 4,241 exhumed bodies were reburied in six new graves which were dug in the vicinity of the murder graves. The only exception was made for the bodies of two generals, who were buried in two separate graves. The ground on both sides of the new graves is low and wet but the graves themselves are in an elevated and sandy location. The size and depth of these graves are unequal owing to local and technical conditions encountered during the work. The bottoms of all graves are dry, and each grave contains, depending on its size and depth, several groups of bodies, each group placed in several layers. Upper layers were placed at least one meter below the surface so that after the graves were covered with a mound one meter above the ground, upper layers are covered with two meters of earth. All graves have a flat surface, sides covered with sod. On each grave a cross two and a half meters high was placed, under which some forest flowers were planted. On the surface of each grave a cross of sod was placed. The graves are numbered as they were made in order to maintain the order of the numbered bodies. Bodies were placed in the graves with heads towards the east, one close to the other, heads slightly elevated, hands crossed. Each layer of bodies was covered with 20 to 30 centimeters of earth. In graves No. I, II, III, and IV the bodies were placed starting from the right side as they were brought in from the left side. The list of bodies placed in each grave is enclosed with this report as well as a map of the burial site, which covers an area of 60 X 36 meters, i. e., 2,160 square meters.

On the day the last members of the Technical Commission of the Polish Red Cross left Katyn, they placed on the dominating cross of grave No. IV a large metal wreath made from sheet iron and barbed wire by one of the members of the Commission. This wreath, although made by hand and under field conditions, is of esthetic form and painted black; there is a thorn crown of barbed wire in the center with an eagle badge of solid metal from an officer's cap affixed to the cross. After placing the wreath, the members of the Commission honored the memory of the victims, standing in silence and saying a prayer; then took leave of them in the name of the Nation, their families, and themselves. The Commission thanked Lt. Slovendzik, 2nd Lt. Voss of the German military police, noncoms, enlisted men, and Russian workers for two months of very heavy exhumation work.

The Commission summarized its findings as follows:

1. Bodies exhumed from the graves were in a state of decomposition, and direct identification was impossible. Uniforms, however, in particular all metal parts, badges of rank, decorations, eagle badges, buttons, etc. were in a good state of preservation.

2. Death was caused by a shot in the base of the skull.

3. From the documents found on the bodies it appears that the murders took place in the period from the end of March to the beginning of May 1940.

4. The work at Katyn was under the constant supervision of the German authorities, who always detailed a guard to each group of the Commission at work.

5. All work was performed by the members of the Technical Commission of the Polish Red Cross, the German authorities, and inhabitants of local villages, numbering 20 to 30 persons. Some 50 Soviet prisoners detailed daily were used exclusively to dig and cover the burial graves and in leveling the ground.

6. General working conditions were difficult and nerve racking. Decomposition of the bodies and the polluted air contributed to the difficulty of the work.

7. The frequent arrival of various delegations, the daily visits to the area by a considerable number of military personnel, dissection of the bodies by German doctors and the members of the various delegations, made the work still more difficult.

Dr. Hugo Kassur, the leader of the Technical Commission, was unable to return to Katyn after his departure on May 12, 1943, and his duties till the end of the work were taken over by Mr. Jerzy Wodzinowski.

The Commission states finally that the requirements of German propaganda were a serious obstacle in its work. As much as two days before the arrival of a more important delegation work was slowed, and only 7 to 10 workers were detailed, the official explanation being that local inhabitants had failed to appear in spite of orders issued.

When professors of medicine from Germany or other states co-operating with the Axis, were scheduled to come, the bodies of higher officers or bodies which in addition to the bullet marks bore also marks of bayonnetting or had their hands tied were reserved for them. Numerous intercessions of the Commission's leader were not respected. No attention was paid to the task of the Commission, and during the burial of bodies in the second grave gaps occurred in the numeration of bodies. Dissection of bodies by foreign professors took place without being co-ordinated with the work of the Commission, which in some cases made identification difficult. In order to avoid major complications in its work, the Commission was forced quite often to disregard German instructions which reserved certain bodies for other purposes.

German troops from the central sector of the front received an order to visit Katyn. Hundreds of persons visited the site of the crime daily. Through the Commission's intervention visiting was limited to a few hours daily, and military police were detailed to maintain order.

A few words of explanation to this report:

I have already mentioned the fact of German supervision. On one occasion Mr. Cupryjak, a member of the Commission, was ordered to show notes made in his notebook while examining the documents.

An incident which occurred between Mr. Kassur and Lt. Slovenčzik cannot be omitted. On one occasion he came to us and declared that German authorities were informed that some of the Polish officers were of German origin or "*Volks-deutsche*." He demanded that they should be buried separately or at least in a dominating position in burial graves. He was given the answer that all murder victims were Polish officers, that it was impossible to determine their nationality, and that

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(Translated by Dr. K. Grzybowski, Supervised by Dr. V. Gsovski, Chief Foreign Law Section Law Library, Library of Congress May 14, 1953.)

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one question to clear the record.

Witness, did you appear before this committee voluntarily?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you explain how you made connections with the committee to appear, and how it happened that you are here today?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I got the first letter from Mr. Romer, who told me that Mr. Mitchell was investigating this matter, and that they decided together, Mr. Mitchell as the counsel for the committee and Mr. Romer as a man who knew the Poles who were at Katyn, to ask from Canada these three or four Poles, of which I am one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, what you want to tell us is that you appear before this committee through the intercession of Ambassador Romer as a voluntary witness?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. And then I got a letter from Mr. Mitchell, in the record already, to which I answered, of course, positively.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I didn't finish, sir, I am sorry.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you have something further to add?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. When we came back to Warsaw, we had to organize the whole commission. We want you to understand how this work was done. We sent nine more men to Katyn. We increased the members of the commission from 3 to 12. The work was such, according to our instructions, that 1 man was present at the exhumation which was done daily by 20 to 30 Russian civilians given by the

German Army. This man gave an indication of how to cut the pockets and how to extract the documents. They cut even the underwear and cut even the boots to see if there were any documents in the boots. He handed the documents, looking at them only just quickly, to another member who put them all in an envelope, a wired envelope, and a third member put the same number on the envelope as on the body. A fourth was supervising the burial in the new graves. Three or four members were always present at the police station where the documents were stored, and where twice a day a German motorcycle brought these envelopes over. There they were received by Dr. Buhtz, our three crewmen, and, of course, some Germans. The documents were there cleaned of fat, blood, and dirt, by small sticks of wood. Those which were legible were put into new envelopes with numbers, and the name of the officer put on the official list with the numbers of all objects or documents found on him. Those who were not identified were sent to the laboratory of Dr. Buhtz, who sometimes succeeded in reading the name of the man, thanks to special tools and instruments he had.

So, slowly, the first official list of the victims was built up. These documents and the documents which went straight through up to the box, or which went through the laboratory, with the same number, were all placed in boxes. Those boxes were received at the end of the exhumation from the Germans, and on these boxes we started the proper and scientific medical-legal work on the date of the murder. This medical-legal work we divided in two parts: First, the work of identification, to increase the number of identified officers. The second part was to try to know who was the murderer.

In this last part, the documents and 22 diaries which were found on the bodies, in all, 22 of them, of which I read all of them, were a big help for the identifying of a number of them, the date of their departure from Kozielsk, and the date of their arrivals in Gniezdovo.

Mr. FLOOD. Your conclusions were reached from no pathological examination, but from an examination of documents, and so forth?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is right. These 22 diaries were, of course, very interesting, although tragic to read. One of them had a note which was nearest death. There was another one by a coroner whose name I don't remember, who wrote that a party of Polish officers left Smolensk in a railway car. "We left this morning," he said, "and unhappily the sky is cloudy and we cannot see the direction, which is very important for us. A moment later, we are stopped at a station called Gniezdovo. I suppose we are to be unloaded here, because there are some military Russians on the platform."

Mr. FLOOD. How far is this Gniezdovo station from Smolensk?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I should say about a mile and a half or two miles.

Mr. FURCOLO. That last diary from which you quoted also pointed out—did it not?—that he could see some of the prisoners being unloaded?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No. That is another one. That is a man who I met in London and whom the committee certainly will hear. I won't interfere with that.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where are these documents today; do you know?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The story about the documents is absolutely a movie story. The prosectorium—that means the anatomical depart-

ment of the university—under the care of a specialist, a Polish specialist like Dr. Buhtz, the German specialist, the best specialist, Dr. Albricht, was already then in the camp of Dachau, together with all the university professors from the University of Cracow, who had been sent to the concentration camps by the Germans. There was first a lecture, and then from this lecture were sent to a concentration camp. He assisted; a very capable man, too. According to the deal we made with him, he was to do as quickly as possible the investigation work as to the authors of the murder, and as slowly as possible the official investigation in identification work, not to force us to give the Germans the completed work, because we thought they were not the judges to receive the result of our work. We succeeded not to give it to them.

These documents and these envelopes were in nine huge boxes which were—I remember one of them which was about 1 yard and a half to 1 yard and three-quarters in length, about 2 feet wide, about 3 feet high. There were nine of them containing these 22 diaries. The nine boxes were numbered. We were afraid that these diaries came there by mistake, and that the Germans wanted to keep them, because they were full of anti-German implications. But the Germans didn't mind. They gave it to us.

We told the doctor to start at once the one part of this work, the statement of the murder, and that he finished, and he told us. We didn't know then exactly what maybe the London government knew already, the exact number and the exact names of the officers in Kozielsk; but he told us that, out of his scientific researches and out of at least the identified officers. I know that in Kozielsk there must be a little less than 5,000 officers, and not more; and I suppose that the unidentified names which we noted can simply be replaced by any name of an officer who was in Kozielsk. The whole of Kozielsk is dead.

One very important detail is that we were, of course, interested in digging in this meadow in the forest of Katyn to find if there are more graves than seven, which is the number which the Germans incidentally discovered in just one spot, one very near to the other. But the Germans were more interested than we were, because they put this figure of 11,000, and during the 2 months our crew was in Katyn the Germans sent every day about 50 Russian prisoners of war who did nothing else but work at the new graves and dig all around to look for an eighth or a ninth grave, different graves.

Chairman MADDEN. In other words, the Germans were very interested in making all the excavations possible to see if they could find any further graves or mass graves?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. That is right.

On the 2d of June, at the moment when the seven graves were already all empty, when one of the six new graves was still open and a row of corpses still lying to be put in the new graves—we had dirt between all the layers and between all the rows—the Germans found an eighth grave about 200 yards away from the first seven ones. They opened this grave, and they made some digging alongside, and we stated with them that these graves may contain about 100 to 200 bodies.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In connection with this eighth grave, is that the grave which was reported to have the bodies of Russians buried prior to 1939, or do you know of any such grave?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No. These graves were discovered by the Germans during their work, all kinds of graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know of any grave that was uncovered there which contained bodies which had obviously been there longer than a few years?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. The members of our crew told me that, in this work of the Germans in looking for Polish graves, they were all the time finding some Russian graves in an old state of decomposition, skeletons included.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What I want to point out is a fact which I think has not been very frequently publicized: namely, at this very place of Katyn, there were graves found which indicated that Katyn had been used as a burial place for Russians even prior to 1939.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. According to the reports given by the press, that is right in this case; exactly.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Dr. Miloslavich reported that yesterday.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. As our crew was ready and busy at filling these last graves, they started at once to take bodies from this eighth grave. They took eight of them. Then the Germans came. Lieutenant Slovencik, obviously following orders, told our men that we had to stop the work; that in June it is too hot to make any important exhumation work; that it is dangerous for the sanitary conditions of the army, and that we had to recover this eighth grave and go home and start work again in the fall of the year. So, it was that we exhumed 4,233 bodies out of seven graves, plus 10 bodies out of the eighth grave, and that we left undiscovered, unexhumed, about 290 bodies in the eighth grave.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to protect the record here with just an incident. At the time I asked you if the task force that you left at the field at Katyn had made a report to you, you said "Yes." There were only three men there at the time you left Katyn?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Subsequently, you sent others back, as you later told us. The report that I have just placed in the record, the report from your task force in the field, the "crew," as you called it, made to the Polish Red Cross at Warsaw, was composed of those three originals plus others?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Plus others.

Mr. FLOOD. How many others?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Nine others, and three came back in the meantime.

Mr. FLOOD. So, there were more than the three; all right.

Did that task force, when it reported to you at Warsaw, make any conclusions as to the approximate date of the burial?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. They reported that during the whole work—the main instruction I gave them and we gave them—during the whole work they never found a document or newspaper with a date anterior to April 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. I want you to use a different word than "anterior."

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. After—after April or May 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. I know the report will speak for itself; but to emphasize it, you say that that report of the Polish Red Cross task force so states?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. So states. They gave me this report when they came back. The last men left on the 11th and 12th and came to Warsaw and then made the report.

Mr. FLOOD. Do I understand that your Polish Red Cross task force had the full and complete cooperation of the Germans at all times?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. There was some friction, of course.

Mr. FLOOD. I mean outside of that.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. They had the full cooperation.

Mr. FLOOD. Were there any fears or threats, or intimidation of any kind, made that would in any way intimidate them?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. No. The characteristic thing was that I expected that these men near the front line would be guarded by armed guards and followed by the guards everywhere, but these men were working in a village about 1½ miles from the graves. They had the right to stop any German motorcar on the highway, and that is the way that they came to the work, and that is the way they went back, without any escort. On Sundays they were free, and they were talking to the peasants, certainly without any presence of Germans. This talk with the peasants confirmed it.

Mr. FLOOD. Has any member of the Polish Red Cross at that time, or any member of the task force which filed that report, repudiated that report or its contents in any way since, that you know of?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Not up to now.

Mr. MITCHELL. I don't believe you answered my question as to where those documents in those nine cases are today.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. I was interrupted. Those documents were in these huge boxes, as I told you; and when the Russian Army approached Poland we, who maybe up to now believed that the Allies would stop the war before Russia had the heart of Europe—when we saw them approaching, we thought that the fate of the documents was in danger, and we—not “we,” but our man—there was no connection then between Warsaw and Krakow—our chief officer of the Red Cross in Krakow, who was a man of the Intelligence Service and a very capable man, decided to hide these documents in a lake. He succeeded in bringing copies of these boxes, boxes of the same dimensions, into the department where the original boxes were, but these boxes were filled with tin inside, with tin lids, and he had the intention to transport these documents from the original boxes into new ones, to seal hermetically the lid, to put some stones inside, and either by ruse or by force, which was very often done with the underground forces, enter this laboratory, which was surrounded by the SS barracks, and to bring these boxes to a lake. He was partly successful, because he had these new boxes in and he started to put the papers into the new boxes; and then, through the indiscretion of a physical worker, absolutely incidental, of this department, the Germans had knowledge of it. It was already near the end of the German domination of Poland. They sent a special detachment of SS soldiers, and made no punishment, no repression then. It was too late already for them. They just hurriedly took these boxes into a truck and, together with a doctor who was the chief of the medical-legal department from the German side, these two cars went west. This doctor broke his leg and came back to Krakow to a hospital. We only knew the detachment went west, but our officer knew that they were going ahead to Breslau. Of course, he couldn't move then.

When the Russian Army took Breslau and when the Russian Armies already had the whole of the Russian occupation zone in Germany, our man followed to Breslau and he found out that these German trucks came to Breslau, and the boxes were unloaded on the first floor of the Breslau University. The smell of the boxes was such that the whole floor was filled with the smell, and they were there until the moment when the Russians had already surrounded Breslau from three sides. The sick doctor was already there in Breslau, too, after the recovery of his leg.

Then, at the last moment, a detachment of SS came from the west, loaded these boxes, and disappeared westward with the doctor.

Our man made an inquiry through the union of doctors in Russian-occupied Germany whether this doctor was there, and he received the answer that the doctor was not to be found in the Russian-occupied zone, which can lead us to the conclusion that the Germans taking these documents westward didn't stop on the Elbe near the center of Germany, but probably hid it west into safety. These documents must be somewhere, if they are not destroyed, in the German occupation zone.

Chairman MADDEN. But nobody knows where the boxes are now?

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. We don't know where the boxes are now. There are three possibilities: They could have been dumped on the way; they could be found by the Allies; they could be in the hands of the Germans.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Skarzynski, I want to say that this committee has heard a great number of witnesses, and your testimony has been highly valuable. I speak in behalf of the committee when I say that the work and the sacrifice and the time that you spent in this Red Cross work and in your investigations have been a contribution that I know the future will treasure very highly.

In coming down here to spend this time before this committee you have made a major contribution to the cause of liberty. On behalf of the committee and on behalf of the United States Congress, I want to thank you.

Mr. SKARZYNSKI. Thank you very much, gentlemen. I considered it simply my duty.

Chairman MADDEN. We will have a 5-minute recess.

(Short recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. Let me make this announcement: The colonel has graciously consented to have the cameras, and before the hearings start the photographers can take their photographs. So, if there are any photographers here who desire to have photographs, they can take them now before the hearing starts.

(Off the record.)

Chairman MADDEN. The next witness is Colonel Szymanski. If you will stand up and be sworn, please. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearing now about to be held will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. Colonel, you can either sit down or stand up, whichever way is most convenient for you.

**TESTIMONY OF COL. HENRY I. SZYMANSKI, UNITED STATES ARMY,
ACCOMPANIED BY FRED KORTH, DEPUTY COUNSELOR, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY**

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, where were you born?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think you should identify Counselor Fred Korth, of the Army Department.

Mr. KORTH. It is on the record, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Fred Korth is here representing the Department of the Army.

Mr. KORTH. Right, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you state your full name, please, Colonel?

Chairman MADDEN. I might make this statement: that Colonel Szymanski is now in the military service, and Fred Korth is here representing the Department of the Army in company with the colonel.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you state your full name, Colonel?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Henry Szymanski, colonel, Infantry, United States Army.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is the date of your birth?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. July 4, 1898.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you born?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where did you go to grammar school?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Chicago.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you attend the Military Academy at West Point?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I am a graduate, class of 1919.

Mr. MITCHELL. How were you appointed to the Academy?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. By Congressman Gallagher of the Eighth District of Chicago.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where were you immediately assigned before the United States entered World War II?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Thirty-third Infantry Division, Camp Forrest, Tenn.

Mr. MITCHELL. Colonel, do you prefer to tell the committee your experiences during World War II straight through and then have cross-examination at a later moment, or how do you prefer to have it handled?

Chairman MADDEN. I might say, Colonel, that it is the practice of the committee to allow the witness to pursue the method which he thinks best to present his testimony. If you desire to make a general summary of your testimony, you may do so. If you desire to have the members of the committee interrupt you occasionally, we will follow that procedure.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I will give a narrative summary.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you proceed, Colonel?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. In January 1942 I received orders to report to Washington for orientation as an intelligence officer. I spent approximately a month and a half in Washington and left with orders as a military intelligence officer with assignment as assistant military attaché, Cairo, Egypt, specifically as the liaison officer to the Polish and Czechoslovakian forces in the Middle East. My verbal instructions were to join the Polish Army then being organized in Russia.

I was informed that I would get my visa when I got to Tehran. I arrived in Cairo about mid-April, reported to the military attaché, and proceeded immediately to make contact with the Poles.

I arrived there shortly after the first evacuation of the Poles out of Russia, so made my contact with the Poles, and joined whatever remnants there were of the Poles in Palestine, with headquarters in Rehovot. From then on I traveled considerably between Cairo, Palestine, and Iran, awaiting, shall we say, the second evacuation of the Poles which was anticipated daily, a large number at that.

In May 1942 I met General Anders, who then had just arrived from Russia, and received perhaps the first information on the Polish troops in Russia. It was then that I heard for the first time, among other things, about the size of the Polish Army, the hopes and also the disappearance of a large number of the armed forces, particularly officers and noncommissioned officers. I stayed in Iran a considerable length of time because the second evacuation was expected momentarily. During my stay there I acted in whatever capacity I could to extend American help to the Poles. I also performed such functions as interpreter for Americans who had arrived there. Among them was Mr. Willkie, who was on his way to Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean Wendell Willkie?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

General Scott of the American Army, several correspondents who came out of Moscow for a breather in Tehran. Then finally, I arrived at Pahlevi, which is on the Caspian Sea, where the Poles began arriving in large numbers from Krasnovodsk, which is slightly northeast from Pahlevi. It was then that I saw for the first time the miserable condition of the Poles arriving out of Russia. I stayed throughout the evacuation when some 80,000 arrived. Among them were quite a number of civilians, including children.

Then sometime in September I was called to Washington to make a report on my observations and was directed to proceed by way of London to tie in whatever information I could get. In London I talked with the British War Office, with General Eisenhower's headquarters, which was then formed, with officials of the Polish Government, that is, President Raczkiewicz, General Sikorski, then Premier of Poland, almost all the members of the general staff, also with President Beneš and his staff. I wish to remind you again that I was liaison officer with the Czechoslovakian Army as well as with the Polish Army.

I might say now that I never did get to Russia because I could not get a visa. Meanwhile I waited in Iran, and the Poles came to me instead of my going to the Poles. When I tied in all the information, I finally arrived in Washington sometime in the early part of November 1942, and made several reports to G-2. I spent the entire month of November because I had a good-sized field to cover.

When I finished I turned all the reports over to G-2, then left for the Middle East by way of England to again tie in the work I was doing and continued with my activities with the Poles in the Middle East, traveling considerably until we got to a point where the Poles were getting ready to be prepared for action.

They were then stationed in Iraq, not far from Mosul and Khanaqin. On one of my trips to Cairo, which was April 1943, I was called

in by General Brereton, who was then commanding general of the Middle East, and was shown a directive which came from Washington directing that I make an investigation of the Katyn affair.

I proceeded first to Palestine and then Iraq, and General Anders, commanding general of the Polish forces, made everything available to me of the documents and whatever personnel he had who had any information concerning the disappearance of the Polish officers and noncommissioned officers in Russia. Captain Czapski and Captain Mlynarski were of considerable help to me in getting together documents, testimony, and things of that nature. True copies were made of conversations held between high Government Polish officials and high Russian officials in Moscow concerning the disappearance of some 15,000 officers and noncommissioned officers. I submitted the report in May 1942 to G-2 in Washington.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Would it be possible to insert that report in the record at this time?

Mr. MITCHELL. Wait until we hear the whole story. We will come back to it.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. The troops were getting ready, and in January 1944 I joined the Poles in Italy in the combat theater. My intelligence activities of course ceased at that time.

Mr. MITCHELL. When?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. In January 1944.

In my last year overseas, 1945, I was with SHAEF as a sort of trouble-shooter on Eastern European problems, particularly, as it concerned the POW's and the refugees.

Mr. MITCHELL. Anything else?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I came home in December 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. I am sure that all of the members of the committee have a number of questions they want to ask this very important witness, and I will yield to them. I want to ask just one or two.

Who was USA G-2 during this period of time?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. General Strong, Major General Strong.

Mr. FLOOD. Major General what Strong? Do you know his first name?

Mr. KORTH. We don't have it, sir.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. We remember people by their last names in the service.

Mr. SHEEHAN. George V. Strong.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You told us that General Brereton, who was USA C. O. in the Middle East, called you in and told you or showed you——

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Showed me.

Mr. FLOOD. A written order?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. A cable.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you remember who signed the cable?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. It was signed by Marshall.

Mr. FLOOD. What Marshall?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. General Marshall, George Marshall.

Mr. FLOOD. What was his capacity at that time?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. He was Chief of Staff.

Mr. FLOOD. USA.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Of the United States Army.

Mr. O'KONSKI. George C. Marshall.

Mr. FLOOD. So your order to make an investigation and report on the Katyn incident was given to you by General Marshall, is that right, as far as you know?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. It was signed by him.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all for the time being.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Chairman, I think before any further questions are had, in order that we can all question the witness intelligently, I would suggest that probably the counsel should introduce the reports in evidence so that whatever further questions are asked we may have proper reference to them. I know Congressman O'Konski had that in mind, but I thought we would wait until he completed his statement.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SHEEHAN. In order to clarify where we stand on this report, I will read this:

If it is desired to publish these documents on an unclassified basis, a covering memorandum, enclosure No. 1, has been prepared detailing the deletions which will be necessary to protect individuals who are mentioned in this report. We would appreciate hearing from you if you decide to release the documents on this basis.

I also would like to put this letter in the record and read from it paragraph 2, a letter of March 10 from the Department of the Army. The second paragraph states:

The only criterion in the classification of any part of these documents is the protection of the life and safety of individuals behind the iron curtain subject to reprisals. The names of those individuals who have already testified or who are alive in the United States or the United Kingdom are now declassified. The names of individuals possibly subject to reprisals have been excised on the copies of the attached reports.

Mr. FLOOD. There is no reason we can't put it in.

Mr. SHEEHAN. The only thing secret about the report is the names they have not declassified.

Mr. KORTH. There is one further thing. There is a top-secret report—

Mr. FLOOD. We have all agreed that those two communications should go in at this point.

Mr. KORTH. No objection to that, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. In view of those communications, why can't the whole report go in?

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe I can explain that. The chairman and other members of the committee on the 7th of March had a meeting with the Department counselor and the assistant G-2 of the Army for the purpose of trying to ascertain what names would be permitted to remain in the report. At that time we made photostatic copies of these reports. On the two copies up there on the bench the names have been taken out and that is what I would like to put in the record. I have the original reports here.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me say this for the record. This committee doesn't need any advice from the Army as to how to protect the best interests of people behind the iron curtain. We have done that long before the Army thought about it. That is not going to help us a bit. What we want to know at this point is, Can we put that report in now with the names stricken out.

Mr. MITCHELL. You can.

Mr. SHEEHAN. And everything in the report.

Mr. FLOOD. All right; then put it in.

Mr. FURCOLO. Get it in from the colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I might say for clarification we had the meeting with Colonel Schmelzer. There were a number of names referred to in the report and we came to a satisfactory conclusion, I thought—am I correct?

Mr. KORTH. I am sure that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. With Colonel Schmelzer as to what names would remain in the report and what would be eliminated. I wanted to ask you now, has that been followed and does the report now contain the deletion of only those names which we agreed on?

Mr. KORTH. That is my understanding. Is that right? [To Mr. Mitchell:] You were at the meeting.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

Chairman MADDEN. I might say that it is the consensus of the committee where those deletions were made that the people who were deleted should be protected.

Mr. KORTH. Right, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. Without any further remarks, I don't see any objection to putting the report in the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to clarify this whole matter, Mr. Chairman.

At the time we had this declassification meeting it referred to reports that had been sent to the committee, and it itemized appendixes and attachments to a letter which I would now like to put in the record. I would like to read this for the record so there will be no confusion about it.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let me have that photostatic copy.

I would like the record to show, Mr. Chairman, that the original of Colonel Szymanski's reports has been turned over to the committee.

Chairman MADDEN. The record shows it.

Mr. MITCHELL. This is a letter dated May 29, 1943. The heading is "Legation of the United States of America, office of the military attaché, Cairo, Egypt."

In the right-hand corner are the initials "HIS/esj." The letter is directed to "Maj. Gen. George V. Strong, A. C. of S."—that is, Assistant Chief of Staff—"G-2, Military Intelligence Service, War Department, Washington, D. C."

DEAR GENERAL STRONG: Enclosed in this envelope is the material dealing with the "Katyn Affair." All of it was turned over to me by General Anders of the Polish Army. It includes the following:

APPENDICES

1. Account of Captain Czapski (original and translation).
2. Report by Captain Czapski of supposed statement of Beria of the famous N. W. K. D. and list of depositions (original and translation).
3. Summary of facts (original sent to General Strong).
4. Excerpts of conversations between General Sikorski, General Anders, and Joe Stalin and Molotov.
5. Exhibits A, B, C, D, and E, containing photostatic copies of original type-written copy of the original and translation of original depositions made by parties having knowledge of the officers in three prison camps.

6. Report on Polish prisoners of war in Russia.
7. Report on prison camps in Russia.
8. Report on conscription for Bolshevik army of Poles living in the occupied section of Poland.
9. Bulletin No. 3 in French put out by Communists and freely distributed in Cairo.

Second page, continuing:

No conclusion and no opinion is expressed by me.

The duplicate copy of this, less the photostatic and original copies, was put in the form of a report and sent through channels.

Delay in forwarding this material was due to, first, sand-fly fever, which caught me en route and, second, the translation for which extra help had to be gotten.

Respectfully,

HENRY I. SZYMANSKI,

Lieutenant Colonel, GSC, Assistant Military Attaché.

"Nine enclosures," in the left-hand corner.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that letter in our possession at the time we had our meeting with Colonel Schmelzer?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; this letter was.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And we made all the deletions that were agreed to at that time?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then is there any objection to whatever is in that file being made a part of the record today with the deletions agreed upon at our meeting with Colonel Schmelzer?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me get that straight. There is no objection to that entire report as it stands, with the deletions made, being offered in evidence. Am I correct?

Mr. KORTIL. You have a letter of authority right here, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to read the full letter of authority.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. In fact, I would like to read both letters we have received in connection with this referred to by Mr. Sheehan. Will you mark this exhibit 9?

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 9" and filed for the record.)

Mr. MITCHELL. This is a letter from the "Department of the Army, Washington, December 17, 1951. Office of the Department counselor." The letter is addressed to "Mr. John Mitchell, counsel, Select Committee To Investigate the Katyn Massacre, House Office Building."

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I am enclosing herewith five documents which are copies of appendixes of a report made in May 1943 by Col. Henry I. Szymanski when he was assistant military attaché in Cairo, Egypt.

You will note that these documents contain security information and are classified secret. They are released to the committee on this basis, and regulations require me to state that these documents contain information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws. Transmission or revelation of their contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

If it is desired to publish these documents on an unclassified basis, a covering memorandum (enclosure No. 1) has been prepared detailing the deletions which will be necessary to protect individuals who are mentioned in these reports. We would appreciate hearing from you if you desire to release the documents on this basis.

If we may be of further assistance, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

F. SHACKLEFORD.

EXHIBIT 9

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
Washington, December 17, 1951.

Mr. JOHN MITCHELL,
*Counsel, Select Committee to Investigate the Katyn Massacre,
House Office Building.*

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I am enclosing herewith five documents which are copies of appendixes of a report made in May 1943 by Col. Henry I. Szymanski, when he was assistant military attaché in Cairo, Egypt.

You will note that these documents contain security information and are classified secret. They are released to the committee on this basis, and regulations require me to state that these documents contain information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws. Transmission or revelation of their contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

If it is desired to publish these documents on an unclassified basis, a covering memorandum (enclosure No. 1) has been prepared detailing the deletions which will be necessary to protect individuals who are mentioned in these reports. We would appreciate hearing from you if you decide to release the documents on this basis.

If we may be of further assistance, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

F. SHACKELFORD,
Department Counselor.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the letter we had prior to our meeting.

Mr. MITCHELL (reading):

Six enclosures, one covering memorandum, 2 to 6 appendixes to Colonel Szymanski's report.

While the Congress was in recess I received this information which contained four appendixes. There were nine total appendixes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is Colonel Schmelzer's appendix in there? Is it in that list?

Mr. MITCHELL. No. For the record I am trying to make a chronological transaction out of this.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is the significance? We have already complied with that. We have notified them we want this declassified. We met with them. We made the deletions.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is the next step which I want to put in the record.

The next step is that the chairman of the committee instructed me to contact the War Department and to arrange a meeting with the officials in keeping with their suggestion in the letter I have just read. We had that meeting and the members of the committee were present and the committee was sent all the appendixes, and reviewed it, and this letter I would now like to put on the record.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was subsequent to our meeting?

Mr. MITCHELL. Subsequent to our meeting. The letter is dated March 10. (Reading:)

March 10, 1952, Department of the Army, Washington, Office of the Department Counselor.

The letter is addressed to—

The Honorable RAY J. MADDEN, *Chairman, House Select Committee To Investigate the Katyn Massacre, House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. MADDEN: In accordance with the verbal understanding between the House Select Committee to Investigate the Katyn Massacre and Colonel Schmelzer, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, on the afternoon of March 7, 1942,

Col. Henry I. Szymanski's report and appendixes have been reviewed in conjunction with Colonel Szymanski with the object of completely declassifying the documents for release to the newspapers.

The only criterion in the classification of any part of these documents is the protection of the life and safety of individuals behind the iron curtain subject to reprisals. The names of those individuals who have already testified or who are alive in the United States or the United Kingdom are now declassified. The names of individuals possibly subject to reprisals have been excised on the copies of the attached documents. The two copies of the report and all appendixes are transmitted herewith in a declassified form ready for transmittal to the newspapers.

Sincerely yours,

F. SHACKELFORD,
Department Counselor.

One enclosure, two copies of report and appendixes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I still do not know what the exception is. Now they are available for the record, are they not?

Mr. KORTH. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is all this about?

Mr. KORTH. All appendixes are now available.

Mr. FURCOLO. Let me ask you this question: As I understand it, Mr. Mitchell, whatever you are introducing there is no objection to from anybody. Is that right, Mr. Korth?

Mr. KORTH. That is right.

Mr. FURCOLO. And you represent the Department?

Mr. KORTH. That is right.

Chairman MADDEN. I think Mr. Mitchell was just trying to form the record on this.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is that a compilation of all the reports we have?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is no objection to these two. Let's get them in the record.

Mr. KORTH. There is no objection.

Chairman MADDEN. Are they identified?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I wonder how the deletion of this top identification of where the letter comes from has anything to do with protecting somebody behind the iron curtain.

Mr. KORTH. It probably stated "secret" up there. That was the classification. It was cut out. Therefore, it is not classified.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I accept your explanation.

Mr. MITCHELL. Here it is.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can we get those in evidence?

Mr. MITCHELL. They will be in evidence as exhibit 10.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You said you had some more.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Counsel, are there any more to go in evidence?

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe you should have a statement from the representative of the War Department Counsel's office.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before we have that statement let's proceed orderly now. Is there any objection to these being offered in evidence?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let's get them identified and put in the record. There are two reports, are there not?

Mr. MITCHELL. Two photostatic copies.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are they both photostatic copies of the same report?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, plus the original.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me see them a minute. What is the next number of your exhibits? Mark that as "Exhibit No. 10."

(Documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 10" and filed for the record.)

Mr. FLOOD. I have been handed by counsel for the committee what is marked as "Exhibit 10." I now show this to the witness, Colonel Szymanski, and ask him if this is a proper photostatic copy of the reports we have been discussing, just "yes" or "no." Take a look at them.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Now they are offered in evidence.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 10" and later changed to "Exhibit 10A" and will be found on p. 426.)

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, my question is going to be along the line of some of the things in the reports and you may keep them in front of you and refer to them as the questioning goes along.

No. 1, is your letter of April 30, 1943, to Major General Strong. Would you be kind enough to read that for the committee here.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. April 30?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Your covering letter.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is May 29.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You wrote a letter on April 30, 1943, from Cairo, Egypt. May I read the letter and you try to identify it. It was the covering letter for appendix III which is included in this group of reports:

"The enclosed memorandum contains too much dynamite to be forwarded through regular channels, so it is being sent directly to you."

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I remember it, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I assume it is part of those records there some place.

Mr. MITCHELL. I will see if it is in there.

Mr. SHEEHAN. The Army sent a flock of other records.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is why I suggested you get them all in the record so when any questions are asked we know what we are referring to.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I assume the general statement, Mr. Chairman, included everything that the Army had sent.

Mr. KORTH. It has not.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is why I wanted to clear it up.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is what I wanted clear and we have just a part of the record in evidence. Let's understand why a certain portion is not in evidence, so then we will know where we are.

Mr. MITCHELL. I will correct the record, please. It is appendix No. 3.

Mr. FURCOLO. May I give you exhibit No. 10. As I understand it, that is introduced in evidence, and I assume if any questions are going to be asked at this point they are going to be about exhibit No. 10.

Mr. KORTH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I would imagine so. We will get to something else when we get to it.

Mr. FURCOLO. This letter is not in there.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, it is in appendix No. 3.

Chairman MADDEN. Is that included in the exhibit?

Mr. KORTH. That is my understanding, sir. It is here in the original.

Mr. SHEEHAN. He has it in the original there. I have read that into the record, Colonel, for the purpose of making it plain that you yourself recognized the minute you were investigating the Katyn affair that it had quite a great bit of dynamite in it, as you so aptly expressed it.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. For the record, from your letter, under date of May 29, your letter to General Strong, would you be kind enough to read the last paragraph, starting off with "A duplicate copy of this"?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to have counsel show me where in these exhibits these letters appear. I have been trying to point out patiently that we have not yet all the records.

Mr. SHEEHAN. It is in there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to have it in the record that it has been introduced.

Mr. MITCHELL. It is marked "Appendix No. 3."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have introduced something entirely different.

Mr. FURCOLO. You have over there what has been introduced.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me have it again, Mr. O'Konski. In these exhibits you have offered in evidence——

Mr. KORTH. It is not in there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL. That one particular letter is not in there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then it is not. You said it was.

Mr. MITCHELL. It is referred to here, summary of facts.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let us get it in the record.

Mr. FLOOD. Let's do it this way.

Mr. MITCHELL. It has been put in.

Mr. FLOOD. We understand it. Let me have exhibit 10. Is this it? Exhibit 10 has been offered in the record. I am advised that exhibit 10 does not contain a letter that the gentleman from Illinois wishes to question about; is that correct?

Mr. KORTH. That is right, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Let's get the letter that the gentleman from Illinois wishes to refer to and we will attach it as part (A) to exhibit 10. Is there any objection to that from anybody?

Mr. KORTH. The only thing I can say is that it was not approved at that conference, apparently.

Mr. FLOOD. Is there any reason why it cannot be approved at this conference?

Mr. MITCHELL. That letter was present at the conference.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Counsel, I think Congressman Dondero, Congressman Madden, and myself, and you were there, and I want to say the letter was there.

Mr. FLOOD. All right.

Mr. KORTH. I mean there was no objection to it, I understand, at that time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No objection as far as I know.

Mr. FLOOD. There is no objection. Now will you take that letter, mark it as "Exhibit 10 (A)," either that letter or copy of it.

Mr. O'KONSKL To get it chronologically it should precede the exhibit.

Mr. FLOOD. This is ready for introduction. I want this letter marked as "Exhibit 10," and I want the documents submitted heretofore marked as "Exhibit 10 (a)" for chronological reasons to comply with the request of the gentleman from Illinois.

(The letter of April 30, 1943, was marked "Exhibit No. 10," and the reports, previously marked and received in evidence as Exhibit No. 10 were re-marked "Exhibit 10 (a).")

EXHIBIT 10

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHÉ,
Cairo, Egypt, April 30, 1943.

Maj. Gen. GEORGE V. STRONG,
G-2, War Department, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL STRONG: The enclosed memorandum contains too much dynamite to be forwarded through regular channels, so it is being sent directly to you. This will be followed by a detailed statement including conversations on this subject with Stalin, Berea, and Vyszynski. It is being prepared for me and will be sent you directly within two weeks.

Respectfully,

HENRY I. SZYMANSKI,
Lt. Colonel, GSC,
Assistant Military Attaché.

EXHIBIT 10A

HIS/esj

MAY 29, 1943.

Major General GEORGE V. STRONG,
A. C. of S., G-2,
Military Intelligence Service, War Department, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL STRONG: Inclosed in this envelope is the material dealing with the "Katyn Affair". All of it was turned over to me by General Anders of the Polish Army. It includes the following:

APPENDICES

1. Account of Captain Czapski (original and translation).
2. Report by Captain Czapski of supposed statement of Beria of the famous N. K. W. D. and list of depositions (original and translation).
3. "Summary of Facts"—original sent to Gen. Strong.
4. Excerpts of conversations between General Sikorski, General Anders, and Joe Stalin and Molotov.
5. Exhibits A, B, C, D and E containing photostatic copies of original, type-written copy of original and translation of original depositions made by parties having knowledge of the officers in the three prison camps.
6. Report on Polish prisoners of war in Russia.
7. Report on prison camps in Russia.
8. Report on conscription for Bolshevik Army of Poles living in the occupied section of Poland.
9. Bulletin No. 3 in French put out by Communists and freely distributed in Cairo.

No conclusion and no opinion is expressed by me.

The duplicate copy of this less the photostatic and original copies was put in form of a report and sent through channels.

Delay in forwarding this material was due to, first, sand fly fever which caught me en route and, second, the translation for which extra help had to be gotten.

Respectfully,

HENRY I. SZYMANSKI,
Lt. Colonel, G. S. C.,
Ass't. Military Attaché.

APPENDIX I

KATIN AFFAIR

Captain Joseph CZAPSKI of the Polish Army was detailed by General ANDERS immediately after the signing of the Polish-Russian Agreement to conduct a search for hundreds of Polish officers known to have been in the three prison camps mentioned in attached report and from one of which he personally was released. His account of the search is substantially as related to me by other officers who from time to time aided in the search.

HIS

CAPTAIN CZAPSKI

I am one of the group numbering from 70 to 80 people who were in the Starobielsk camp and have been found. Since October 1940 till April 1941 I have continually been searching for my missing colleagues. I know this matter thoroughly and I could say about it all that we are aware of, I must state though that the question is still obscure.

Said problem has been given publicity to by the German wireless and then by Reuters. These informations concern the murdering of Polish officers in the Smolensk area. Three camps come into question and namely: Starobielsk, Kozielsk and Ostaszkowo. We on our part have no precise informations, we base ourselves on particulars gathered by us.

When in September and October 1939 a part of the Polish troops fell into Soviet captivity, Officers and a certain number of Privates, but Officers in the main had been placed in three camps: at Starobielsk, at Kozielsk and at Ostaszkowo as well as in a number of camps located throughout the entire territory of Russia. The total number of those placed in the three above quoted camps amounted to 15-16 thousand—in this 8,600-8,900 Officers. Out of this group only 400 persons in all have been found, of the remaining prisoners every trace had vanished since May 1940. I want to observe here that, when speaking of the Starobielsk, Kozielsk and Ostaszkowo camps and of my colleagues placed there, I intend those prisoners who had been sojourning there until May 1940. At that time these camps underwent a complete reorganization and Starobielsk was changed into a prison where Polish political prisoners were detained and to Kozielsk had been brought the officers interned up to then in Lithuania. From the latter group almost all have been found and are now in the ranks of the Polish Army. Those of the interned in the above three camps until May 1940, and who have been found, belong to the group of officers and soldiers arrested during their sojourn in the camp at the aim of bringing an action against them, as well as to the small group transferred to the Gryszowiec camp on the Vologda river.

Who was in those camps?

We tried to obtain the full list of the names on the base of our own notes and remembrances. We have compiled lists out of memory and possess files containing over 10,000 names. We had 12 generals. Out of this number only two came back. 300 colonels and Lt. Colonels, 5 thousand lieutenants and 2nd lieutenant. 2,500 captains are missing. In the Starobielsk camp alone there was a group of 600 pilots and in all the three above mentioned camps there was a total of 800 physicians of which 3 percent Jews. Half of the Officers were professionals, the remaining were Reserve Officers. I can affirm here in all certitude that it was the flower of the Polish "Intelligentsia." There was there a group of about ninety University Professors. I may quote here for instance that 80% of the members of the Armament Institute have disappeared, as well as 80% of the graduated of the Warsaw Polytechnic High School, working in the armament branch. The whole staff of the Gas Institute with at their head Major Brzozowski are missing. Among the missing are among others such eminent scientists as: Prof. Plenkowski, Dr. Stefanowski, Prof. Zielinski, Nelken, Wroczyński (formerly Minister), Prof. Godlewski a distinguished scientist, investigator of the brain, successor of Prof. Rose. Neither have made return many famous specialists of the technical area, among these: engineer Antoni Eiger who was also vice-chairman of the Antihitlerite Association in Poland, Lecturer Prof. Tucholski, in the camps also there were two editors of "Nasz Przegląd" (Jewish paper in Polish language) who made an application requesting the right of "asylum" and they never reappeared. In Starobielsk there were among others the chief Rabbi of the Polish Army—Mjr. Stajenberg, the Reverend Aleksandrowicz and a great number of eminent physicians. Among

others did not make return Dr. Dadej head manager of the sanatorium for the poorest children at Zakopane, the distinguished scientist Dr. Nitera, laureate of Rockefeller's fund, Dr. Skwarczynski, Prof. Pitrowski from the Academy of Science, Prof. Ralski, Piwowar—poet from Cracow and many others.

When after the catastrophe we found ourselves wrecked in the camps, I intend speaking chiefly of the states of mind at Starobielsk, when thousands of us were crushed within the narrow limits of the camp, a great deal of strength of character and of courage was needed not to succumb, not to break down, not to lose faith. And it was just owing to the above-mentioned men who had shown so great a strength of character and of courage that the camp did not lose its moral aspect. They were continually working at the maintaining of all the moral values. I was looking at them with genuine admiration. They were among the most noble—the noblest. They represented all what is most beautiful and sublime in the Polish Nation. And just no one from these people—our educators and intercessors has returned. I should mention here Major Soltan, head of General Anders' Staff in September 1939, who had a splendid heroic record during the fight, Lieutenant Checinski, a fanatic Federalist who was dreaming about a new and beautiful Poland, Rabbi Stejnberg, Reverend Aleksandrowicz who were giving a fine example of religious tolerance and moral assistance to all the internees. These together with Pastor Potocki had been deported for the first and according to rumors that had reached us they were kept apart in a tower at Kozielsk.

On the 5th and 6th April 1940 simultaneously in all the camps one was proceeding with our deportation. We were taken away in small groups. The Soviet authorities were purposely spreading false informations to lead us into error and keep us in a complete ignorance as to our future fate. And so we were told to have been ceded to France where we would be sent through Roumania and Greece. Half of us believed these informations. From many members of the NKWD it was heard that we were going to Poland. The inducing us into error was of such consequence to the Soviet authorities that we were finding when walking about leaflets with a would be course of journey written on them. We were waked at night and examined about our knowledge of the Hungarian or Roumanian language. We were explaining to ourselves all these moves as facts indicating that we would be really transferred abroad and that the Soviet authorities were in need of interpreters.

I was one of the last deported from Starobielsk. When speaking of brutality one can state that the treatment experienced by us during the transporting action was the most monstrous and most abject. We were, of course, driven in prison cars. We were landed in the same brutal way somewhere near Smolensk. In those environs were brought all from the above-mentioned camps. Several weeks after 400 persons were deported among these 200 officers to Griszowiec by Wologda. During our journey we found on the ceilings of the railway carriages inscriptions made by our colleagues previously deported: "We have been landed near Smolensk, three stations to the west of the town."

Out of 15,000 people, only those taken to Griszowiec and some other ninety persons have remained in life, the latter had been detained in prison in isolated cells and had been submitted to investigation. Those of us who found themselves at Griszowiec were convinced that our colleagues were placed in similar small camps in different parts of Russia. We had the right once a month to correspond with our families. We were getting news from Poland and were surprised that every one of us was receiving at least 10 questions about what had happened with our colleagues with whom we had previously been in the three above-mentioned camps.

The Polish-Soviet agreement was signed in July and at the end of August the formation of a Polish Army was already in course. We were sent to the whereabouts of Kujbyshev, Tock, and other centres and since the first moment we began to investigate about the fate of our comrades.

General Anders, immediately on his release from prison, started researchers of his collaborators and, above all, of Mjr. Soltan. We thought that the fact that our colleagues were still missing was caused by their deportation into some remote place. We were thinking of them with the utmost optimism and were expecting their return from day to day.

At that time, by order of General Anders, I was investigating in the matter of our missing colleagues. All the privates and officers arriving to the camp were very scrupulously examined by me about the names of our men who still remained in the camps or prisons. Every one of the newcomers was quoting at least 10 names requesting they would be reclaimed. I had myself examined

several thousand persons and I received no concrete news about the missing comrades, all these pieces of news were unclear informations, got from second- or even third-hand. Thus we were told that a group of prisoners was deported to mine works on Francis Joseph Land, that 630 persons had been sent to Kalym, others to the Far North by Norysk at the outlet of the river Jenisej.

Our scanty informations and a number of particulars gathered in the army were sent by us to the Polish Embassy in Kujbyshev.

In October and November 1941 Ambassador Kot had interfered in this matter directly by Stalin. He had with him the material gathered by us and asked Stalin what was happening with these people.

Stalin was indignant or pretended to be so and in Mr. Kot's presence rang up the NKWD, declaring that the "Amnesty" was concerning everybody and that all or these people should be sent to the Polish Army. In December 1941 arrived the C. in C. General Sikorski to whom we handed the lists containing 5 thousand names. Said material was taken by General Anders who accompanied Gen. Sikorski in his travel to Moscow. Both Generals interfered with Stalin in the matter of the missing officers. General Anders laid down on the table before Stalin a bundle of documents and materials. Stalin's attitude was different than the one adopted before Ambassador Kot. He answered: "What can I know what became of 5 thousand men? Maybe they ran away to Manchuria."

To this General Anders replied that he was too well acquainted with the methods of working of the NKWD to be able to suppose that such a considerable number of people could have disappeared somewhere without they knowing it.

Stalin smiled at this.

The Polish Generals declared further that they could suppose that those people were doing some pressing work in the Far North and that the chiefs of the camps did not want to release them and were detaining them on their own responsibility. Stalin then declared that such a thing is inadmissible saying textually that "such chiefs would be broken down by us" ("takich naczelnikow my budiem ich lamat").

General Anders returned to the army in an optimistic state of mind. December 1941 was over and no one of the missing had been found. I learned that the central board of the camps, the so-called "Ludag" was in Oskalo. Such being the case I went there. It was in the period, let me use the expression—of the "honey-moon" of the Polish Soviet pact. I had with me very energetic letters referring to Stalin's declaration and I addressed myself to General Masietnik, Chief of the "Ludag," requesting him to let me look through the lists of the persons sojourning in the camps. But the only result of my visit was the looking at a big map in Nasietkin's studio with the camps marked on it and disseminated throughout the entire territory of Russia. The camps were grouped in the main on the Kola Peninsula in Kalym and in the Wierchoiansk district.

On my return from Oskalo one of the Soviet Liaison Officers, a Colonel, addressed General Anders with the observation that we could not communicate ourselves with the single Soviet Authorities but that this should be done only through the intermediary of the central office. General Anders answered that he quite agreed with him and that he was sending me to Moscow to the Central Authorities.

I was given letters written in a very categorical tone and was hoping to succeed in getting in touch with Beria and other high representatives of the NKWD as Kierkulov and Fiedotov. I think that had I arrived with such letters to London I would have been received by the Prime Minister Churchill himself. In Moscow I had waited for ten days and was at last called in the middle of the night to General Rajchman occupying the fourth place in the NKWD hierarchy. I presented to him the description of the whole course of the events and with the detailed lists. Rajchman read carefully the text presented by me, passing through every page with a pencil in his hand.

In completion of the memorial I quoted also a number of unconfirmed reports about the fate of our colleagues and concluding I declared that we had been thoroughly examined, every one of us had his own file containing all the materials and photographs. In such a state of things nobody could suppose that the place of residence of 15,000 prisoners of war, in this number 8,000 officers, could not be known to the Soviet authorities.

I then added that Stalin's promises and then his categorical order to release all our comrades wherever they were and for the case they would have disappeared to report in what conditions and where, should be carried into execution.

In face of these activities of ours, of the conversations of Ambassador Kot and General Anders, of various memorials, the assertion contained in the Soviet declaration that the Polish Government did not deem it proper to address directly the Soviet Government—must seem at least surprising.

And what then were we doing the whole time: we Poles in Russia and in London? Uninterruptedly by all possible means we endeavoured to get any sort of informations. Minister Raczynski had addressed a number of notes, he called twice on the Soviet Ambassador in London—the answer was either silence or very unclear promises never followed by any sort of action.

General Rajchmann's attitude during my conversation with him was very characteristic. He had taken an active part in all the more important investigations. He was entrusted by the NKWD with the files of the Polish officers and whilst speaking with me he declared that he was not at all acquainted with the matter, that it was not his branch but—at the aim of obliging General Anders he would try to give me some explanations. He promised to receive me the next day in order to settle the matter. Ten days passed on. I was waked at 1 o'clock of the night and General Rajchman told me by phone that he was very sorry not to be able to receive me as he was bound to leave the town on the next day and all the materials in this business have been sent to Comrade Wyszynski to Kujbyshev from whom I could get all the details I wanted. I answered to General Rajchman that I would get no news from Wyszynski as I was aware of the fact that Ambassador Kot had interfered eight times by the latter and had got no information whatever. After this conversation with Rajchman we had absolutely no other news. Our further researches were simply gestures of despair. Ambassador Kot and our conversations with different people and among others with some personalities of the NKWD to whom we addressed ourselves inquiring about the fate of the missing officers stating that they were our friends, or relations gave no result whatever. Privately we were told—keep quiet now. July and August will come and they will make their appearance. It kept alive our hopes that they were sojourning somewhere on islands of the Far North. I want to state here that we had two informations which caused our anxiety. Still before the outbreak of the Soviet-German war Merkalov had had a conversation with a group of senior Polish Officers, to whom he proposed the organisation of a Polish Army in Russia. One of the Polish Officers asked Beria whether all the Polish Officers would be able to enter this army. Beria declared to this that of course yes and that no political differences would play a part in it. The Polish Officer said then that in that case everything was in order as we would have splendid cadres with the enlistment of the officers from Starobelsk, Kozielsk, and Ostaszkowo. To this Merkalov observed: "Oh, those no, we have made a great blunder with them" (my z niemi zdielali bolshaju oshibku).

The second information is the report of a woman who in June 1940 had been deported to Komi (URSS) when sitting on the deck of the barge hauled by a ship she burst into tears. A young man from the barge staff asked her the reason of her tears. She replied that she was crying over her fate and the fate of her husband, a captain of whom she had no news at all. To this the marine said that she would never see her husband any more as just in that spot 7 thousand Polish officers transported on two large barges had been drowned. At a certain moment the hauling ships detached the barges, which were pierced, the Soviet staff passed on board of the ships, and the barges were sunk. To the question of the Polish woman whether anybody had been saved she was answered that nobody at all. An elderly man also from the staff of the barge confirmed the narrative of his younger comrade and he cried together with the woman.

This had been during all these years a bleeding wound for us. If the Germans have now given publicity to this matter I want to underline that they are the last nation who has the right of talking about the matter using it for propaganda aims. The Germans have slaughtered thousands and thousands of the Polish Intelligentsia, they have imprisoned Jews in ghettos where they systematically murder them—they have no right to use the above facts to their own advantage and pretend to be affected by them.

But the Polish Nation has shown the maximum of cold blood when during two years it observed silence and did not speak of the matter outside. We were doing this in the name of the allied interests, in the name of solidarity and of the

common struggle against Germany. But once these facts have been given world publicity I should like that the press would be informed not of legends, but of figures, of people who were in those camps, of facts based on data collected by their comrades of misery and who even had been in the administration of said camps.

I believe that the discovery of the graves by Smolensk, the identification of the remains of Generals Smorawinski and Bohaterowicz, of Engineer Eiger and of a number of others is but a fragment of this tragedy.

Whether the 15 thousand officers and soldiers have been murdered really—I cannot answer to it now.

The fact is, that the flower of the Polish Intelligentsia, of young people, of scientists, were sojourning in these camps. And since two years we not only get no news about them but even not once their appeal for help has reached us.

The figure of 15,000 includes only three camps. According to the "Red Star" from October 1940 over 180,000 people were imprisoned. We do not know how many are there the graves by Smolensk. The version of the drowning of officers and soldiers in the White Sea does not contest in the least the news of the slaughter by Smolensk, it only confirms that decision to liquidate the most resistant element the most difficult to subordinate. The decision was taken in a period when the Soviet similarly to Germany were certain that Poland would never rise again. The decision of murder had been taken in cold reflection, by the desk and is not the result of a revolutionary movement of indignation of the masses as it had been in Russia in 1917.

APPENDIX II

Report by Captain CZAPSKI of supposed statement made by Beria of the N. K. W. D. concerning the fate of the officers in the "Katyn Affair."

HIS

The informations possessed up to now about the fate of Polish Officers from the War Prisoners' Camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszkowo; are very scarce and fragmentary, they are based on the narratives heard from Russian citizens.

Said informations can be divided into several groups—fragments. To those most positive, on account of the circumstances in which it was given and the source from which it came, belongs the enunciation of the National Commissary for Home Affairs (N. K. W. D.) BERIA, expressed in October 1940 at the Lubianka prison in Moscow in the presence of the following Polish Officers: Colonel Eustachy GORCZYNSKI, ex Lt. Col. Leon BUKOJEMSKI and ex Lt. Col. Zygmunt BERLING.

According to the written declarations, in our possession, of Col. GORCZYNSKI and ex Lt. Col. BUKOJEMSKI—BERIA, when asked about the fate of the Polish Officers prisoners of war expressed himself as follows: "My zdiełali bałshuul Oshibku"—we made a great blunder. This opinion Beria's had been corroborated by the National Commissary of Public Security (Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnost) Merkulow. Out of Beria's further words stating that the above officers "were no more there"¹ it resulted that something had happened with the Officers interned in Kozielsk, Ostaszkowo, and Starobielsk—even before October 1940.

Further informations confirm the initial supposition based on the words of Beria and Merkulow—viz, that something tragical must have happened with the Polish Officers.

In September 1941 on the arrival to the Polish Army of a group of Polish internees from the Kola peninsula, who had been handed down to the Russians by Lithuanians and Letts and had been initially placed by the Soviet authorities to the camp of Juchnowo (Smolensk District), pertinacious rumours were circulating among that soldiers, rumours concerning a tragedy happened with Polish prisoners of war on the northern waters. At that time none of the soldiers ever supposed that the missing officers would not reappear in the ranks of the Polish Army.

Said rumours could not be put into the shape of documentary statements, the informations being of too general a character and the access to their source being rendered impossible to the parties concerned. Besides, no special importance was attributed to those rumours (it was immediately after the pro-

¹ Declaration of Col. Gorczynski.

mulgation of the so-called "amnesty"), reckoning that at any moment the expected thousands of officers would arrive from the camps. Still none of the officers from Starobielsk, from Ostaszkowo, nor from Kozielsk had ever appeared. This moment of expectation based on the faith in the good will of the respective U. R. S. S. factors had been the cause of the forfeiture of many informations which eventually could have been obtained at the time by means of researches.

Information obtained later on follow two clues:

(1) The declarations in our possession of: G—— K—— and of the n. c. o. W—— Antoni seems to hint at the possibility of there being a grain of truth in the rumours that were circulating among the Polish prisoners of war from the Kola peninsula.

The n. c. o. W—— transferred in June, ev. in July 1940 to a camp in the town of Griszowiec, when inquiring on the fate of his comrades from Ostaszkow where he had been previously detained, heard personally from the sentry that the prisoners of the Ostaszkowo camp had been drowned. According to the declaration of the n. c. o. W—— some of the sentries gave to other Polish soldiers the same informations about the drowning of the Polish Prisoners of War.

K—— G——, whilst travelling through the White Sea in a barge in June 1941, burst into tears thinking of her fate and of the fate of her missing husband, and was asked by one of the soldiers escorting the transport about the reason of her tears. On explaining the cause of her grief she heard from her interlocutor that the Polish Officers are no more there, with a jeering explanation that they had been drowned exactly there in the White Sea.

The soldier explained further that he was escorting the transport of about 7,000 Polish officers and policemen placed in two barges, which had been detached from the hauling ship and were sunk. An old Russian, belonging to the staff of the barge, who had listened to the conversation between —— and the soldier, after the latter had withdrawn, confirmed the truth of this news, he expressed to the woman his sympathy and burst himself into tears relating that he had been witness to the scene of drowning of the Polish Officers and policemen. The barges carrying the prisoners of war had been punched through whilst the staff passed on board of the hauling ship and so all the prisoners were drowned.

During her sojourn in the Starobielsk prison G—— had seen in December 1940 in the prison vapour-bath a note written on the wall by her husband and signed by him in which he was stating that he was in the Starobielsk prison and was starting for an "Unknown Land".

(2) *Deposition of K—— B——.*—This deposition is very characteristic in connection with the news of the discovery of the remains of Polish Officers made by the Germans at Katyn, near Smolensk.

B—— since November 1940 was being detained in a camp of compulsory labour the so-called "Kargopolskije Lagiera"—Arkhangelsk district. From a superior n.c.o. (1st Sergeant) who was sojourning in the camp as condemned for speculation, and was named Iwanow of Ukrainian origin, B—— heard personally that the said Iwanow had himself taken part in the execution of several thousand Polish Officers ("wyzszyj komandujuszczj sostaw") which took place near Smolensk. One had fired from tanks at the group of Polish Officers and all were then buried in a common grave.

The latest information in our possession up to now comes from the wife of a Captain of the Polish Army—W—— P—— and concerns the slaughter of a certain number of Polish Officers in the Starobielsk Camp.

On March 26th 1942 P——, whilst travelling by train from Djalal Abad to Krasnowodsk, made the acquaintance of a Russian aged about 70, who in the night when they were alone in the passage, confided to her that he was from Starobielsk and stated that in Starobielsk in May-June 1940 a mass execution of Polish Officers had taken place. He got this information from his daughter who at that time was working in the office of the Camp Authorities N.K.W.D. at Starobielsk, and he himself had seen with his own eyes the remains of a Polish Officer Col. Kwiecinski lying on the barbed wire. The daughter of the old man was collecting particulars connected with the execution and deportation of Polish Officers and passed some of these details to her father. The Russian remembered several names of the executed and handed them over to —— . The names are reading as follows:

- (1) Col. KWIECINSKI
- (2) KULAKOWSKI
- (3) JANCZUROWICZ-CZAPLIC
- (4) SZYMANSKI
- (5) SNIEZYNSKI
- (6) FRANKOWSKI, Eugeniusz, son of Adolph
- (7) Col. MOLODINOWSKI
- (8) LUCINSKI
- (9) MYSZAKOWSKI
- (10) LISOWSKI vel LESOWSKI
- (11) PIETKIEWICZ
- (12) MAJEWSKI, Bronislaw, son of Stanislaw
- (13) CZERNIOW, Aleksander
- (14) WIETLEC
- (15) TURCZYNSKI, Bronislaw
- (16) MALANOWSKI
- (17) DABROWSKI
- (18) KAMIENIECKI
- (19) DOMANSKI
- (20) STANKIEWICZ

APPENDIX III

"Summary of Facts" was prepared by Captain MLYNARSKI and Captain CZAPSKI of the Polish Army, two of some 80 officers released by the Russians from Starobielsk prison camp. Both officers are known to me personally.

HIS

SUMMARY OF FACTS

By a Polish Officer, ex-prisoner of war in U. S. S. R.

GENERAL RECOLLECTION

On Sept. 17th, 1939, the Soviet troops crossed the Polish-Soviet border on its whole length. Orders were given in all Polish units not to fire a shot and to display no resistance, inasmuch as the Red Army enters Poland with the only aim to fight against the Germans together with the Polish People. It happened otherwise. The Soviet troops started immediately to capture and disarm the Polish soldiers and drive them hurriedly across the Soviet frontier. Enormous streams of officers and men were forced to march scores of miles to reach distant railway junctions in U. S. S. R., from where they were dispersed in smaller batches eastwards and northwards.

P. O. W. CAMPS

During the early period all officers and men were gathered together in several transit camps, but later the majority of officers as well as a considerable number of NCO's were excluded out of the total lot and concentrated in three camps, namely:

Starobielsk, near Voroshilovgrad, Donbass district;

Kozielek, near Smolensk;

Ostaszkov, near Kalinin.

These were called Polish prisoner-of-war camps.

THE BULK OF THE POLISH ARMY

The bulk of the Polish Army captured in September 1939, amounting to 200,000 men were not considered as POW's, but treated as ordinary criminals—"enemy of the people," thus confined to compulsory labor camps, penal servitude and alike, scattered over the vast Soviet Land—from the Archangel area up to the Alaska border.

THE THREE POW CAMPS

The only POW camps were the three mentioned above. That was in October 1939 and lasted until April 5th, 1940. The strength of these camps on that crucial date was approximately :

	Generals	Colonels, lieutenant colonels	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants, 2d lieutenants	Total officers	Miscellaneous: Civilians, civil servants, priests, cadets, NCO's	NCO's only	Total
Starobielsk	12	300	600	2,100	5,300	3,800	120		3,920
Kozieleck						4,500	500		5,000
Ostaszkov						390		6,180	6,570
Total						8,690	620	6,180	15,490
Less the survivors at camp Giazovietz explained below						290		160	360
Total "missing"						8,490	620	6,020	15,130

The names of the 12 Generals missing: Stanislaw HALLER, SKIERSKI, LUKOWSKI, SIKORSKI Fr., BILLEWICZ, PLISOWSKI, KOWALEWSKI, SKORATOWICZ, SMORAWINSKI, MINKIEWICZ, BOHATYREWICZ, and CZEERNICKI, Rear-Admiral.

DISBAND

On April 5, 1940, the Soviet Commandants of the 3 camps respectively announced the winding up of the camps. It was explained that all POW's will be dispatched daily in groups of 100-200 men and sent "home." The meaning of this word was unintelligible and spiteful. Those being sent to German-occupied territory would be obviously preys of the enemy, those, however, sent to Poland occupied by the Red Army, once "free" would find themselves facing a similar danger. Father and son in few cases were separated to leave on different days, same occurred to many brothers, close akin and friends. Our entreaties were replied: "Lists once formed cannot be changed, but don't worry, you will all meet soon." Still, the overwhelming desire to leave these grim camps was so great, that all parties being deported each day to an unknown destination were heartily and almost merrily bade farewell by those who yet remained. This process began on April 5, 1940, precisely timed in all 3 camps, and continued until May 12th, 1940, when the last small group of officers was deported. By sheer coincidence this date has been witnessed and confirmed by a few who have survived.

SPECIAL GROUP

Each morning a list was read by the local guard of those POW's expected to leave that same day. On April 25th and later on May 12th, a list was emphatically read and announced as a *special group*, comprising totally 360 officers and men. This was performed simultaneously in all 3 camps, the fact being checked by us later. This group was sent primarily to a camp at "Paviliszczev Bor" near Juchnov, Smolensk Oblast, and a month later to the camp "GRIAZOVIEZ," 25 miles South of Vologda. After a spell of 15 months these officers and men were finally released, as a result of the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, and actually left the camp on Sept. 2, 1941, to join the Polish Army then being formed in USSR. While at Giazovietz we were often told by the guards: "Remember—you are here on special conditions," "We are taking special care of you here" and so on, which was more or less true. We were treated fairly well.

Soon afterwards it became known to everyone of us "survivors" that *Giazovietz was the only Polish POW camp in USSR since the disband in April 1940 of the 3 large camps mentioned above.*

RESEARCH

Since the forming of the Polish Forces in USSR most zealous and detailed investigations have been carried personally by the Allied and Polish highest authorities in order to find and rescue the missing officers and NCO's, but alas all efforts have proved to be completely fruitless. Not a single man out of the missing mass had neither reported nor given any sign of life. During the organization period of the Polish Army in USSR numerous reports received from third parties, now compiled at Polish GHQ in the East, have given ample evidence, that small and large batches of Polish officers were seen or heard of in various northern districts including the Arctic Islands. All reports are in concert as to the time: May, June, July 1940—which coincides with initial date of the deporting from the 3 camps. Several reports tell us of an appalling story when 2 or 3 barges filled with 2 or 3,000 men were deliberately abandoned by the crew and sunk in the White Sea. It must be added, that besides the soldiers, who have perished in labor camps, and alike, and others being still in USSR though alive but unable to join the Polish Forces. This terrific disaster might be easily proved by merely comparing the total number of Polish soldiers captured in September 1939 and the number enlisted anew into the Polish Forces now in the East.

20.4.1943.

APPENDIX IV

Excerpts of conversations between Sikorski, Anders, Stalin, and Molotov.

HIS

CONVERSATION OF THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER GEN. SIKORSKI WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE COMMISSARIES OF THE URSS STALIN, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE KREMLIN ON THE 3.XX.1941

Present: The Ambassador of the Polish Republic Prof. Kot, the People Commissary for Foreign Affairs Molotov, the Commander i. c. of the Polish Armed Forces in the URSS General Anders (he also served as interpreter), and Molotov's Secretary.

EXTRACTS CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF THE MISSING OFFICERS

General SIKORSKI. But I return to our business. I here state in your presence, Mr. President, that your declaration of amnesty is not being executed. Many and the most valuable of our people remain still in the Labour camps and in prisons.

STALIN (making a note). This is not possible as the amnesty concerned all and so all the Poles are released [he addresses these last words to Molotov—Molotov assents to them].

General ANDERS (quotes particulars at the request of General Sikorski). This is not in accordance with the real state of things, as we have quite precise data out of which it results that in the camps those released first were the Jews, then the Ukrainians, and lastly the Polish working elements chosen among those physically weaker. The stronger ones were kept back and only a small part of them were set free. I have in the Army men, who have been released from such camps only a few weeks ago and who state that in the single camps remained still hundreds and even thousands of our countrymen. The orders of the Government are not being executed there, as the commanders of the single camps having the obligation of executing the production plan do not want to get rid of the best working material, without the contribution of which the execution of the plan could be sometimes impossible.

MOLOTOV (smiles and makes a nod of assenting).

General ANDERS. Those people do not understand at all the great importance of our common cause, which in this way is being greatly prejudiced.

STALIN. Those people should be prosecuted.

General ANDERS. Yes; so they should.

General SIKORSKI. It does not belong to us to present to the Soviet Government the detailed lists of our men, but the commanders of the camps are in possession of such full lists. I have here with me a list with the names of about 4,000 officers who had been deported by force and who at present are still in prisons and in labour camps and even this list is not complete as it contains only the

names which could be compiled by us out of memory. I gave orders to verify whether said officers were not in Poland as we are in permanent contact with our country. It has been proved that no one of them was there; neither have they been traced in the camps of our prisoners of war in Germany. These men are here. Nobody of them has returned.

STALIN. It is not possible; they must have run away.

ANDERS. Where to?

STALIN. Well, to Manchouria.

General ANDERS. This is impossible that they could have run away, all of them, so much the more that with the moment of their deportation from the prisoners' camps to the labour camps and to the prisons every correspondence between them and their families had stopped. I know exactly from officers who have returned even from Kolyma that a great number of our officers is still there, each of them quoted by name. I also know that there were transports of Poles prepared already for the release and departure and that in the last moment these transports have been kept back. I have news that our men are sojourning even in Newfoundland. The majority of the officers quoted in this list are personally known to me. Among these men are my staff officers and commanders. These people perish there and die in dreadful conditions.

STALIN. They certainly have been released only did not arrive until now.

General SIKORSKI. Russia has immense territories and the difficulties are also great. May be that the local authorities have not executed the order. Those who arrive after having been released state that the others vegetate and work. Had anybody succeeded in getting out of the Russian borders he certainly would report to me.

STALIN. You should know that the Soviet Government has not the slightest motive to keep back even one single Pole; I have even released Sosnkowski's agents who were organising attacks on us and murdering our people.

General ANDERS. Still declarations continue to flow in concerning people perfectly known to us, quoting the names of their prisons and the numbers of the cells where they are confined. I know the names of a great number of camps where an enormous mass of Poles has been detained and is compelled to work further on. * * *

CONVERSATION AT THE KREMLIN ON THE 18.III.1942

Present: The President of the Council of the People Commissaries of the URSS Stalin, the C. in C. of the Polish Armed Forces in the URSS Gen. Anders, Colonel Okulicki, the People Commissary for the Foreign Affairs Molotov, a stenographer.

EXTRACTS CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF THE MISSING OFFICERS

General ANDERS. Besides many of our men are still in prisons and in labour camps. Those released in these last times continually report to me. *Up to the present time the officers deported from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszkowo have not made their appearance. They should certainly be by you. We have gathered supplementary particulars on them [he hands two lists that are taken by Molotov] what could have happened with them? We have traces of their sojourn on the Kolyma.*

STALIN. I already have given all necessary dispositions for their release. It has been said that they even are on Francis Joseph land, and there, as it is known well there are no such people. *I do not know where they are. Why should I keep them? Maybe that they are in some camps on territories now occupied by the Germans, they dispersed themselves.*

Colonel OKULICKI. It is impossible, we would be aware of it.

STALIN. We have kept back only these Poles who are spies in the German service. We released even those who after passed to the Germans, as for instance Kozlowski. * * *

APPENDIX V

Exhibits A, B, C, D, and E containing photostatic copies of original, type-written copies of original and translation of original depositions made by parties having knowledge of the officers in the three prison camps. Particular attention is called to Exhibit B.

HIS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Recorded, on April 18, 1943, in the Office of the Information Officer O. C. II., by the Senior Cavalry Sergeant ———, concerning the mass execution of senior officers of the Polish Army in the thereabouts of Smolensk.

Has presented himself on summons [deleted].

In case of all depositions witness identified himself and testified as follows: I was arrested by the Soviet authorities as being the owner of an estate, during the occupation in 1939/40 and was deported on November 2, 1940, to Kargopolskie Lagierzy-Arkhangelsk district where I worked at the felling of the forest. In the above mentioned place I got acquainted among other people with an Ukrainian IWANOW originary from the thereabouts of Kiev, who as a senior sergeant "starszina" had been placed in Lagierzy Kargopolskie for having bought three suits of clothing in Grodno during the operations of the Soviet troops on Polish territories. From my conversations with IWANOW I learned that he had taken part in the mass execution of several thousand of Polish senior officers, which took place in the thereabouts of Smolensk in 1940 (I do not remember the date nor the month and could not fix them even approximately). The group of the Polish Officers was shot at from tanks, IWANOW was serving in a tank unit. The Officers were buried in one grave ("w odnu Kuczu pochronili"). The Senior Sergeant IWANOW was living near Poltava. He did not say how numerous was the detachment of tanks that fired on the Polish Officers. Neither did IWANOW state wherefrom the Polish Officers had been brought to the thereabouts of Smolensk, he only expressed himself that the transport that had been dragged from one town to another had been completely destroyed ("Otriad kotoryj byl piereganiany z odnego miesta w drugoje—ostal uniestozen").

The above fact of the slaughter of several thousand of Polish Officers near Smolensk can be confirmed by ——— of the 7 Inf. Div., who was with me in Kargopolskie Lagierzy and who could have heard my conversation with ——— or to whom I related the fact. ——— has a better memory than I and can explain the matter in a more minute way. I cannot state exactly whether I have quoted correctly the name of IWANOW, I know only a "tractor man" of Kruglica as a professional specialist, and nothing more. And so have I stated. I engage myself to keep in secret the circumstances on which I have been examined.

Examined: _____.

Read: _____.

Conformable to the original:

Chief of the Outpost No. 5.

[Official Seal of the Mil. Command of the Polish Army in the East.]

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Recorded on the 26.I.1943 in the Office of the Outpost No. 5 by the ———

In case of all depositions witness identified himself and testified as follows:

Warned of the responsibility for presenting false depositions I state herewith:

In June 1941 I was going under arrest to the Labour Camps in Comi ASRR. From Arkhangelsk our transport numbering about 4,000 men and women had been loaded on a barge. The barge was hauled by a ship. We were driven through the White Sea to the estuary of the Pieczara river during the sailing through the White Sea when I was sitting on the deck and crying, I was approached by a young Russian soldier from the barge staff and asked by him about the reason of my tears. When I explained to him that I was crying over my fate, that my husband, a reserve Captain had also been deported, the man declared to me that our officers were no more there. To my question where they were being now he answered with a jeer that all of them they had been drowned and precisely here in the White Sea. During further conversation on this subject I learned that this Russian soldier had driven previously a transport of our officers and policemen in two barges, the group amounted to about 7,000 persons. On a certain spot the ship hauling the barges was detached from them and the two barges were purposely sunk.

An older Russian also of the Barge staff was listening to the conversation and after the young one had withdrawn—he came up to me and affirmed that all this was true. This old man was showing me his great sympathy, he himself cried and related to have been witness to the drowning of our Officers and of our Police. Before the sinking of the barges the whole Soviet staff passed from the barges on the deck of the ship but previously they had punched the barges so that the water might quickly penetrate inside. When I asked whether nobody had saved himself I was told that all went down to the bottom.

During my sojourn in the Starobielsk prison I saw on the wall of the vapour bathroom the handwriting of my husband who put his signature and left a note stating that he was in the Starobielsk prison and was departing for "an unknown land." I saw this note in December 1940. There was quite a lot of such notes and signatures on the wall—but the Soviet authorities destroyed immediately those inscriptions painting the walls with lime. There were there also other dates and other informations but today I cannot remember them. I engage myself to keep in secret the circumstances on which I have been examined today.

Examined: _____

Conformable to the original.

Chief of the outpost No. 5.

[Official Seal of the Pol. Mil. Command.]

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Recorded on the 1.VI.1942 in the Women's Camp at Rehovot

In case of all depositions witness identified himself and testified as follows: On the 26.III. 1942 going by train from Djalal Abad to Krasnowodzk I made the acquaintance in the railway carriage of a Russian of about 70 of age who on the second day of the journey during his conversation with me confided to me that he was an adversary of the Soviet regime but that he could not betray his opinions on account of the terror of the N. K. W. D. This man had confidence in me as I was in the Uniform of the Polish Women Service and that talking with him I had mentioned that I was travelling for service matters. Besides he expressed himself with great feeling of the Polish Army who was being organised then. During our talk he said that he was originally from Starobielsk where there was a big camp of Polish officers. He stated that the White Guards were expecting a revolution with the outbreak of the Soviet-German war and that in such an eventuality the Polish Officers would have been their leaders. He also said that the ancient Russian "Inteligenzia" owing to the influence of a certain woman had organised an assistance to our officers, but this help lasted but briefly, only until the time of the deportation of said officers from Starobielsk or eventually until the time of their mass executions. With tears in his eyes he related to me about the executions of our officers, about the sympathy of the local population and of the common graves of our officers in Starobielsk. Owing to the circumstance that his daughter was working as typist or secretary in the office of the N. K. W. D. in the camp of our officers at Starobielsk, she was collecting all the particulars concerning the executions and the deportation of our officers which particulars she passed over to her father and he had concealed the documents in question in his house.

Out of the documents received from his daughter he had remembered several names of the officers executed by the Bolshevik authorities, he quoted them to me requesting me to write them down and present the list to the respective Polish authorities. The names of the Polish officers which I have written down on a slip of paper are: (1) Col. Kwiecinski—my Russian informant had seen his body lying on the barbed wires, (2) Kulakowski, (3) Janczurowicz-Czaplic, (4) Szymanski, (5) Sniezynski, (6) Frankowski, Eugeniusz, son of Adolph, (7) Col. Molodiniowski, (8) Lucinski, (9) Myszakowski, (10) Lisowski or Lesowski, (11) Pietkiewicz, (12) Majewski, Bronislaw, son of Stanislaw, (13) Czerniow, Aleksander, son of Wasil, (14) Wietlec, (15) Turczynski, Bronislaw, (16) Malanowski, (17) Dabrowski, (18) Kamieniecki, (19) Domanski, (20) Stankiewicz.

I accude the slip of paper on which I have noted these names. Said informations were passed to me by that man in the passage of the railway carriage in

the night when all the other passengers were sleeping—when speaking about our officers in that camp he cried. I felt confidence in that man especially as the informations he gave me are true. The man declared also that if I or somebody sent by me would forward a messenger to him he would deliver all the particulars concerning the execution of our officers as well as the place of their deportation, we then agreed that in order to make him identify the messenger who would come to fetch the documents in question, said messenger should mention whilst talking with him this journey and the fact that together with the old man *was travelling a woman in the uniform of a Polish soldier*. He asked me naturally to do it with great prudence so as not to betray him before the Soviet authorities. The address which he gave me reads as follows: [deleted].

I state that I did not make any use of these informations in Krasnowodzk, as the ship with the Polish boys (Junaki) was ready to start, I wanted to hand the paper with these information to col. ——— at Pahlevi but he told me he had no time having a great deal of work to do and he instructed me to do it on my arrival here. The journey of which I have spoken lasted four days and the conversation with the Russian took place on the 4th day of travelling.

I enclosure [slip of paper].

_____,
wife of Cpt. on a. s.

Examined: _____

Conformable to the original: _____

[Official seal of the Polish Military Command in the East.]

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Recorded on February 11th, 1943, in the Office of the Outpost No. 5 of the Evacuation Base Command of the Polish Army in the East, by the ———

In case of all depositions witness identified himself and testified as follows:

Warned of the responsibility of giving false depositions I declare herewith:

Since November 1939 till the 12th of June 1940 I had been staying in the camp of Prisoners of War in Ostaszkowo (U. R. S. S.). In said camp there were about 6 thousand prisoners, chiefly men from the Polish State Police, from the Military Police, from the Frontier Guards, Prison sentries and Custom House functionaries, from almost all the Polish provinces. Together with us, privates, there also was a group of Polish Officers amounting to about 2 thousand. On the 4th of April the Soviet Authorities started to remove the prisoners from the camp in parties of 70 people. Said parties were led away through the bridge into the forest. I was in the hospital at that time and so I was removed with a party of about seventy men only on June the 12th and conducted to the forest (Pawliszczy Bor). It was almost the last group removed from Ostaszkowo. After a fortnight we were taken to the Camp in Grazowiec. In this camp we found no one of our fellow prisoners from Ostaszkowo. We were inquiring of the sentries about what had happened with the other prisoners from Ostaszkowo—the sentries were answering that said prisoners were now in other camps at work, but other sentries told us in secret that we never would see our fellow prisoners from Ostaszkowo as they had been drowned. I myself heard this information from a sentry. I state here that among the Soviet sentries who guarded us there were people friendly disposed towards us and these told us that the Soviet Authorities had drowned our fellow prisoners from Ostaszkowo.

I engage myself to keep in secret the circumstances on which I have been investigated.

Examined: _____

Conformable to the Original: _____

[Official Seal of the Polish Command]

[Signature illegible.]

EXTRACT

REPORT

Mil. Q. May 6th 1943

* * * When I mentioned to Commissary BERJA the great number of our first-rate line officers from the Starobielsk and Kozielsk camps, he replied: Make a list of them, but many of them are not there any more, because "we made a great blunder."

During a second conversation with the Commissary Merkulow, the latter reaffirmed once more the contents of the conversation of Commissary BERJA.

Conformable to the original. Mil. Q. May 14, 1943.

/-/- _____

[Official Seal of the Pol. Mil. Comm.]

EXTRACT

_____ from the declaration of the——Leon in date of 18. III. 1943

* * * I was not present when BERJA had made his statement about the missing Polish Officers, I know it from the narrative of Col. GORCZYNSKI who was then present with BERLING and BUKOJEMSKI. According to what Col. GORCZYNSKI referred to me at the time BERJA was to say that "they had made a great blunder" * * *

Mil. H. Q. May 14, 1943.

Conformable to the original:

/-/- _____

[Official seal of the Pol. Mil. Command.]

[Copy]

I _____

Application for Pardon.

Jangi-Jul, 29.III.194.

EXTRACT

To the Commander of the Polish Armed Forces in the U. R. S. S.:

IN JANGI JUL

I report herewith that by sentence of the Court Martial No. 1, dated March 27th, 1942, I have been condemned to the exclusion from the Officers' corps and to an arrest of one year and one month for the transgression * * * In October 1940 whilst being submitted to an interrogatory by the National Commissaries BERIA and MERKULOW in the URSS, at my and my colleagues' requests concerning the release of our colleagues from Starobielsk and Kozielsk both Commissaries replied at first that the above our colleagues had been sent by them to Germany and then they unanimously declared to have committed a great blunder in connection with the above-mentioned officers. (Bolshyie oshybki) * * *

On concluding his declaration —— asks the Commander of the P. A. F. to grant him pardon in the way of favour.

Conformable to the original:

Mil. Quarters 14 May 1943.

_____.

[Official seal of the Polish Mil. Command.]

EXTRACT

_____ from the record of the interrogatory of —— in the days from 21-25.XII.1942

* * * When one came to speak of the question of Officers for this and for other divisions and when one mentioned the Officers from the camps of Staro-

bielsk, Kozielsk and Ostaszkw, BERJA was to express himself in the following words: "We (thus had reported Berling and Bukojemski) made a blunder—a blunder did we make. (Zdiełali ashybku—ashybku zdiełali)" * * *

Conformable to the original:

Mil.Q. 14 May 1943.

[Official Seal of the Polish Mil. Com.]

APPENDIX VI

Report on Polish prisoners of war in Russia.

HIS.

COMMAND OF THE POLISH ARMY IN THE EAST

DOCUMENTATIONS OFFICE

THE QUESTION OF POLISH SOLDIERS IN THE USSR

I. HOW PRISONERS WERE CAPTURED

The insidious and thus quite unexpected march of the Red Army into Poland has ended for said Army with a "victory" of which the most plausible proof became the great masses of the "Polish Prisoners of War." These expressions of "Victory" and "Prisoners of War" in connection with the events which were taking place on the Polish eastern territories in the second half of September 1939 need some commentaries. The Red Army entered Polish dissimulating its aims and intentions. There were frequent acts of courtesy towards Polish detachments and towards single soldiers of the Polish Army. The assistance given to Poles in their struggle against Germany, the Polish Soviet alliance were being spoken of freely, these and other similar assertions caused a general disorientation. It is true that these words and gestures were at the same time contradicted by cruel action towards smaller military detachments, and above all, towards the Frontier Guards' detachment, ruthlessly and bloodily liquidated, towards the police, the representatives of local administration authorities, but these contrasts so much the more intricately the whole question disorientating everybody.

There was no Polish-Soviet war in the sense of a planned campaign in September 1939; there were some local frictions and encounters the result thereof being a success for one of the fighting parties, but not deserving anyhow the definition of "victory." The number of prisoners captured in the fighting by one party and the other was minimal. Thus the Soviet "Victory" was very singular indeed as it altered the signification of the ideas accepted up to then. In general a victory over the enemy results in taking great quantities of prisoners, in this strange Polish-Soviet war in 1939 first had appeared "the prisoners of war" and then only "the victory." As to the places where the greatest numbers of the Polish Prisoners of war were being captured, they were not at all connected with battlefields where grim fighting had taken place but almost exclusively with larger towns and railway junction stations. Lwow, Tarnopol, Kowel, Rowne, Baranowicze—those were the main sources of capturing the Polish prisoners by the Soviet troops.

There were in the above places no combats with Red Army but instead there were large "stoppage" points created by the retreating Polish troops fighting against the Germans. In general the coming in touch with the Bolsheviks caused on the part of the invaders the utterance of assurances of their quite pacific intentions and of proposals to the Polish troops to depose their arms whilst full personal liberty and freedom of moving would be warranted to every soldier. The situation was rapidly altering after the given detachment had deposited their arms. The Bolsheviks then led apart all the officers putting them into improvised prisons and they let the privates free only to start hunting for them, killing them and shutting them in prisons or in camps. In Lwow, the Poles having in front of them overwhelming forces of the united Soviet and German armies were confronting the problem which of the armies were they to let into the town Germans or Bolsheviks. They chose the Bolsheviks and started negotiating with them.

The Red General who was presiding the negotiations in the name of Timoshenko warranted out of his own initiative—personal safety, preservation of private property, freedom of moving and the leaving of the city authorities on their posts. To the explicit question of General Langer as to whether our soldiers would be allowed to cross the frontier and go to Roumania and Hungary the entire Soviet Delegation declared in the affirmative. How firmly the assurances of the Soviet General were believed is proved by the fact that General Langer spoke of the question of feeding our soldiers during their travel home or abroad and stated that he would give them provisions for two days. The Bolsheviks accepted this with great satisfaction assuring they would arrange for the rest of the time. This agreement though had been entirely cancelled by the Bolsheviks with the moment they got convinced of the loyal executing by the Poles of their engagements concerning their disarmament.

The "capture" of "prisoners of war" in such conditions became thus an easy thing. The Bolsheviks put empty trains on the railway stations and were spreading rumours about these trains going for instance to Wilno. There were always plenty of people willing to travel and thus the train overcrowded to the limits of possibility went straight on to the town of "Wilno" which proved to be in result Szepietowka, Ostaszkowo, Wologda or some other locality in the URSS.

Thus were gathered the hundreds and hundreds of Polish "Prisoners of War" in the NKWD camps.

II. THE PRISONERS' CAMPS

The fate of these prisoners was not identical everywhere, it depended of the camp where this or other Polish soldier had been placed, of the category to which he was registered and of other quite secret factors. Whilst treating all the prisoners as political transgressors the Bolsheviks divided them into two categories; under one category they inscribed all the officers, the frontier-guards, the police, the frontier sentries, the military police, the penitentiary staff and all particular "enemies of the Soviet", to the other the privates of the Polish Army. But in those groups there were still "under-groups" and individual exceptions which rendered difficult to understand the behaviour of the Soviet authorities towards the Polish prisoners of war. The camps of the prisoners were very different among them as for what concerned the conditions of life and the attitude of the camp authorities towards the prisoners. There were (for a very short time) some exceptional camps of the type of European camps where the prisoner of war could enjoy the rights accorded to war prisoners by the deliberations of international European conventions, there were camps-prisons. There were also thoroughly "Russian" camp that cannot be defined by any other name, there being no establishments corresponding to them in the European States, not excluding even the German concentration camps as even in the latter there are some binding regulations and prescriptions, completely unknown to many of the Bolshevik Houses of Torture existing under the definitions of Camps of Prisoners of War, Labour camps &c.

A special attention was given by the Bolsheviks to officers, to the Police, &c., who, as soon as they had been disarmed, were deported on the URSS territory. A part of the privates has been left in Poland and improvised camps in private estates in barracks of the frontier guards and in army barracks, in nonactive factories &c. A considerable number of privates had been placed in the Kozielek and Szepietowka camps but after a month's sojourn there had been "released," that is, transferred to Poland and placed there in various camps prepared for them, a certain number of privates up to the sergeant's grade had been really released by not for long.

The Officers were, first of all, placed in the famous Szepietowka, the fame of which spread rapidly throughout Europe as that of a macabre camp. They were after removed to other camps, mainly to Starobielsk and Kozielek. In both these camps a difference was made for Generals and Staff Officers who were getting a somewhat better fare, apparently in consideration of the international conventions but in reality at the aim to eliminate their influence over the younger Officers.

In all the camps the Bolsheviks were at that time spreading rumours about a near release of all the prisoners and their return home. They were also speaking about an exchange of the Polish soldiers originary from the territories of Western Poland against those originary from the so-called eastern boundaries who were in German captivity. The prisoners were thus divided into 2 main groups ("Germans" and "Sowieciarze"), then they were segregated according to the

various provinces, lists and reports were being made, in one word all the prisoners were kept in a continual expectation of their departure home. The exchange of prisoners with Germany had taken place, it is as yet difficult to state in what conditions it had happened. A part of privates, as mentioned above, had been really put in liberty for a short time, but the majority remained in captivity and many of them started being sent on singular journeys from one camp to another on the immense spaces of the URSS territories. Those "travels" caused a strong reduction of the prisoners who, after having been judged by default, happened to find themselves in camps of compulsory labour and got absorbed in the mass of millions of nameless slaves slowly decaying on the boundless and unpopulated spaces of Soviet Russia, especially on the northern territories.

The data possessed by the Independent Historical Office of the Polish Army in the East, state that in 1940 on the territory of the part of Poland occupied by the Soviet there were existing seventy-four camps of Prisoners of War containing from several hundred to some 20 thousand Prisoners of War "Privates" in each. On the URSS territory at that period there were 52 Prisoners' camps and in each of them there were groups up to ninety thousand men. The specifications of the camps in our possession are not complete, the number of those in captivity was still greater, and above all it is difficult to get the right orientation as to the kind of some labour camps where near to civilian persons often Polish soldiers were working in entire groups.

III. THE NUMBER OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR

The exact establishing of the total number of soldiers deported from Poland into Russia is rather a difficult matter. It can be defined though as overpassing the 300,000. The official data of the Soviet authorities are far from enlightening the question but rather create more confusion around it.

The first time the number of Polish prisoners of war had been mentioned by Molotov, who at the Extraordinary Session of the Soviet Chief Council in the days of the 1 and 2 November 1939, presented a report of the URSS foreign policy and specified in detail the booty captured as result of the "victory" reported over the Poles. The total number of the Polish prisoners of war was then defined by Molotov as amounting to over 300 thousand men.

According to the data published by the official Soviet paper "Krasnaja Zwietzda" the "Red Star" (No. 218 in date of 17.IX.1940) the total number of the Polish Prisoners encloses 12 generals, about 8,000 officers, over 4,000 of n. c. officers and some 220 thousand privates. (The number of officers and privates amounting in total to 230,670.)

These data of course, although bearing an official character are not exact. In reality the number of the prisoners was much greater and if we add to them the Polish soldiers interned in Lithuania and Lettonia and deported in 1940 far into the depth of Russia as well as the soldiers caught singly and kept in prisons and labour camps—the number of Polish prisoners of war will not correspond to the figures quoted by Molotov but will exceed them greatly. The Bolsheviks had arrested and reported a great deal of Polish officers especially in the first days of the occupation. The simplest method of seizing them was the registration of officers and ensigns or the receiving of applications for the departure to the German occupied territories. The officers and ensigns thus identified were arrested and deported far into the depth of Russia to prisons or to labour camps. But the trace of many of them had been lost already in the prisons of Kharkov or Minsk.

Such was the state of things in 1940. What changes had occurred in the course of the year? We may find an answer to this question in the minutes of proceedings of the first meeting of the Polish-Soviet Mixed commission, that, on the 16.VIII.41 started to work at the establishment of the principle of the organisation of the Polish Armed Forces in the URSS. We read in the Minutes of Proceedings:

General ANDERS. Please, give me the exact total number of the reckoned state on which we can count by the formation of the Army. Besides please supply me with a list of officers indicating where they are sojourning at present.

General PANFILOV. According to our data the reckoned states of the ex-Polish Army are being concentrated in three main points:

- (1) the Griszowiec camp—Vologda district (about 1,000 officers).
- (2) the Juz and Suzdal camps district of Ivanovo Wozn. (Privates up to 10 thousand men.)

Besides this in Siberia and in the Ural country there is a certain number of Polish citizens. The exact number will be established later on.

Thus, out of over a hundred Prisoners' of war camps in 1941 there remained only three, and out of three hundred thousand and more prisoners but a small group. It should be observed here that the 1,000 officers and 20,000 privates restituted by the Bolsheviks are not entirely prisoners captured in Poland. Among the officers an overwhelming majority was constituted by officers interned in Lithuania and among the privates also some several thousands came from Lithuania.

IV. WHAT BECAME OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR?

All of a sudden all the Officers and about three hundred thousand Privates Prisoners of war disappeared somewhere.

A small number of them got found later on and passing through numerous camps and prisons reached the ranks of the Polish Armed Forces in the U. R. S. S. In total out of the whole number of prisoners only about 300 Officers and under 3 thousand privates entered the Polish Army. What became with 300 thousand Polish soldiers? The privates had perished partly, the mass of them has been driven to compulsory work. The officers had perished all. The last information about them are connected with the liquidation of the Starobielsk and Kozielsk camps. Said liquidation took place in April and in May 1940. In the Starobielsk Camp there were about 4 thousand Officers, in the Kozielsk camp about 5 thousand of them, in the Ostaszkowo camp there were several hundred officers and about 7 thousand n. c. Officers from the Army, the Police and the Frontier Guards (KOP). The liquidation of the camp in Kozielsk started on the 3.IV.40, in Starobielsk on the 5.IV, and in Ostaszkowo on the 6.IV.40. The officers were taken away by small groups, from 65 to 260 persons (in the prison railway carriages 65 persons were placed in each); they were assured that they would be taken to a distribution camp and from there sent to Poland. In consequence of such assurances the Officers were willing to get away and those still remaining complained on the delay. The departing officers dressed with accuracy and put on their best clothes, and so for instance General Smorawinski put on for the travel a new uniform, with quite fresh distinctives of his rank (thus the good state of his uniform and distinctives is being explained on the exhumation of his remains).

From Kozielsk the transports were sent away almost dally, causing many comments among the prisoners, optimistic in the main, owing to the suggestions spread by the Bolsheviks. On the 26.IV had started a transport of about 150 Officers among whom were General Wolkowicki, Colonel Grobicki, Col. Kunstler and Boleslawicz, the Lieut. Colonels Tyszynski, Mara Meyer, and others. Said transport had been directed to a near camp at Juchnowo (Pawliszczew Bor) and after a sojourn there these officers were deported to Griszowiec near Vologda. Only this group had been saved and the officers contained therein enlisted later on in the Polish Army organized in the U. R. S. S. Where had all the other groups been deported? The Officers sent to the Juchnowo Camp had read on the ceiling of one of the prison railway carriages, an inscription, which, according to Lieut. Col. Tyszynski was reading more or less as follows: "They have driven us to one station behind Smolensk. Lorries are waiting for us. We get off now. Lieut. Col. Kutyla."

Similar inscriptions had been seen on the walls of the Prison Railway Carriages by other officers deported from different places and in different periods of time. It is a trace indicating clearly the direction in which those from Kozielsk had been deported and stating that the place of their alighting was a station near Smolensk. In Kozielsk itself remained on the kitchen wall near the taps with hot water a small calendar of the transports that had been started from there. It begins with the date of 3.IV.40 and ends on May 12th, 1940. The particulars on the camp are rather vague. "We are here 5,000 Officers." Today has departed the first group of 100 officers. Direction unknown," etc. All the officers disappeared near Smolensk.

In Starobielsk on the day of which the liquidation of the camp was started, viz on the 5.IV.1940, there were about 4,000 people therein, 8 generals, over 100 colonels and Lieut. Colonels, about 230 majors, 1,000 captains, 2,500 lieut. and 2nd lieutenants, 380 physicians, about 30 Ensigns, and some ninety civilians in the main judges, public prosecutors, and functionaries of the State Administration. Out of this number only 89 officers had been spared; they had been sent in two parties to the camp at Pawliszczew Bor or deported individually to other localities. What became of the main group of the Prisoners? The inscriptions on the walls of the prison railway carriages and the reports of the officers

who had been saved, indicate that they had been driven in the direction of Kharkov.

The Prisoners from Starobielsk were halted there so that on the 1.V.40 had been formed there by the transitory prison a numerous camp of Prisoners of war. The further route of Starobielsk prisoners was probably leading to the North.

There are very few data about Ostaszkowo. It has been possible to establish some points concerning the movement of prisoners there only in the first period of the existence of the camp, that is the organization in Ostaszkowo of a common camp for Officers and Privates, the deportation of almost all the officers to Kozielsk, and the bringing at their place of n. c. police officers and of Frontier guards (KOP). The period of the camp liquidation is not known.

As mentioned before out of the great number of Prisoners of War only about 300 Officers reported to the Polish Army; the Bolsheviks foreseeing that they should need for some scope a certain group of officers, chose 150 Officers from the Kozielsk camp and selected from the Starobielsk camp at first individually 12 Officers (one of them died and one was sent back to Poland), then they assigned a "special group of 63 Officers and lastly at the definitive liquidation of the camp 16 Officers more were chosen by them. Almost all of those officers had been sent to Griszowiec. The Officers had been selected in a way to represent the diagram of our Officers' Corps.

Only this handful had been saved.

Since the first moment of the organising of the Polish Army numerous steps had been taken to trace the missing men. These steps gave no result whatever. Even the explanations of the Soviet highest authorities were in fact showing that these people were no more there. What then had happened with them?

Various tracks attracted our attention towards the North. In Newfoundland, on the Francis Joseph islands, in Kolym and in other northern localities rumours said that prisoners in uniforms of Polish Officers had been seen. This is quite possible. It should be considered though that in the labour camps there were not only our soldiers but also Lithuanians, Letts, Esthonese, Finns, and others. The local population not knowing to discriminate between foreign soldiers could put to our account the vicissitudes of other nationalities. At any rate it is certain that all of them perished.

But one should not limit the numbers of those missing to 10 thousand officers and 10-15 thousand n. c. officers. The camps of Starobielsk, Kozielsk and Ostaszkowo do not alas contain them all.

The macabre graves near Smolensk as it seems have engulfed only the Prisoners from Kozielsk and may be those from Ostaszkowo. The Starobielsk prisoners perished probably in the North, but what of the mass of the 300 thousand Prisoners of War?

One should underline once more that out of the mass of over half million soldiers who had found themselves in the URSS less than 30 thousand entered our Army. And this is not all. The Bolsheviks have taken over 200,000 of Polish conscripts. Our endeavours to incorporate those conscripts into the Polish Army remained without any result. What is happening with this best Polish military element nobody knows it. Probably they are bleeding in the ranks of the Red Army. Thus the problem facing us is the question of half a million of our soldiers in the U. R. S. S.

APPENDIX VII

Report on prison camps in Russia.

HIS

Whilst considering the fate of the Polish Prisoners of War in the U. R. S. S. one should continually keep in mind the general state of things in the URSS and take into account the methods used by the Bolsheviks towards prisoners, prisoners of war, towards the deported, when investigating them or when escorting them to the place of their destined residence.

1. *Number of camps.*—In November 1939 the Bolsheviks organised on the URSS territory not three camps as it is stated in the Min. O. N. communiqué in date of 19. IV. 43, but a great deal more of them. Besides the prisoners of war were sent to the URSS and placed in the numerous Concentration and Labour camps and especially to Szepetowka. In addition to transitory camps as those in Frydrychowka, Woloczyska, Jarmolince and others through which had

passed thousands of our soldiers, permanent camps had been created, of which the largest were: Jelenowka (Donetz basin), Juza (Iwanowo-Wozniesiensk area), Karakub near Stalino; Kozielsk, to the south of Smolensk, Kozielszczyzna, near Poltava; Krasnyj Lucz (Woroszyłowski area) Kryzwy Ostaszkow, Pawliszczew-Bor or Juchnowo (Smolensk area) Putywl or Tlotkino, near Sumy, Suzdal.

Since 1940 one started sending the prisoners of war to disciplinary camps, where they were working together with the civilian population. Among the larger camps of that kind should be quoted Uchta No. 3 (Komi URSS) and Workuta (on the northern border of Komi and Arkhangelsk districts).

There existed and exist still a great number of camps on the immense spaces of the northern territories of Asiatic Russia where there were and are still Polish prisoners of war. We have no certitude as to how they have been distributed.

In 1940 the number of camps where our prisoners of war were kept amounted, according to the still incomplete lists, to 74 camps on Polish territory and to 52 in the URSS.

2. *What mean the denominations: Starobielsk, Kozielsk, Ostaszkowo?*—The Bolshevik governing system uses among other measures the continual transferring of people from place to place. The so-called free population is being transplanted in mass from one place to another through vast spaces of territory, the prisoners and the deported are continually travelling, the sense of these travels is difficult to grasp. The Polish soldiers in the URSS made no exception to the general rule and made quite unlikely, because deprived of any logical motive, compulsory journeys.

Here are some examples thereof. (The camps established on Polish territories are italicized.)

Sergeant ——— had resided in the following camps: 28.IX.-12.XI.39—Kozielsk, 30.XI.39—20.V.40—Krzywy Róg, 1.VI. —/1.VIII.40—*Antopol*, 1.IX.31—31.XII.40—*Tudorow* 10.I.30.IV.41 Woloczyska, 1.V. —28.VI.41—*Teofilpol*, 10.VII. —26.VIII.41—Starobielsk.

Corporal ——— had been in the following camps: *Dubno*, Szepetowka, Nowograd Wolyński, Krakub, 92, 30, 25 "column" Komi URSS, Wiszniki.

Senior Private ———: Kozielsk, Krzywy Róg, *Tuligłowy Czerlany* Starobielsk.

Private ———: *Szepetowka, Busk, Ostra Góra, Plugow, Plotycze Tarnopol* Starobielsk.

Private ———: *Busk, Holownica, Tudorow, Horyń* again *Holownica* and Starobielsk.

Senior Private ———: Szepetowska, *Zahorce, Werba Radziwillow, Brody, Wielkie Łuki, Zastawie*, Starobielsk.

Sergeant ———: interned in Lettonia, then transferred by turn to Pawliszczew, Bor, Murmansk, Ponoj harbour on the Kola peninsula Arkhangelsk, Suzdal.

Such examples could be quoted in a great number. But not only single persons and groups of prisoners of war and other deported were "travelling" thus—entire camps were submitted to the same rule. It is why the tragically popular denominations of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostaszkowo need some comments so as to avoid misunderstandings. And thus KOZIELSK has a threefold aspect. Kozielsk had been organised at the end of September 1939 as a camp for Polish prisoners of war. Privates of the Polish Troops in a number amounting as it seems to 10 thousand had been sent there. Said camp had existed briefly, to the end of October only. All the soldiers were deported in Polish territory and placed in numerous then camps on the territories of the voivodates of Volhynia, Tarnopol and Lwów. In Kozielsk only 100 privates were left for husbandry work. These privates remained there the whole time of the sojourn of the Polish Officers.

Kozielsk No "second" is precisely the tragical camp of the missing Officers. That camp had been totally liquidated in May 1940. Since July 1940 till the end of June 1941 there had been a "third" Kozielsk that is a camp for Officers n. c. officer, military police, the police for the frontier guards who were all taken by the Bolsheviks from Lithuania and Lettonia where they had been interned in local camps. In the third Kozielsk camp there was no one left from the previous camp.

STAROBIELSK has had also different groups of Prisoners of War. In Starobielsk there was a permanent camp, a transitory camp and a prison. Thus in our Army there is a great number of those from Starobielsk. One should note in the first line the Officers' camp in Starobielsk which existed from October 1940 to May 1941—the Camp of the Missing Prisoners. Besides this at the outbreak of the

German Soviet war all the prisoners of war sojourning in camps on Polish territory were sent to Starobielsk. In such a way another camp came into existence, a camp where 12 thousand Polish privates were assembled, who, after the conclusion of the Polish Soviet agreement enlisted into the Polish Army in the URSS. The definition "Starobielsk Camp" is not explicit enough as in the Starobielsk region there exist several large camps. The Polish Recruiting Commission whilst enlisting the soldiers to the Army that was being organised had established the following figures:

Camp No. 1.....	5, 468
Camp No. 2.....	3, 760
Camp No. 3.....	2, 724
	<hr/> 11, 952

In addition to those already mentioned there still was a fourth camp, where, as the Bolsheviks declared, there were about 600 ex-Polish citizens who took the Soviet citizenship. In this camp were, as it became known later on, young Poles incorporated by force to the Red Army. When speaking of Starobielsk one should mention which of the camps is in question or rather which period of the existence of the Starobielsk camp is being spoken of.

Ostaszkowo played mostly the part of a transitory camp. We lack of detailed particulars about its existence and the evolution of its organisation.

3. *How many have perished?*—It is a very dangerous thing to operate with "precise" figures concerning the perished officers. The mass slaughter of the officers is an appalling fact, but it should be remembered that a similar fate was met by thousands of n. c. officers and privates. One should rather generalize quoting higher figures. As point of departure should serve the three official declarations of the Soviet authorities concerning the number of prisoners of war:

Molotow (1939).....	300, 000
The "Red Star" (1940).....	230, 000
General Panfilov (1941).....	21, 000

The not too striking difference between the data of 1939 and 1940 and the immense difference between the data of the two first declarations and those contained in the last one of the year 1941 is very eloquent indeed.

4. *The murdering of defenceless victims.*—The Bolshevik crime perpetrated on the Polish officers is so macabre as to become unlikely in the eyes of a European, but the mass slaughter is a common phenomenon in the U. R. S. S. Every transport of prisoners or of deported is being transformed into a movable cemetery, all the camps in the northern territories are living cemeteries from where only very few come back. The sending of a condemned to Workuta, to the Kola peninsula, to Francis Joseph's land, to New Found Land, to Kolyma, to—is corresponding to a verdict of death—and our people are there now.

5. *Tortures.*—By the investigations (dopros) which have nothing in common with the usual investigating procedure, tortures are always applied. The cruelty and the pathological inventiveness of the assassins surpass the most morbid fancy of a European. These investigations (dopros) became one of the factors of the slaughter of the people.

APPENDIX VIII

Report on conscription for Bolshevik Army of Poles living in the occupied section of Poland.

HIS.

THE POLISH CITIZENS IN THE RED ARMY

THE CONSCRIPTION

The Bolsheviks had conscribed for the Red Army over 200,000 men. Out of this number only about 3,000 privates came to our Army. How the figure of 200,000 is being reached? One conscription class in Poland gave an average 200,000 conscripts. The exact data give the following pictures:

The class of 1917 gave about 175,000 conscripts.

The class of 1918 gave about 180,000 conscripts.

The class of 1919 gave about 205,000 conscripts.

The class of 1920 gave about 250,000 conscripts.

The figures of the following classes were higher than those of the 1920 class. The Bolsheviks conscribed three full classes, viz the 1917, 1918, 1919 classes and three further ones that is the 1920, 1921 and 1922 classes only in part as it seems. The conscription has certainly been effectuated in the regions of Lwow and of Druskieniki and doubtlessly also in other parts of the Country.

On the occupied territory there were over 12,000,000 people, thus one class was giving there an average figure of about 70,000 men.

The Polish Conscribing Commissions drew out up to 80% of recruits. The Bolshevik commissions were more inconsiderate and so they conscribed out of each class at least by 55,000 men. It should be added that in this part of the Country there were many refugees from the western territories in Poland who were also taken to the Red Army.

The conscription was effectuated under a great terror. It was announced that the keeping away from military service threatens the transgressor with the capital punishment and his family with deportation to Siberia and confiscation of estate. The conscription had the character of a mass deportation of young people. The report No. 5451 states as follows:

"On the 15.IV.1941 I had been incorporated in virtue of an illegal decision of the Soviet Conscribing Commission acting in Lwow in the years 1940-1941, into the Red Army. The mass application of this system of "mopping" the territories of Eastern Malopolska from the Polish element dangerous for the Soviet Authorities, led to such a situation that in April 1941 only a minimal percentage of Polish youth had remained on said territories.

Independently of the Conscription Commissions the N. K. W. D. authorities were pursuing on their own account an activity in that direction organising "levies" to the Red Army, without any medical data nor even without verifying the year of the birth of the conscript. (There were cases for instance of conscribing men born in the years 1900, 1903, 1905.) Such levies assumed a mass character when Soviet troops withdrawing from the Germans were leaving Polish territories. Besides of this very many physicians were forced to enter the Red Army (About 200 in Lwow, about 20 in Rowne, there are no data of the numbers of physicians incorporated in the Red Army in other Polish towns).

Thus the total number of the conscripts taken to the Red Army certainly surpasses considerably the figure of 200,000.

Travel and assignments.—The conscripts were driven under a strong NKWD escort in barred railway carriages into the depth of Russia. During the way they were suffering of the lack of water and food. They were given bread and fish in small quantities. They were not told whereto were they being taken and they were not allowed to get out from the carriage during the whole travel. They were assigned to already formed regiments or to schooling centres in various parts of the URSS (Uzbekistan, Caucasus, Bashkiria, Ukraine and Central Russia). We have established the names of 36 localities. In some regiments the percentage of Poles was very considerable, for instance in the 123 reg. there were 260 Polish Privates.

Conditions in regular detachments.—Accommodation in tents or in bug-infested barracks, in big towns in barracks. Food rather miserable: 600 grammes of bread and soup, often prepared with stale products. The monthly pay of a Private amounted to 8 roubles and 50 copecks, of which 2 rbl. and 20 cop. were deducted for armament needs. The prices of products reached in that period astronomic heights. The uniforms were old in the main, there were cases that the soldiers were manoeuvring in winter dressed in uniforms of ticking.

The discipline was Draconian—on getting late when coming back from a day off on pass—three to five years of prison, frequent cases of martial courts.

The Polish citizens were continually under observation, they were often called for investigations, were asked about their family circumstances, the state of their fortune, &c. Poles were often arrested and deported to an unknown direction. In the 123 reg. stationed at Andizau (Uzbekistan) there were 260 Poles of which 56 had been arrested in the course of 9 months and driven in an unknown direction. When in Kirowobad (Tadjykistan), in a regiment of anti-aircraft artillery a Soviet Officer had been accidentally shot during the shooting manoeuvres, four Poles were arrested and submitted to tortures. Report No. 5450. "First of all in the Kirowobad prison they beat us on the heels, then they twisted the veins and tendons of our wrists with special implements of torture and they put pins under our nails. When this did not help they took us into an open field and after having blindfolded us they announced they would shoot us. Then,

after a few minutes they gave several shots in the air and approached us asking: 'Will you now say who did it?' After this they took us back into the barracks and left us in peace for a month whilst keeping us under strong observation."

Notice: the above-described tortures were used frequently in the Soviet prisons of which we have proofs in a number of reports.

In the army detachments the "Politnauka" (Notions of politics) was an obligatory subject during the lectures Poland, England, and America were abused and railed at. Antireligious propaganda was being continually practised, those wearing holy medals were boxed on the ears, the prayerbooks were taken away and burnt. In the detachments where Poles were fewer in number the treatment was slightly better. Many of the Polish citizens were sent to the front, in the main those originary from Polish territories occupied by the Soviet and who had no relatives in Western Poland.

The withdrawal of Polish Citizens from the line.—On the outbreak of the Soviet German war all the soldiers originary from Polish territories had been, on the base of a confidential order of the Soviet authorities, withdrawn from the line. There are data that the Ukrainians passed over in mass on the German side. Certainly not all had been withdrawn from the front, probably many of them are fighting up to now in the ranks of the Red Army. Those withdrawn from the line were treated as an unsafe element, they were chased to the rears as would-be criminals. Arms were taken from them and their uniforms exchanged for tatters. The weaker ones who for lack of strength could not walk were killed during the way. For instance in one party only, during the march on the route Nikolaiev Starobielsk 128 Poles were given the finishing blow. Larger groupings of those withdrawn from the front were: at Orel 4,000 men, at Samarkand 5,000, at Czelabinsk 2,500. At rallying points they were organised in so-called working battallions, that were then sent to various localities to work in factories, at the construction of aerodromes, at the cutting of forests and so on.

The working battallions.—The working battallions were under the patronage of NKWD. The life there did not differ at all from the life in the camps. The conditions of accommodation were dreadful: unheated clay huts in many cases without even board beds, or tents. Clothes completely worn out, lack of underclothes and of shoes. The food was distributed according to the quantity of work done in one day, the standard of which was screwed up to the utmost limits. The only difference between a prisoners' camp and a working battallion was that the working men were considered as Soviet citizens endowed with full rights and thus every attempt to leave was being considered as desertion. The anti-religious and anti-Polish propaganda were continually at the order of the day.

Disloyalty of the Soviet Authorities towards the Polish Government and the Allied States.—Notwithstanding the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet agreement and the engagements assumed by General Panfilov in the presence of General Anders C. in C. of the Polish Armed Forces in the U. R. S. S. (August 1941) the Soviet authorities did not release the Polish citizens from the Working battallions, but every attempt of escape on their part at the aim of joining the Polish Army was being punished as desertion—by capital punishment. Only from the battallion at the Niznyj Tagil locality (Sviedrlovsk district) a mixed commission released the Polish citizens in a more considerable number. A part of Poles came also from the battallions of Baku and Barylsk. Their number amounted in total to about 3 thousand men.

The work conditions in the battallions as well as the treatment were of such kind that in spite of severe punishments many were attempting to escape. The enlisting to the Polish Army was the dream not only of the Poles but also of the Whiteruthenians, of Ukrainians and of Jews, which fact is being proved by numerous letters and applications addressed to our delegates and asking for their intervention.

Heedless of the existence of the Polish-Soviet agreement the "Politruks" lecturers at the courses of "Politnauka" (Political notions) did not stop their slandering at the address of Poland of the Polish Government as well as of England and America. Very popular were the expressions such as "the bandit Sikorski" "his band" &c. or such informations that "the English and American soldier is getting only 300 grams bread and soup once a day" that "a pick and a spade are prepared for the King of England in Siberia." One should consider that these "lectures" of the Politruki had an official character as they were given according to the precise instructions of the Soviet Authorities.

The requests for being released for the service in the Polish Army were answered cynically in words such as: "If we release you who then will work?"

In many cases those attempting to escape were put before the martial court. The intervention of the Polish Authorities gave no result whatever as it is shown clearly in the reports of the [deleted.] In these last times (since two months) Polish citizens incorporated in various "drilling detachments" are being directed to the station of Tatarskaia (east of Omsk) where now new drilling detachments composed of foreigners, Polish citizens in the main part, are to be formed. To all the Poles which are being sent to Tatarskaia the Soviet authorities explain that it is precisely there where the Polish Army is organised. The question of releasing the Poles from the drilling battalions becomes more and more urgent. Always more numerous complaints reach us. Poles leaving the battalions for enlisting in the Polish Army are punished as deserters. Two 19 years old Poles—Leszczynski and Pukas were shot in December 1941 under the pretext of an attempt of escape from the 259 U. S. W. drilling detachment.

The Soviet military authorities (Gen. Panfilov) engaged themselves at the time to release the Poles from the Red Army. I sent to General Panfilov a letter requesting such release (dated 20.I.42 No. 124/42) I have received no answer up to now. Please inform me whether I am to continue to intervene or whether said intervention will be done by the C. in C. of the Polish Army [deleted].

There exists an engagement of Gen. Panfilov assumed by him during his second conversation with Gen. Anders (in August 1941—minutes of proceedings) stating that the Polish Army in the URSS will be formed among others with the Polish citizens mobilized to the Red Army. Basing himself on said engagement [deleted] came out several times with the request of the release of the Poles from the "Stroioddzialy" drilling detachments. Each time his intervention remained without any answer. On the 8 or 9 inst. the "Narkomat Oborony" Central Defence Committee issued an order to all the Obwojenkomaty-Military Districts in the URSS of registering all the Polish citizens being in the drilling detachments grouping them according to their nationalities. The date of the execution of said order has been fixed for the 17 inst.

Since some time in the drilling detachments are operating conscription commissions with physicians etc. defining the categories of abilities for military service of the soldiers of the drilling detachments. The order of registration caused the grouping of the Polish citizens most qualified for military service in separate detachments which are being sent in an unknown direction. These last days have been sent from the drilling battalion No. 743 stationed at Krish about 600 Polish citizens and every day from other drilling detachments from the whereabouts of Kujbyshev groups of about 100 men representing the best material are being deported. According to existing tracks they are directed to detachments where no registration nor evidence of nationality can be applied. Probably the same thing happens in other Drilling Detachments in the URSS. The slightest reaction or resistance on the part of the Polish soldiers is rendered impossible owing to most severe punishments applied for expressing even the desire to join the Polish Army.

One should also state that in this area there is a great confusion and lack of consequence. There were some cases of the release of Polish citizens, without discerning their nationality, from the drilling battalions and of directing them to the Polish Army by the Soviet Military Authorities. In Swerdlovsk at the intervention of the Soviet registering officer (cpt. Kalaur) about 400 Polish citizens were released from the drilling battalion and then, after they had been formally accepted in the Polish Army by the Mixed Conscription Commission they were again incorporated in the drilling battalions. In that group about 90% were essential Poles. * * *

The MILITARY ATTACHE with the Polish Embassy in Kujbyshev, the 15.III.42. Some cases of punishment by the Soviet Courts of the Polish soldiers in the drilling battalions for their desire to join the Polish Forces:

1. The Court Martial in Glotowka (by Uljanowska) sentenced to death two Poles from the Lwow province, named Pukas and Leszczynski for an attempted escape from the 259 drilling battalion (students of the Military Preparation courses in Glotowka). The sentence has probably been effectuated, it had taken place in November or in December 1941.

2. The Court Martial in Syzran condemned for 10 years prison and 15 years of deprivation of rights a Pole from Silesia named ——— for an attempt to escape to the Polish Army from the No. 257 Military Prep. batt. in Syzran. The detachment has now been transported to Czelabinsk ——— has been shut in prison. This took place in December or in January.

3. In the Drilling battalion 757 in Bozanczuk near Kujbyshev the Court Martial issued sentences against several Polish citizens, condemning some of them to 8-10

years of prison and two of them to death. The names of some of them are ——— and a few others. It is not known what sentence applied to which of them. They were prosecuted for attempts of escaping and for expressing the desire to join the Polish Armed Forces. They all have been confined and their fate is unknown.

According to information, cases as those quoted above are frequent.

For the General ———.

It is not excluded that out of the Labour battalions individuals or groups will be chosen and sent to the front or, that out of them will be organised (may be that this organisation has already taken place) Units of the Polish Red Army, the formation of which is claimed with such insistence by the Communist paper (published in Polish in Moscow and subventioned by the Soviet Government); "Głos Narodu" (Voice of the Nation) and by Wanda Wasilewska (Polish Communist Leader).

APPENDIX IX

1. The attached Bulletin No. 3, in French, was handed to me by the (G-2) of the Polish Army in the Middle East. He stated that he got it in Cairo, that it is put out by the Communists, but he does not know where, that it is anti-Polish. Bulletin No. 1, was against the Yugoslavs, and Bulletin No. 2, against the Greeks. No. 4 has not been published yet.

HIS.

PARTIAL TRANSLATION

The recent rupture of relations existing between Poland and Russia is not an isolated event of discord existing between these two countries. At the discovery of the Polish graves outside Smolensk, and the offer made by the Nazis to the Red Cross to impartially investigate the graves, the common sense of the people was outraged. Their reaction was:

If the Nazis propose an investigation, that means that they have staged the scene and are convinced they can convince the Red Cross Committee. Unfortunately, the Polish Government, without even asking Moscow for an explanation did accept the offer of Dr. Goebbels. Dr. Goebbels, above everything else, was trying to split the Allies and sow the seeds of discord between them. General Sikorski, on this occasion, played right into their hands.

To permit the general public to form an opinion on the Polish attitude, we are obliged to go back and review the past 20 years of Poland's foreign policy.—(not translated).

The day that the British Government had the impudence to demand an investigation by the I. R. C. regarding the discovery of 10,000 Polish corpses, the C. G. in the M. E., Anders, already convinced, ordered his troops to hold a requiem mass for the Polish killed in Russia.

Russia answered these Polish provocations as they deserved. They showed that one cannot rupture with impunity the sacred spirit of the United Nations. The public opinion of the world upholds it.

To escape the consequence of a just anger amongst the British troops in the M. E. who hide neither their sympathy or their admiration for their Russian comrades, they tried to camouflage the injuries done to the Russians by relating in the English papers that the Polish Government had asked for an inquest to be made with the sole object of proving the lie to the Germans.

The authority of the Sikorski Government, even if it is recognized in London and Washington, is strongly contested in Poland itself.

For the last two years, the Polish Partisans have been helped, supplied and directed by the Russian High Command.

Hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, with their comrades-in-arms from the USSR, they are waging this terrible battle behind the enemy's lines. They are not interested in the political manoeuvres of General Sikorski, who is a rightful successor to the Pilsudski, Beck, Smigly-Rydz Company, who have brought so much misfortune on Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show to the witness letter referred to by the gentleman from Illinois, now marked "Exhibit 10." Will you examine that, please, and is that the letter to which we are now referring?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. We now offer that in evidence.

Chairman MADDEN. It is declared in evidence as exhibit 10.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Shall I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, I referred to the letter of May 29. I believe that is in here, too.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir. It is the covering letter for all nine appendixes which were marked "Exhibit 10-A."

Mr. SHEEHAN. The second from the last paragraph, Colonel, if you will just read that for the record, so you will know what I am talking about.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

A duplicate copy of this, less the photostatic and original copy, was put in the form of a report and sent through channels.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, was there a specific request that you had in your orders to make this report in this manner or was this according to Army regulations.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. It was neither specific nor Army regulations.

Mr. SHEEHAN. You just did it the way you wanted to?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. All right, that answers that question. In your report you mentioned a little while ago that you talked about Wendell Willkie. You were interpreter for him?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. There is a part in your report where you refer to a conversation with Mr. Willkie's secretary.

Mr. MITCHELL. I don't believe that part is in the record, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Everything in there is in the record, is it not?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, sir. That is the point.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Let's get that straightened out.

Mr. MITCHELL. We received quite a number of reports from the War Department. When we went over this for declassification purposes to strike out the names, we did not have the part that you are referring to now, present at that time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I see that? I will tell you whether he had it there or not.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I was not there.

Mr. MITCHELL. This is the entire matter we had present that day.

Mr. SHEEHAN. It is part of Colonel Szymanski's report there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May 29, 1943? That letter was present. We had that letter. The letter of May 29.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, that one; but he is talking about the Willkie matter.

Mr. SHEEHAN. There was a report attached, the colonel's report, which was attached to these documents here, which referred to the political and military Russian situation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me say this for the record. May I ask Mr. Korth, is there any reason why this should not be offered in the record?

Mr. KORTH. I don't know, sir. I haven't had an opportunity to read that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have we had any indication from any one that they didn't want this to go in the record?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Take a recess of 5 minutes and let him read it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I suggest we take a recess. I see no reason why that should not go in the record.

Chairman MADDEN. Recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman, this is exhibit 11.

Mr. FLOOD. I have just been handed by counsel for the committee what will be identified and marked for identification as "Exhibit No. 11."

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 11" and filed for the record titled "Polish-Russian Relations.")

Mr. FLOOD. I now show the witness, Colonel Szymanski, exhibit No. 11 and ask him to identify this as to whether or not this is part of the so-called Szymanski report.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. It is now offered in evidence.

Chairman MADDEN. It is accepted in evidence.

(The document marked "Exhibit No. 11" follows:)

EXHIBIT 11

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHÉ,
CAIRO, EGYPT

WSM/lS

IG No. 3600

[Stamped:] Rec'd G-2 June 15, 1943.

Subject: "Polish-Russian Relations."

To: Chief, Military Intelligence Service, War Department, Washington, D. C.

1. A deferred copy of letter submitted by Lt. Colonel Henry I. Szymanski, covering 9 appendices pertaining to the "Katyn Affair" is forwarded herewith.

WILLIAM S. MOORE,

Lt. Colonel, GSC, Military Attaché.

From M. A. Cairo, Egypt. REPort No. 4395. June 3, 1943.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
G-2 REPORT, POLAND

Subject: Polish-Russian Relations.

I. G. No. 3850

Source and Degree of Reliability:

1. Study of official documents.
2. Conversations with officials of Polish Govt.
3. Conversations with rank & file of Polish Army.
4. Conversations with Polish civilian evacuees.

The report is organized as follows:

1. Basis of report.
2. Brief review of relations prior to Bolshevik invasion, Sept. 17, 1939.
3. Relations between invasion and Armistice, September 17, 1939-July 30, 1941.

4. Relations from Armistice to October 30, 1942.

5. Future Relations.

Basis of Report:

1. Study of official documents.
2. Conversations with officials of the Polish Government in the Middle East and England.
3. Conversations with the rank and file of the Polish Army in the Middle East and England (all former prisoners in Russia).

4. Conversations with hundreds of Polish civilian evacuees out of Russia—men, women, and children (all ages). These were sworn to silence by the Polish Government and Army authorities in order not to jeopardize the Polish-Russian relations. They were released from their oath in order to tell their stories. No other foreigner was accorded that privilege.

From: Liaison Officer to Polish Army.

Date: November 22, 1942.

(November 23, 1942)

POLISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

1. Basis of report.
2. Brief review of relations prior to Bolshevik invasion, September 17, 1939.
3. Relations between invasion and Armistice, September 17, 1939—July 30, 1941.
4. Relations from Armistice to October 30, 1942.
5. Future Relations.

ENCLOSURES

1. Pictures taken by Lt. Col. Szymanski.
2. Case Histories taken by Lt. Col. Szymanski in Pahlevi and Teheran.
3. Copy of a letter written to an American communist by his brother, who spent 2 years in Russia as a deportee.
4. Copy of extract from Soviet memorandum on Polish Citizenship.
5. Translation of memorandum prepared in London for Lt. Col. Szymanski at behest of General Sikorski on Polish Citizenship of non-Polish Nationals.

POLISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

Relations Prior to Bolshevik Invasion (Sept. 17, 1939)

This chapter will be very brief because the subject matter is covered in various books, pamphlets, and reports. It does provide a background for an understanding of subsequent relations.

1. There existed between Poland and the Soviet Republic a pact of non-aggression dated July 25, 1932, which on May 5, 1934, was extended to December 31, 1945.
2. Despite the strong misgivings occasioned by the German-Soviet Pact of Aug. 23, 1939, a general impression of good will towards Poland prevailed on the part of the Soviets.
3. On Sept. 17, 1939, the Polish Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. was read a note in the *Kremlin* to the effect that: *a.* The Soviets regarded the Polish Government as disintegrated, and the Polish State as having, in fact, ceased to exist; *b.* That consequently all agreements between the two countries were rendered invalid; *c.* That Poland without leadership constituted a threat to the U. S. S. R.; *d.* That the Soviet Government could not view with indifference the fate of the Ukrainians and White Russians living on Polish territory; *e.* That, accordingly, the Soviet Government had ordered its troops to cross the Polish border for their protection; *f.* And that the Soviet Government proposed to extricate the Polish people from the unfortunate war into which they were dragged by their unwise leaders and enable them to live a peaceful life.
4. The entrance of Bolshevik troops came as a distinct surprise to the population, the civil, and the military authorities. From conversations, I gathered that the Bolshevik commanders had two sets of orders—one, a directive for peaceful entry as a supposed ally of the Poles, and the other, to be read when certain points were reached, of an entirely different purport.
5. The entry of the Bolshevik troops was actually an invasion.

Relations between the Invasion and the Armistice (Sept. 17, 1939—July 30, 1941)

1. The first impression which the Bolshevik invasion produced indicated that it might be limited to a military occupation. Business was allowed to be carried on, and employees in private and public undertakings were ordered to remain at their posts. There was no visible interference with religion.
2. However, there soon followed an emigration from Russia of Officers' families, civil administrators, commissars, and the O. G. P. U. (political police), and it soon became apparent what was in store for the occupied land.
3. There began a confiscation of land, all church property, raw materials, machinery, stocks of commodities, livestock, furniture, not only from factories and government buildings but private dwellings as well, railway rolling stock, farm produce; these were all exported to Russia. All bank and savings deposits over 300 Zlotys (about \$60,000) were confiscated. In December 1939, the Bolsheviks withdrew the Zloty from circulation and made no provision for even a nominal exchange against the ruble. The people were thus stripped of everything.

4. All trade unions were abolished. Workers' wages remained low despite rising prices. The unemployment problem was solved by voluntary deportation to Russia. The peasants and small farmers were forced to join the "Kolkhoz," a form of collective farming, where they soon learned that they had no liberty to exchange their product for industrial commodities.

5. Political persecutions were soon begun and directed against (1) all party leaders, except communists; (2) local educated people, and (3) well-to-do peasants (mostly soldiers who had fought against Bolsheviks in 1920 and were settled in Eastern Poland). The Russian language became the language of these provinces.

6. Early in 1940 began the wholesale deportation of Poles to Kazakstan, Turkestan, Siberia, etc. Their number is estimated as between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 men, women, and children. There is every indication that this mass deportation was not a haphazard affair. Quite the contrary—it appears that the plan was very carefully worked out, and its purpose was the extermination of the so-called intelligentsia of Eastern Poland. Those deported were officers and their families, all government officials and police, professional men, educators, prosecutors, judges, and all former soldiers (those who fought against the Bolsheviks in 1920) who were settled in Eastern Poland and had become prosperous peasants. Families were broken up and in many cases the husband shot. Very little time was given for preparation. One or two suitcases were all that was permitted to be taken. Fifteen minutes to an hour was the time allowed for packing. The travel was mostly in trucks or cattle cars and the journeys lasted up to 26 days without any sanitary conditions, means of exercise, facilities for sleep, purchase of food, etc.

7. Once the destination was reached in Siberia, Franz Joseph Island, Archangel, Mongol Provinces, or Malaria-infested Kazakstan, living conditions, and working conditions became intolerable. The destinations were forced labor camps, concentration camps, and prisons. Officers like Generals Anders, Boruta, Tokarzewski, Rakowski, etc., were either in solitary confinement or shared cells with Russian political prisoners. General Tokarzewski was in solitary confinement for 17 months, General Boruta was confined for seven months, and was tortured repeatedly by denial of his daily portion of bread and soup (containing no fat) and then given a sumptuous meal, only to be denied even water for 3 or 4 days.

8. The deportees were assigned work in coal and iron mines, on the laying of roads and railroads, on irrigation projects, in forests, on construction of buildings, on farms. No discrimination was shown between men and women. A woman had to cut and pile as much wood as a man; she had to carry 15 lbs. of bricks or mortar, she had to excavate 9½ cubic meters twice-shifted despite the fact that the normal excavation was 6 cubic meters. That was the task for the day. They were paid accordingly. The pay bought just enough bread to keep body and soul together. If anyone fell below the quota, he or she, was docked and consequently could not buy enough bread. Soup was thrown in, which, at times, had in it a few shreds of cabbage; meat, fat, vegetables, and fruit were not to be had.

9. Quarters were overcrowded, sleeping was on the floor or ground, there was either no heat or very little, and no sanitary conditions were provided. Rats had the play of all dwellings. The sick were not isolated and medicines were not available. Because of the lack of vitamins, scurvy, beriberi, and many other diseases were prevalent. Night blindness and loss of memory resulted from the same causes. The condition of the teeth of all Poles is very bad. This is also due to lack of vitamins. Pictures taken by me in Pablevi indicate the privations that those people had to undergo in the land of the Soviets.

10. The children had no chance. It is estimated that 50% have already died from malnutrition. The other 50% will die unless evacuated to a land where American help can reach them. A visit to any of the hospitals in Teheran will testify to this statement. They are filled with children and adults who would be better off not to have survived the ordeal.

11. Women not accustomed to hard manual labor and consequently not able to earn enough for their daily bread had a choice of starving to death or submitting to the Bolshevik or Mongol supervisor. In one sense their condition was bettered—they had something to eat. When asked by me whether they worked hard, a reluctant answer of, "I wanted to live," would be given me. The Polish military medical authorities are taking blood tests to determine the number of venereals among women. The tests were not completed prior to my departure, but the results will be handed me.

12. The so-called intelligentsia—the professionals, the educators, the Government officials, etc., were not used to manual labor, and consequently not as able to take care of themselves as were the prosperous peasants. Hundreds of these have died. Stalin has succeeded admirably in the extermination of this class—the leaders of Poland. Overwork and undernourishment plus unsanitary living conditions have done the job of bullets.

13. The lot of the prosperous peasants, most of them former soldiers who fought against the Bolsheviks in 1920, was particularly hard. My contacts must have numbered close to a hundred. Everyone of these former soldiers that I spoke to was given the 3rd degree and repeatedly tortured by the N. K. W. D. (Gestapo). Most of them were given severe prison sentences on no other charge, except that they fought for their country against the Bolsheviks in 1920.

14. With a few exceptions, no charges were made against the deportees. There was no trial. Sentences were pronounced by the M. K. W. D. All were doomed.

Relations Between the Period July 30, 1941–Oct. 30, 1942

I. On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked Russia. On July 30, 1941, the Polish-Soviet agreement was concluded. The text is as follows:

"1. *The Government of the U. S. S. R. recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity.*—The Polish Government declares that Poland is not bound by any agreement with any third Power which is directed against the U. S. S. R.

2. Diplomatic relations will be restored between the two Governments upon the signing of this Agreement and an immediate exchange of Ambassadors will be arranged.

3. The two Governments mutually agree to render one another aid and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

4. The Government of the U. S. S. R. expresses its consent to the formation on the territory of the U. S. S. R. of a Polish army under a Commander appointed by the Polish Government in agreement with the Soviet Government, the Polish army on the territory of the U. S. S. R. being subordinated in an operational sense to the supreme command of the U. S. S. R. upon which the Polish army will be represented. All details as to command, organization and employment of the force will be settled in a subsequent agreement.

5. This Agreement will come into force immediately upon signature and without ratification."

"Protocol.—The Soviet Government grants an amnesty to all Polish citizens now detained on Soviet territory either as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds, as from the resumption of diplomatic relations."

After the signature of the Agreement, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, handed General Sikorski a note in the following terms:

"On the occasion of the signature of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of today's date, I desire to take the opportunity of informing you that in conformity with the provisions of the agreement of mutual assistance between the United Kingdom and Poland of August 25th, 1939, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have entered into no undertaking towards the U. S. S. R. which affects the relations between that country and Poland. *I also desire to assure you that His Majesty's Government do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August, 1939.*"

General Sikorski handed Mr. Eden a reply in the following terms:

"The Polish Government take note of your Excellency's letter dated July 30, 1941, and desire to express sincere satisfaction at the statement that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August, 1939. This corresponds with the view of the Polish Government, which, as it has previously informed His Majesty's Government, has never recognized any territorial changes effected in Poland since the outbreak of the present war."

II. 1. The *Protocol* has a significant bearing upon the relations during this period. The term "*Polish Citizens*" in the "*Protocol*" has caused considerable friction in the relations and a great deal of misunderstanding. In my study of the official correspondence between Mr. Kot, Polish Ambassador in Russia, and the Soviet Government, I observed that to the Poles the term "*Polish Citizens*," implied all citizens of Poland as recognized in its constitution, regardless

of origin. That meant that the so-called minorities, the White Russians, Ukrainians and Jews living in Eastern Poland were citizens in the same sense as the people of strictly Polish origin. The Soviets, after about three months of the existence of the agreement, gave the term the interpretation that it referred only to the people of strictly Polish origin.

2. After the invasion of September 17, 1939, the Soviets had held a plebescite in occupied Poland. All the candidates proposed by the Soviets were elected. There were no other candidates. Eastern Poland was thus joined to the Soviet Republic. Soviet citizenship papers were issued to all inhabitants of the Soviet-occupied part of Poland. All became citizens of the Soviet Republic. All papers of identification of the deportees were taken away from them, and in their place were issued the Soviet citizenship papers. Reference to the date November 1, 1939, in subsequent paragraphs and in attached translations of Polish reports is in effect a reference to the plebescite and the issuance of citizenship papers.

In order to get help to the Polish citizens liberated by the agreement of July 30th, the Polish Ambassador made several proposals such as the appointment of Polish Consuls, the Polish Red Cross aid and the formation of committees to deal with the civilians. These the Soviets turned down. Finally, after a direct appeal of General Sikorski to Stalin in December 1941, the Soviets agreed to grant the Poles a loan and to the appointment of 20 delegates who would deal directly with the liberated Polish civilians. Of the 20 delegates, nine had diplomatic status. The delegates and their assistants, numbering around 100 in all, were sent to various localities in Russia. To them the liberated Polish citizens came for food, clothing, financial help, and instructions as to future action. As a means of future identification the delegates issued Polish passports to the citizens reporting to them.

3. At first the delegates encountered no difficulty in their activities. However, in April 1942, the Soviets began restricting the delegates as to the localities in which they could work. The Soviet Foreign Office further demanded from the Embassy that the delegates cease intervening and cease seeking information from the local authorities concerning the masses of Polish citizens still held in camps and prisons. The Soviet authorities began to make it impossible for the Polish embassy to render help to the Polish citizens of Jewish, White Russian or Ukrainian origin. These the Soviets assumed to be citizens of the U. S. S. R. by a unilateral declaration.

4. In June, 1942, the Soviets made difficulties for Polish couriers in their attempt to reach the Polish Embassy. About this time the Soviets began to arrest some of the assistants to the delegates. The charge was that these assistants were conducting propaganda against the Soviets.

5. At the end of June the Soviets arrested the Polish delegates to Vladivostok and Archangel despite their diplomatic passports. On July 10, they were released on protest of the Polish Ambassador. About July 15, all the delegates and their assistants were arrested, their papers, reports, and personal files confiscated.

6. On July 20, the NKWD (Gestapo) notified the Polish Minister that the work of the delegates must cease, on the charge that all the delegates and their assistants were carrying on espionage and propaganda against the Soviets.

7. The NKWD liquidated such Polish agencies as orphanages, homes for invalids, and kitchens where free meals were served. With the delegates under arrest and above agencies liquidated, the Polish civilian population in Russia was left to its own wits or starvation.

8. The attempt of the Polish Government to persuade the Soviets to facilitate the evacuation of 50,000 Polish children, whose lot was particularly difficult, was also fruitless.

9. The Polish officials and our Minister in Teheran, Mr. Dreyfus, told me that Stalin promised our President that 10,000 children (orphans) would be evacuated immediately. That was not done prior to my departure from England on October 29, 1942.

10. Nine of the delegates were released in August and came directly to Teheran where I contacted them. The rest of them remained in prison, charged but not tried.

11. For Mr. Kot, Deputy Prime Minister and former Polish Ambassador to Russia, I translated to Mr. Wendell Willkie in Teheran. In the translation was a message from General Sikorski to Mr. Willkie asking him that he intervene with Stalin on the following points:

- a. Release of the delegates and the assistants.
- b. Evacuation of the 10,000 orphans.
- c. Evacuation of the 50,000 children.

12. In Scotland on October 22, 1942, General Sikorski informed me that he had just received a dispatch that 70 of the delegates were released and that the remaining 14 were held and will be tried on a charge of spreading anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

13. *a.* The Polish Ambassador, Mr. Kot, made repeated requests for the release from prison of Polish citizens. Promises were always made and not kept;

b. the Ambassador made repeated requests that the Soviets give him a list containing the names and the places of detention of Polish citizens. Again promises were made and not kept.

c. When finally Mr. Kot furnished the NKWD a list of some 4,500 of the more promised Poles and their places of detention, he was furnished replies pertaining to 1,500 of whom 1,000 were released, but the date and place of release were not given.

d. The Polish Embassy knows the location of some 65 camps and prisons where Poles are still detained.

e. In November, 1941, Molotov notified Kot that all Poles were released from detention, and yet the Soviet Foreign Office in January, February and March, 1942, notified Kot that Poles were still being released from detention.

f. When only few of the so-called minorities, all citizens, were permitted to join the Polish Army, the protests from Kot brought forth the answer from the NKWD that those were Soviet citizens and therefore not eligible for the Polish Army.

g. When civilians of the so-called minorities made application to the Polish Embassy for evacuation and were given passports due them as Polish citizens, the NKWD detained them at Tashkent, Yangi-Yul, and Ashkabad, the points of embarkation, to Iran.

FUTURE POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS

1. Polish-Soviet relations are marked by differences which are in my humble opinion irreconcilable.

2. These differences are irreconcilable at present because (a) the Soviets did not carry out their end of the Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact; (b) the Soviets are not carrying out the provisions of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941; (c) Stalin's promises to Sikorski and Roosevelt are not being kept; (d) there are still some 900,000 Polish citizens, deportees, in Russia, slowly being exterminated through overwork and undernourishment; (e) there are still some 50,000 Polish children slowly dying of starvation.

3. If the Soviets forsake their communistic and imperialistic aspirations, there is a good chance that peace may reign in the Eastern part of Poland.

4. The Polish Government and army officials are making a determined effort to reconcile the differences. The attitude of the Government is realistic.

5. Thousands of families broken up, deported, tortured and starved cannot so easily forget the immediate past—young men just out of Russia, young men six months out of Russia ask not for bread, but for rifles—willing to die, provided they can bag their toll of Nazis and then of Bolsheviks.

HENRY I. SZYMANSKI,
Lt. Colonel, Infantry,
Liaison Officer, to Polish Army.

Enclosure No. 1

Report on Polish-Russian Relations, Lt. Col. H. I. Szymanski, U. S. Army,
Nov. 22, 1942

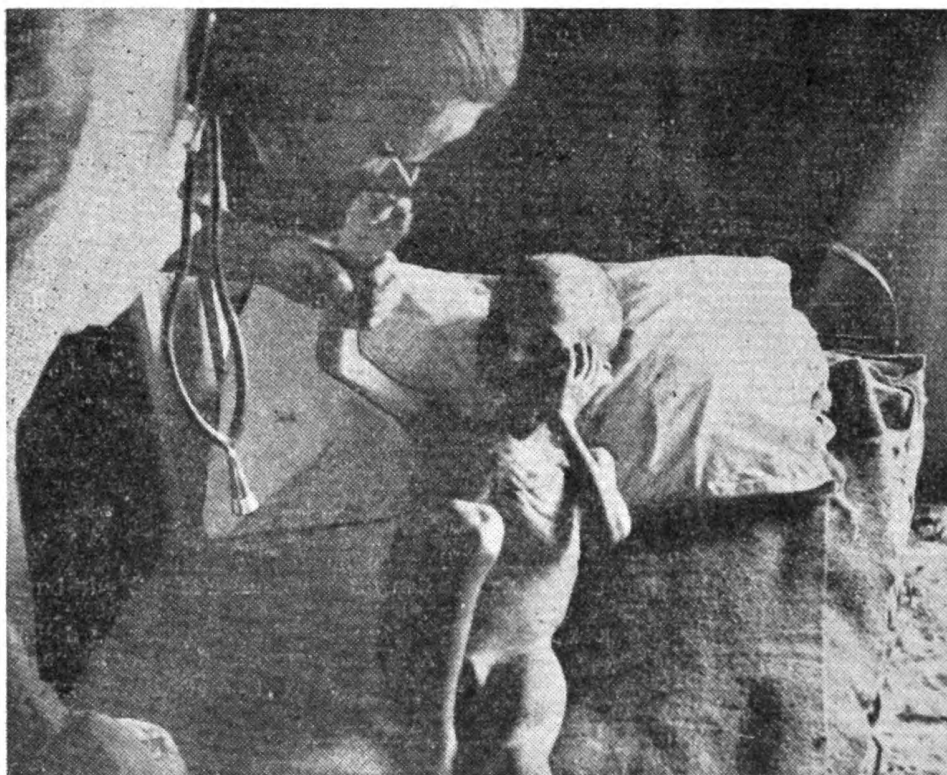


Photo by Lieutenant Colonel Szymanski, U. S. Army.

Six-year-old boy, Polish evacuee from Russia, August 1942.

(See par. 10 of Report on Polish-Russian Relations Between Sept. 17, 1939-July 30, 1941,
p. 455)



Photo by Lieutenant Colonel Szymanski, U. S. Army.

Twelve-year-old boy, Polish evacuee from Russia, August 1942.

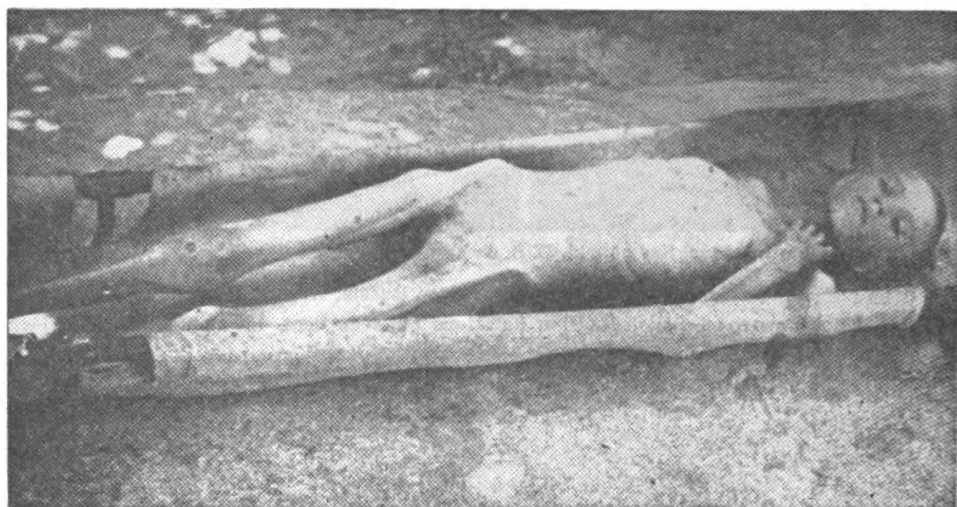


Photo by Lieutenant Colonel Szymanski, U. S. Army.

Ten-year-old girl, Polish evacuee from Russia, August 1942.

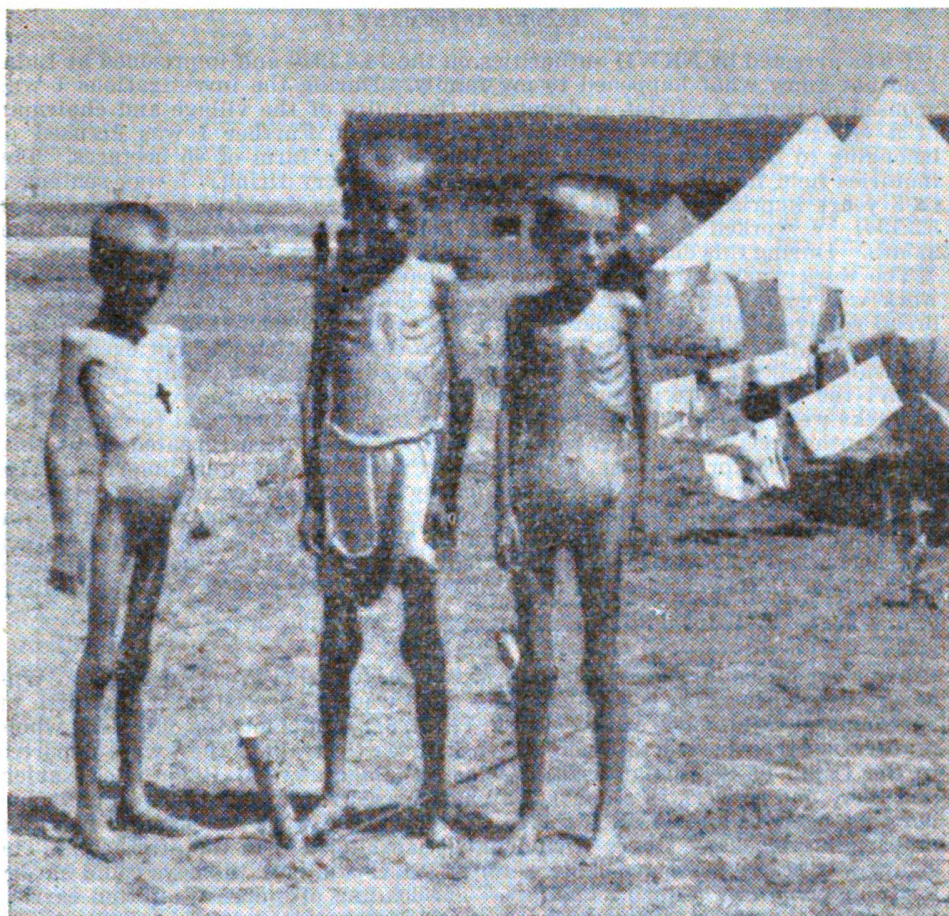


Photo by Lieutenant Colonel Szymanski, U. S. Army.

Three sisters, ages 7, 8, and 9, Polish evacuees from Russia, August 1942.

Enclosure No. 2

Report on Polish-Russian Relations, Lt. Col. H. I. Szymanski, U. S. Army,
Nov. 22, 1942

CASE STUDIES—POLISH EVACUEES IN TEHERAN

FIRST INFORMANT

I was employed as a gamekeeper on an estate and owned a small farm, approx. 5 hectares. Upon the arrival of the Soviet authorities I was arrested, on the 14 December 1939, and imprisoned at Molodeczno. After 6 months there I was transferred to the prison at Orsza. In prison during inquiries I was accused of carrying out my duties too conscientiously, communicating with the Polish police authorities and officers belonging to the Polish Frontier Guard Corps, finally for hiding Polish Officers. During these inquiries I was subjected to very cruel treatment, I was beaten and forced to report about other Poles, false statements. I was sentenced to 8 years of labour in camp. I was deported to Kalyma. During the journey, I learned that my wife was deported to Swierdloskaja Oblast in February 1940. In the Labour Camp I had to work on the railway line. The work was very heavy. Food received after the quota of work was carried out: 700 gr. of bread and twice daily oat soup made with salted fish. No salary. I was ill and had a rupture, but had to work on. Living dwellings in barracks very dirty and full of lice. Very bad treatment and we very often were beaten. I was released when the Amnesty for Poles was in force on the 25.9.1941.

SECOND INFORMANT

I was arrested by NKWD authorities on the 14.8.1940 and imprisoned at Lida. I do not know what happened to my family. During the investigations I was accused of being a patriot, a deputy of the maire of the village and chairman of a village association and Cooperative Society. Further I was accused of belonging to the "rich class" as my father owned a farm of 45 hectares. The inquiries held for the larger part at night were very tiring. I was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment and Labour Camp. I was deported to Komi on the 5.3.1941. I worked as a carpenter, 14 hours per day and one day rest per month. During this day I had to work one or two hours.

The work was very heavy. Food very bad, in the morning, if the quota of work was completed, 675 gr. of bread and hot water, the smallest amount of bread received 250 gr. Dinner at 7 in the evening consisted of oat meal soup with salted fish. Illness was not taken into consideration and not even with a medical certificate of unfitness was one released from work. Only people who hadn't the strength to get up from bed were allowed not to work. Billets in barracks were overcrowded; in a one-person bed, three men used to sleep. The camp authorities used to treat us very badly. They often repeated to us that we were buried for the rest of our life. Criminals who were imprisoned together with us were much better treated by the authorities and could torture us and ill treat us. In the barracks where I was imprisoned was also the Lithuanian Minister of Finance Petrulis. Thieves had stolen all his clothes and belongings and although he reported this fact to the authorities no steps were taken. I was released by the Amnesty with 4 weeks delay on the 6.8.1941.

THIRD INFORMANT

After her husband was arrested she was deported from Pinsk on 20.4.41. Was deported from hospital with 5 children. She was in hospital after the birth of her youngest child. The other children 17, 14, 8, 3, and 2 months old. The whole family was transported to Semipalatynsk in cattle train. They were deported to the Camp of Semipalatynskaja Oblast, Bialagaczewskij Rejon, Bek-Kazjer, and there had to work in a quarry. Was released from work there as unfit, but her sons aged 17 and 14 were forced to work. The work consisted of carrying and loading blocks of stones from 7 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon. The salary was 11 kopek for one cubic meter of stones and both the boys could hardly load one cubic meter during one day. The loading of stones was often carried out during the night. They used to earn 11 kopek daily but the daily expenses for bread only were of 5 roubles 25 kop. We had a separate lodging consisting of one room with a floor, a kitchen stove, one window 2 and half mtr. x 2 and a half mtr. The children were ill, malaria and scarlet fever. The local authorities of the quarry and the guards were severe but did not ill-treat the workers. Relations between Polish and Russian prisoners were good. After long efforts made by the deported they were released by the Soviet authorities on 27 October 1941 and received amnesty certificates. She left immediately afterwards for Farabu, where she stayed 2 weeks, afterwards left for Dzambu'. Teren Uziuk. There her youngest child died, her daughter was seriously ill and became deaf.

FOURTH INFORMANT

Lately lived and was employed at Grodno. After the Soviet occupation worked as builder. On the 9.9.1940 was arrested upon the denunciation of two prisoners who were in his charge in 1936. Was accused of carrying out loyally his duties and was not working for the Soviets. Was sentenced to 8 years Labour Camp. Transferred to the prison in Brzesc later to the camp at Worskuta, where he had to work on the land. His family remained at Grodno and up to March 1941 he was in touch with them. Work in the camp very hard as the quotas of work claimed were extremely high. For instance: during the hay harvest he only carried out 70% of the work demanded and therefore received no salary. Food: 650 grammes of bread per day and soup made out of hot water and noodles with no fat at all. 17 September 1941 was released and in accordance with his wish was directed to join the Polish Army. Arrived to Uzbekistan where no Army units were being organized. Worked in a Kolchoz, sorting out cotton wool, received no pay for that, only 500 grammes of dry biscuit bread with no hot soup. After 13 weeks all Poles were transferred to Kirgiz Republic where they had no work but still received 400 grammes of flour

daily. He became seriously ill—inflammation of the kidneys and up to his departure from U. S. S. R. i. e. March 1942 was in hospital.

FIFTH INFORMANT

We were taken during the night and had only one hour to pack up and prepare to leave. Upon our arrival we were transferred to a farm where we were employed on work consisting of making fuel bricks out of cows manure. As a result of this work we all got skin disease. No medicaments were available. Living conditions and hygienic ones nonexistent, very dirty lodgings full of insects. In the barracks half of the premises were occupied by cattle. Pay for three months—work of three women: 90 roubles. The authorities robbed us or made mistakes in the accounts. Our only means of living was the exchange of our private belongings for food. Later we had to work on the farm. My daughter had to lead oxes during the ploughing. One day she was wounded by an ox and had one rib broken but had to work on. During the winter food very scarce and bad. During the period 1st January 1941 and May 1941 twelve people out of the 42 died. No heating nor light in the barracks in which we were lodged.

SIXTH INFORMANT

Arrested on 20.7.1940 for selling his own corn and under accusation of selling it at too high prices. Sentenced to 5 years labour camp. Inquiries held at prison at Lunowce during three months, afterwards transferred to prison at Charkowica 27 March 1941. Later transferred to the camp in Kirowska Oblast. Work under extremely hard conditions 14 hours daily. Food in full quotas of work completed: 700 grammes of bread twice daily, soup made of oatmeal and salted fish. Living and hygienic conditions very bad. Dirt and insects, no soap. The camp authorities treated us worse than dogs. They considered us buried for life and death sentenced. Russian criminals imprisoned together with us used to ill-treat us, beat us, and rob us. The authorities ignored this. I was released on the 28.8.1941.

SEVENTH INFORMANT

Was arrested there by the NKVD on the 10.2.1940 together with his family, a wife, and four children. Deported to the Gorkowskaja, Oblast. We were given half an hour to leave. We were taken to the station, put into goods vans without heating. The temperature was about 25 degrees below freezing point. The journey lasted a fortnight. On the way we were given soup every second or third day. We did not get any water at all. There were 45 people in the wagon. We were not allowed to get out at all. Upon our arrival we were taken into the tajga to work. The work lasted 12 hours daily and was compulsory, though none of us had been tried and there had been no sentence pronounced. The daily pay amounted to 2 or 3 roubles, which were paid irregularly. The food for the family cost from 20 to 30 roubles daily—one kilo of meat 16 roubles. To feed the family we sold our belongings. Illnesses: malaria and cynga. There were no medicaments. In a room of about 90 cubic metres 28 persons lived. The room was dirty and infected by insects. There was very little soap and no disinfectants whatsoever. The authorities treated us very badly. They had no understanding of our needs. We were told repeatedly "You will be buried here under this tree." We were released in August 1941.

EIGHTH INFORMANT

Was arrested there with family, wife and three children. Deported to the Archangels-kaja Oblast-Kotlas on the 10 February 1940. The journey in unheated and locked goods vans lasted 17 days. During the journey we got soup twice. We were taken to a forest farm for forced labour. There was no trial whatsoever and no sentence pronounced. The work lasted from 12 to 14 hours per day and the pay for a 100% quota 2 to 3 roubles. The upkeep of the family cost 20 roubles a day. We sold our belongings not to die of hunger. We lived in overcrowded huts. Dirt and insects. We were given soap once during the whole year. We received then 50 grammes per person. Amongst the deportees many children and elder people died. Diseases: all suffered of swelling and cynga. Upon arrival to Teheran the results of the swelling were such that I had to have my leg amputated above the knee. During my stay in the forest three in my family died: my two-year-old son, my sister and my mother. The authori-

ties ruthless and very strict. After the amnesty there did not want to release us, and I escaped with my family in December 1941.

NINTH INFORMANT

Went to Lwow with her children when the war broke out, where she was employed as a clerk of the Administration of the State Forests until the 13 April 1940. During that night came three NKWD men, one Militia man and one soldier. After search made in the flat she was given one hour to pack up, was deported with two children 7 and 10 years of age and her mother 72 years old and ill. Deported in a goods van with 27 people, taken to Semipalatynsk. Arrived there 30 April, 1940, and taken to a brick factory for forced labour. She worked alone for the three members of her family—two children and old mother—the work consisted in making bricks and the quota required 1500 bricks, which work over 12 hours. The weight of the stencil and bricks was 20 kilos. After a month of work she got inflammation of tendons. In spite of this she was not allowed to leave work and was told "That does not matter, you will get used to it." When the frosts came, she worked at sawing and cutting wood. The quota was 4 cubic metres per day. The people were forced to do the job in frosts of 43 degrees the freezing point, although according to the law it is not allowed to make the workers work when the temperature reaches -40° . Women Soviet citizens did not go out to work. The pay was 5 roubles to 5 and-half for full quota. Food: the quota for bread was 600 grammes for Luszczyńska and 300 grammes each for the children and mother. In 1941 this quota was reduced 500 grammes and 250, respectively. The local factory authorities were brutal and inhuman. They refused a doctor for the ill mother, they did not take into account her lack of strength when carrying burdens etc. Released in the end of August 1941, then was employed in the Polish Delegation.

[Translation]

Enclosure No. 3

Report on Polish-Russian Relations, Lt. Col. H. I. Szymanski, U. S. Army, November 22, 1942

TEHERAN, Sept. 4, 1942.

DEAR BROTHER: Several years have passed since we parted and it is a long time that I haven't had any news from you. I wish to inform you now about the fate of our family and your father and mother-in-law.

Dearest brother, the war which commenced in 1939 has brought about the tragic lot of our fellow countrymen. In September 1939, our area was invaded by the Soviet Army, which introduced many changes in the economic and political system. They created revolutionary committees which were joined by the greatest criminals released from prisons, and by the scum of the minorities, such as the Pelechs from Peltew at Romaniszynow and Bedrylow, and the Olenszuks at Krzewice, and these people were at the head of the administrative and economic affairs. They began their activity by dividing the land of squires and peasants who still had sown and reaped in 1939. After November 1, 1939, they would not even listen when we prayed them to let us stay in our homes. On November 5th, a committee composed, among others, of Ukrainians arrived and within 15 minutes we were turned out on the street. We went to Gliniany; we were received there and stayed for 10 days. By this time, everything was destroyed and robbed so that there wasn't anything to return to. The interior of Jan Haraz's house was entirely demolished, so were the houses of other people. In the month of January 1940, the pacification began. The N. K. W. D. together with the militia fell upon our homes and we were beaten so that we fainted in their hands. For fear of them we left our houses with our wives and children we escaped to Lwow. On February 10, 1940, a date we shall always remember, they came one night in sledges, when the frost was severe, and took our families as they were, barefooted and naked, while the men were not at home. Whoever learned that the families had been removed endeavored to join them, but some did not succeed, among them, brother Janek, Romek, and many others. Dear Brother, from here on started our pilgrimage. We were carried off and our travel lasted four weeks; what food we had taken along from home was consumed during the first days, and we cried, freezing in the locked cars; the windows were blocked up, so were the doors. They placed 70 persons in one car.

Even water was denied to us during two or three days at a time. We began to throw out dead bodies on the way to Siberia. Not a single child arrived at destination; my three children died, their bodies were placed on the snow beside the car and the train moved on; that was their funeral. Many people became insane during this travel and of the lot of about 3,000 persons about 8% died or went mad.

Finally we arrived at destination in the district of Irkutsk, region of Nizhni Vdinski, from there they carried us in trucks for 36 hours and brought us to a forest where we were placed in barracks, several families together, so that there was no space whatsoever where one could lie down. The place was full of bugs and lice and after three days we were sent to work. A workman received 700 grams of bread and his family 300 grams and water. At the beginning of our work the frost reached 50 degrees, but they paid no attention to our bad clothing and foot gear, and after two weeks the number of members of our colony began to reduce. Aniela Gorajowna died, all 5 Guz girls, Pasternak, Gron, Wojtko's wife, Feret, Uncle Kot, three members of the Glodek family and many others.

We lived at that place over a year and a half in dreadful misery. We ate nettles, grass and even resin. Meanwhile the families of 38 of us were taken away and during several months we had no news whatsoever about them.

Finally the day came when we were given documents stating that we were Polish citizens; this made us very happy and some of joined our families. From then on we began to look for a better place. We travelled for about 6 weeks toward the south and arrived together with others in Tashkent. This travel was a calvary for thousands of our countrymen. My dear brother, I am unable to describe this travel, —history will tell about places and rivers, as for instance the Amudaria, and about the tragedy and death of Poles.

In 1942, I placed the entire family and their neighbors on the collective farm, Novy Put, in the region of Novotrotz, district of Djambul, where we dragged on our life in starvation, where we received for our work 300 grams of flour daily, while in other collective and Soviet farms nothing at all was given, and where the hot climate and hunger were the cause of very high mortality. When the news reached us that a Polish army was being created, we reported for enlistment in the army. Dear brother, I was very sorry to part with the family in such conditions, leaving them so naked and bare-footed, that I was compelled to give my last shirt, a pair of underwear and an old worn suit to my aged father and mother.

In 1942, in March, I enlisted in the Polish army as a chauffeur, an automobile driver, so I am now working in the army. A few days ago I received the news that my family, that is, my wife and my daughter, are still in Russia in a hospital; only sister-in-law Fela is already in Persia, and brother Paul with his son are in the army, also on the Persian side.

A description of all details of what was going on with our Polish people in Soviet Russia, would not have room enough to be written on the roof of your house which you built in the colony and the space of which was little less than 20 square meters; about the camps and examinations under the threat of revolvers pressed against the temples at nightly hours, several times in succession, and always the same question; about cells in which X persons were placed of the majority of whom nothing is known. Dear brother, while working together with the Uzbek people, I learned that they were all waiting for liberation, that almost every other family had someone of its members in a camp or prison, this amounted to a total number of about 40 millions in 1941.

I wish to add that after a stay in 2-3 months, all Polish followers of Marx definitely declared before their authorities that they preferred imprisonment in Poland to liberty in the Soviet country. The life of an unqualified workman in that country was such that I do not know if one could find another country where a workman would work thus for nothing, go around naked, all tattered, and get such food that bread was luxury for a collective farm workman. Training and propaganda was afforded by Russia herself, so that all followers of this idea have been cured once and for all and now they are the most active adversaries of the idea in which they had strongly believed before coming to this country. At the present time the Polish people are being evacuated and every effort is made to get out as many as possible, because the N. K. W. D. is watching this matter closely so as not to let a single soul get out from there. Some of the surviving Poles look like walking ghosts. Dear brother, in conclusion of my letter I want to ask you not to think that I am exaggerating the above described facts; this is only a part of what I have gone through myself, and many other tragic

incidents could be described in addition. Having received your address, I want to lay before you my pains and to inform you of my experiences under that regime.

Hearty greetings and kisses for you, your wife, and your children,
Your affectionate brother,

My address: Command of Evacuation Base, Teheran, Post Office.

Enclosure No. 4

Report on Polish-Russian Relations, Lt. Col. H. I. Szymanski, U. S. Army,
Nov. 22, 1942—I. G. No. 3850

EXTRACT OF THE MEMORANDUM OF THE PEOPLES' COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DATED DECEMBER 1ST, 1941

All citizens of the western Ukrainian and White Russian districts of the U. S. S. R., who on November 1st, 1939, had been in these districts acquired the U. S. S. R. citizenship in accordance with the U. S. S. R. citizenship Law of August 19th, 1939.

The readiness of the Soviet Government to consider as Polish citizens these persons of Polish nationality who had lived on these territories until November 1st, 1939, is a proof of the good will and compromising attitude of the Soviet Government, but in no way can this constitute any basis for consideration as Polish citizens other nationalities, in particular, Ukrainian, White Russian, and Jewish as, the frontier question between the U. S. S. R. and Poland has not been settled and will be a subject of discussion in the nearest future.

Enclosure No. 5

Report on Polish-Russian Relations, Lt. Col. H. I. Szymanski, U. S. Army,
Nov. 22, 1942—I. G. No. 3850

POLISH CITIZENSHIP OF NON-POLISH NATIONALS

The Polish-Soviet Treaty of July 30, 1941, provided amnesty for war prisoners as well as for political prisoners and referred to all detained Polish citizens without making any differentiation among Polish citizens as far as nationality, religion, or race were concerned. Nor did the order issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of U. S. S. R. on August 12, 1941, granting amnesty to Polish citizens who were voluntary or forcedly deported to or detained in the territory of the U. S. S. R., provide any discrimination among Polish citizens of various nationalities.

In accordance with this decision, a certain number of Polish citizens, among them some of Ukrainian, White-Russian, and Jewish nationality, were released from forced labor camps and prisons in the course of the first months following the signing of the treaty, so that during the initial phase of the organization of the Polish Army an appreciable percent of Polish citizens of Jewish, Ukrainian, and White-Russian nationality enlisted as volunteers in Polish units.

The first case of discrimination applied to Polish citizens of non-Polish nationality by Soviet authorities occurred in the Kazakhstan Republic in the month of October. According to information received by the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev the Military Commissar of this Republic, General Shcherbakov, issued an order in Alma-Ata directing that all Polish citizens who were deported by Soviet authorities from occupied Polish territories, and who according to documents issued to them by these authorities from Ukrainian, White-Russian, or Jewish nationals, be sent to the Red Army if their age and physical conditions met requirements.

The Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev reacted to the above order by a note dated 10 November 1941, stating that it was inconsistent with the Polish-Soviet treaty of July 30, 1941, or with the Polish-Soviet Military agreement of August 14, 1941, demanding at the same time that every Polish citizen capable of carrying arms be guaranteed the right of enlisting in the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R.

In their reply of December 1, 1941, to the above note the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs stated that they disagreed with the viewpoint of the Polish Embassy. According to this viewpoint the calling to the Red Army of Soviet citizens who were Ukrainians, White-Russians, and Jews and had come from the territories of Western Ukraine and Western White-Russia was inconsistent with the treaty of July 30, 1941, or the agreement of August 14, 1941. The understand-

ing of the Soviet authorities was that the text of either agreement afforded no basis on which the viewpoint explained in the Embassy's note could be founded. Further, the Soviet note stated that according to the order of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. dated 29 November 1939, all citizens of the western regions of the Ukrainian and White-Russian S. S. R. who remained in these regions on November 1-2, 1939, had acquired U. S. S. R. citizenship under the provisions of the law on U. S. S. R. citizenship, dated August 19, 1938. "The willingness of the Soviet Government to recognize as Polish citizens such Polish nationals who until 1-2 November 1939, had lived in the above-mentioned areas gives evidence to the good will and complaisance of the Soviet Government, but in no way can it serve as a basis for other nationals, in particular of Ukrainians, White-Russians, and Jews, to be analogically recognized as Polish citizens, because the question of the frontiers between the U. S. S. R. and Poland has not been solved as yet and is subject to future revision."

In a reply dated 9 December, 1942, to the afore-mentioned Soviet note, the Embassy stated: (1) "That Polish legislation was based on the principle of equality of all citizens before law without regard to their nationality or race"; the Embassy of the Polish Republic knows of no prescriptions of Soviet law introducing or approving such discrimination. "None of the provisions of the treaty of July 30, 1942, or of the military agreement of August 14, 1942, concerning Polish citizens (amnesty, military service) make any reference to nationality or race, therefore they relate to all Polish citizens without any exceptions." (2) The fact of possessing Polish citizenship by a given person is based on Polish law, in particular on the law on Polish citizenship dated January 20, 1920. For this reason and in view of the considerations elucidated above, "the Embassy cannot take notice of the statement that among the persons who resided on 1-2 November 1939 in the area of the Polish Republic, temporarily occupied by Soviet armed forces, only individuals of Polish nationality will be recognized as Polish citizens by the Soviet Government. (3) The U. S. S. R. law on citizenship of August 19, 1938, cannot be applied to Polish citizens because "its application in the territory of the Polish Republic which was occupied by the Soviet Union from the latter part of September 1939, until June or July 1941, is contrary to the resolutions of the IV Hague convention of 1907." In conclusion the Polish Embassy stated that the Embassy does not connect citizenship with the question of the Polish-Soviet frontier. Soviet authorities, on the other hand, set forth contradicting theses in stating that they do not recognize as Polish citizens persons of Ukrainian, White-Russian, and Jewish nationality who possessed Polish citizenship, because the question of the frontier between the U. S. S. R. and Poland was not decided and was to be revised in the future." Maintaining their attitude as stated in (1) to (3) above, the Embassy called attention to the fact that the Soviet viewpoint constituted a unilateral solution by the Soviet Union of a matter which, according to the statement of the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, is to be revised in the future.

In reply to the above note of the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs sent a note dated January 5, 1942, stating that they did not see any ground for changing their attitude explained in their note of December 1, 1941. As regards the reference made by the Polish Embassy to the Hague Convention, the Peoples' Commissariat is of the opinion that the provision of the IV Hague convention refers to occupation of enemy territory while the term "occupation" with regard to Western Ukraine and White-Russia had no foundation whatsoever either from a political or from an international viewpoint, because "the entry of Soviet troops in Western Ukraine and Western White-Russia in the fall of 1939, was not an occupation and the annexation of the said areas to the U. S. S. R. was a result of the freely expressed will of the population of these areas."

In connection with the above-described attitude of the Soviet government, Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White-Russian, and Jewish nationality, and also of other nationalities or origin, as, for instance, Tartars and Lithuanians, are not regarded by the Soviet government as Polish citizens.

The questioning by the Soviet authorities of Polish citizenship rights held by Ukrainians, Jews, and White-Russians, was not limited to a theoretical legal dispute but was followed by practical consequences of the greatest importance to those concerned. Soviet authorities did not let them join the Polish Army and, in addition, they were deprived of the legal help and assistance of Polish authorities. The Embassy's intervention concerning the release of Polish citizens whose confinement in prisons and forced labor camps continued in spite of proclaimed amnesty, met with disapproval as far as non-Polish nationals (mostly

Jews) were concerned. It has happened that some individuals who, being Polish citizens, had approached delegates of the Polish Embassy were rearrested. The Soviet authorities held these persons responsible for violating Soviet laws which prohibit, under threat of severe punishment, any communication of Soviet citizens with agencies of foreign countries. Finally, of a most vital importance to Polish citizens of Jewish nationality possessing families in Palestine, the United States, and Great Britain, was the matter of departure which was made impossible due to refusal of exit visas by Soviet authorities, although frequently the applicants had already complied with all passport and other formalities. In many cases, Polish foreign passports with British, Palestine, and Iranian visas were simply taken away from persons applying for U. S. S. R. exit visas.

The last paragraph of the afore-mentioned note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs dated December 1, 1941, reads as follows: "As far as the reference made by the Polish Embassy to General Szerbakov's order issued at Alma-Ata is concerned, information possessed by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs indicates that no order has been issued calling the aforementioned citizens (i. e. Ukrainian, White-Russian and Jewish nationals) to the ranks of the Red Army; the order issued concerned their draft for labor in the rear; this also applied to other Soviet citizens of the U. S. S. R.

According to information in the possession of the Polish Government, Polish citizens called to perform labor in the rear, as stated in the above-mentioned note, were placed in so-called "special construction battalions." During the spring months of 1941, a conscription of 3 classes, 1917, 1918, and 1919 for the Red Army was carried out by the Soviet authorities in occupied Polish territory. The recruits were deported to remote areas of the U. S. S. R. Basing the calculation on the general number of the population of the Soviet-occupied Polish territory, it is assumed that the number of recruits amounted to about 150,000 men. In the months of August and September, 1941, on the strength of an order issued by Soviet authorities, a part of Polish citizens recruited from Polish territories were released from the ranks of the Red Army and placed in the above-mentioned construction battalions.

On August 16, 1941, the Commander of Polish Armed Forces in the U. S. S. R., General Anders, approached the representative of the Red Army's High Command, Major General Panfilov, requesting that Polish citizens who were taken to the Soviet Army be turned over to the Polish Army. On August 19, General Panfilov informed General Anders that "desiring to satisfy the Polish Command, the Red Army Headquarters comply with the request of the Polish Command regarding the voluntary release to the Polish Army of Poles who are now in Red Army units." (Protocol No. 2.)

However, it was proved by a number of letters received by the Embassy, that the transfer of Polish citizens from the Red Army and from special construction battalions had not been carried out in practice; moreover, repressive measures were applied to soldiers who, knowing that a Polish Army was being organized in the U. S. S. R., had submitted applications for their transfer to the Polish Army.

Only a few individuals from the 1917, 1918, and 1919 conscription classes succeeded in getting over to the Polish Army, while the note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs dated December 1, 1941, entirely confirmed the fact that Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White-Russians and Jewish nationality were still detained in special construction battalions; this obviously had an unfavorable effect on the numerical strength of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R.

This matter has not been satisfactorily settled, notwithstanding repeated, written, and oral interventions of the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev (dated April 16, and May 4) and of the Polish military authorities (on January 21, February 28, and April 13), although the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in their note of May 14, reiterated that only Soviet citizens were called to the Red Army and to special construction battalions.

In their desire to force upon the Polish Government their viewpoints concerning the citizenship question of persons forcibly deported to the U. S. S. R. from areas of the Polish Republic, the Soviet Government in addition tend toward restricting the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev in their right to issue passports to Polish citizens, a sovereign right of any country. This tendency finds expression in the note of the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs dated June 9, to the Polish Embassy. In this note the Peoples' Commissariat states that they "think it imperative" that lists of individuals to whom the Embassy wishes to issue Polish passports be sent to the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the latter, when returning the lists, will inform the Embassy "of all

objections made by competent Soviet Agencies to the issuance of Polish passports to any of the persons included in the lists". The Soviet note adds that "all persons included in the above-mentioned lists with regard to whom no objections are set forth by competent Soviet agencies shall, upon exhibition by them of Polish passports, be given certificates entitling foreigners to sojourn in the U. S. S. R. Moreover, the above-mentioned Soviet note demands that lists of individuals to whom Polish passports had been issued by the Polish Embassy at an earlier date, be also submitted to the Soviet authorities.

These lists, according to Soviet wishes, were to include the following information on every person listed: first and last names, year of birth, nationality, religion, present place of residence, citizenship claimed and places of residence prior to November 1939, whether amnestied by Soviet authorities, when and where arrested and deported, if not a permanent resident of Western Ukraine or Western White-Russia circumstances of arrival to Soviet territory, nationality of parents, and present place of their residence.

In reply to the above note, the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev in the name of the Polish Government, stated in their note of June 24, that "in conformity with fundamental principles of international law, the Polish Government declares that decisions on matters of Polish citizenship were made by Polish authorities within their own competence, and these authorities do not consider it possible that the citizenship of Polish citizens who had lived in areas of the Polish Republic and in the years 1939-1942, had arrived in the U. S. S. R., (not of their own will, as it is known), should be decided upon by Soviet authorities by verification of lists of Polish citizens requested from the Embassy. The note explains further that the issuance of passports to Polish citizens by the Embassy and their Delegates, is carried out on the basis of existing Polish laws and regulations. Under the constitution of the Polish Republic and Polish law, nationality, religion or race, and place of residence within the boundary of the State have no influence on the citizenship of a given person. In its last paragraph the Polish note pointed out that the note of the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, dated June 9, was intended to enforce a procedure of issuing passports not practiced by sovereign countries and therefore the Polish Government did not see any possibility for a meritorious discussion of the matter on the basis of the suggested procedure.

The Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in their reply of July 9, did not discuss the arguments of the Polish Embassy's note of June 24, and restricted themselves to communicating that they still insisted on the acceptance by the Poles of the procedure of issuing Polish passports as proposed by the Soviet Government.

The above-mentioned documents and facts indisputably establish on the one hand the Soviet's tendency toward restricting, contrary to international law, the Polish State's sovereign rights, and on the other, their tendency to count Polish citizens of non-Polish nationality as citizens of the U. S. S. R., which is inconsistent with international law.

LONDON, 24, October, 1942.

POLITICO-MILITARY RUSSIAN SITUATION

Basis of report:

1. Conversation with Polish Army Leaders in Iran and England.
2. Conversation with Czech Army Leaders in Palestine and England.
3. Conversation with British War Office, London.
4. Conversation with American War Correspondents recently returned from Russia, in Iran.

It is generally agreed among the Czechs, Poles, and the British War Office that the Soviets had available at the start of war around 21,000,000 men for the armed services.

The Polish and Czech sources agree that the Russian casualties amounted to around 7,000,000 to November 1, 1942.

The same sources agree that the Russians now have mobilized between 13 and 15 million men.

The British War Office agrees with the above figures because its information is from the same sources.

Of the 7,000,000 Russian casualties 3 million are dead or wounded (nonreturnable) and 4 million in German prisons.

Of the 4 million prisoners 2,600,000 are reported to have died while in prison. This figure the Poles confirm by quoting the Russian ambassador to Poland who said that there are no Russians in German prison camps, and by an answer the German labor minister made in Nuremberg last February at a labor convention, when asked "How many Russian prisoners are available for work?" His answer was that of the 4,000,000 some 2,600,000 are dead, 600,000 unfit for work and 800,000 available. The statement of the Russian ambassador to Poland was repeated (this from a British source) by the wife of the Russian ambassador to Great Britain when she was asked by the British to head a Red Cross drive for the relief of Russian prisoners in German camps.

Conditions in Russia are so bad that it is estimated that 20 to 40 million will die from starvation in the coming year, but the army and the necessary workers will be fed.

Russian political prisoners who shared cells with high-ranking Polish officers have stated that there are some 15 to 20 million such political prisoners incarcerated.

Losses, both military and civilian, are not taken into the considerations of Stalin's communistic and imperialistic policy.

The Soviet Army is not broken and will not be broken despite loss of territory.

No source of information, be it Polish, British, or Czech, can tell or even guess the strength of the Soviets on any front. I doubt if the Bolsheviks themselves know.

No source of information, be it Polish, British, or Czech, can tell or even guess what reserves of supplies and equipment the Soviets have on hand, and yet in August they were moving fully equipped antitank units across the Caspian Sea from Krasnovodsk to Baku.

The Russians fight because:

- a. in front the Germans take no prisoners
- b. line of NKWD commissars permit no desertions
- c. starvation awaits the deserter
- d. the front line is well fed
- e. a degree of patriotism has permeated the army.

The Communists are not fighting for democracy or christianity because neither one of these institutions exist in the Soviets.

They are fighting to preserve the regime.

When a month ago the commissar, a part of every command, was removed, it meant one of two things:

- (1) the regime has weakened and the army been strengthened
- (2) or the communist party has taken the army into its fold, and thus quieted Russia's most talked of leader—Timoshenko.

The Soviets themselves cannot defeat the Nazis.

The Soviets and the British cannot defeat the Nazis.

Our forces, our equipment, our supplies, our food will defeat the Nazis. We must never lose sight of that certainty.

Our food and our supplies will finally rehabilitate Russia and all of Europe. We must never lose sight of that post-war task.

In view of the above premises and statements it is fair to ask two questions—

- a. What are the Soviets' communistic imperialistic aspirations?
- b. What consideration should be given the Soviets at the peace table?

Question a. will be treated briefly from two aspects: (1) Communism within Russia, and (2) Communistic imperialism.

(1) Communism within Russia in terms of President Roosevelt's "four freedoms"

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION

The Press throughout the Soviet Union is controlled by the government. Controversial subjects do not appear in the Press. It is intended to be an organ of propaganda rather than of information. Only news items favorable to the government are printed. The two newspapers PRAVDA and IZVESTIA have large circulations in the cities and reach all culture clubs outside. Local newspapers, restricted to localities, devote most of the space to criticism of local labor output.

The tight censorship and control of the Press leaves the citizens in the dark concerning foreign news of any nature. As a result, the young people with no basis of comparison, assume the Soviet standard of living to be ideal. The Soviet citizen attends all meetings and applauds the speakers, but he will not discuss politics for fear of informers. Instead, he discusses his output of work.

The people pretend to take a very active part in public life. They choose members of the local council and elect the chairman of their local meetings. However, in the general elections they have no choice of candidate and the resolutions and doctrines preached are the same at all gatherings and dictated by the NKWD (O. G. P. U.) and the Communist Party. Members of the party control the non-Communist members occupying equal or higher positions. It is extremely difficult to get a membership in the Party. Two-percent of the people belong to the Communist Party which according to the constitution shares in the government. There is no other party, and therefore, no real freedom of representatives.

FREEDOM OF EVERY PERSON TO WORSHIP GOD IN HIS OWN WAY

In towns and farms anti-religious organizations are active. Even the Polish Army in Russia was subject to anti-religious agitation. Immediately after the signing of the Soviet-Anglo-American Lend Lease Pact the Soviets stopped all talks of religious freedom. Polish Military Chaplains were prohibited from leaving the camps even for the purpose of conducting services for the families of soldiers. There are some 150 Polish Priests in Russian prisons or concentration camps. Articles and pictures showing religious services in the Soviet Union which appear in American magazines were propaganda.

Bishop Gawlina (Polish Army Chaplain) on a visit to Baku, Moscow, Kuibyshev, Tashkent, Samarkan and Ashkabad saw but one church open for services. Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Russian Orthodox all shared alike. The few churches opened for services were taxed out of existence in very short time. Soldiers of the Soviet Army or their mothers approached Polish Chaplains (mostly at night) and begged for religious medals and pictures to take along to the front—Religious freedom does not exist.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

It is expected that fully 20,000,000 Russians will die of hunger this winter and coming spring. The plight of the Polish evacuees indicates the conditions existing in Russia. This, of course, will be due mostly to the German occupation of territories that produced 60% of the food products. Part of it is due to the dislocation of transport and to poor organizing ability.

But the "want" existed before the war. Government control of industry brought about lower wages to cut cost, thus lowering the purchasing power because not all produced equally but all suffered. Black bread, a cereal and beans with practically no fat constitute the workers daily diet. Clothing is very scant, shoes not available and for housing, but one room is given to even large families.

FREEDOM FROM TERRORISM

The entire U. S. S. R. lives under a constant threat of prison, concentration camp and deportation. Nearly every family mourns a member who is either imprisoned, or had died in some prison or camp. The threat becomes greater because to inform is considered the highest virtue of a citizen. The system of spying and punishment without trial is so general that a victim puts up no defense. With the fatalism of the East, he simply accepts the inevitable. The older generation still remembers the past, but appreciate the tragedy of its position and keeps quiet for fear of spies and informers and the consequent jails and concentration camps from which none return. It is difficult to estimate the number incarcerated. The figure generally spoken of is roughly 20,000,000. Suspects and families of prisoners are likewise imprisoned. Some are sentenced by courts, some by the administration without trial.

Moreover, the Russian worker has no freedom of travel from place to place, is subject to compulsory attendance at training schools for manual labor in factories and on railroads, and under penalty of imprisonment, cannot change jobs without authority. He has no right to strike. The Workers' Committees, composed of members selected by the party, are not in practice concerned with the interest of workers and are merely the mouthpiece of the management. In fact, the days of joint consultation between workers and managers are over.

(2) *Communitic Imperialism*

The COMINTERN is a political organization within the Soviet Government. Its task is to bring about a Communistic revolution. It is particularly active at present in U. S., England, France, Germany, and Poland.

In the United States, the main effort of the Comintern is devoted to the popularization of Communism through the relief activity known as "Aid for Russia." Every prominent American working for this relief is unfortunately pictured by the Comintern in other countries and in Russia as a champion of communism.

In Germany, the Comintern is proclaiming that Hitler alone is fighting communism, defending the interest of German capitalists, and that after a communist revolution in Germany, cooperation will be established, Poland divided, and Germany and Russia will decide on future conditions in Europe.

In France, the communists are conducting sabotage and preaching the doctrine that Russia and France would decide the fate of Europe and not English and American capitalists.

In Poland, the communists, dropped by parachutes, took advantage of the populations depression caused by the German terror and the protracted war and started propaganda against Polish leaders and advocating a premature uprising against the Germans. Immediately after the Sikorski-Stalin negotiations, an underground communistic paper in Poland stated that a victorious Red Army would not stop at the border of Poland, and not even at the British Channel or the Bay of Biscay.

In England, the Communists based their propaganda on the opening of a second front, not in Africa or the Middle East, but in France, Holland and Belgium. This attack would have entailed great losses to the Allies and the Germans alike, which would enhance the chances of the Soviet Army.

The conquest of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, and Bessarabia was not for strategic purposes, but a positive indication of communistic imperialism.

WILL THE RUSSIANS FIGHT NEXT SPRING?

Yes, if they find the Germans very weak. This winter they will conduct limited offensives in order to straighten their lines. Behind these lines, they will rest, reorganize, train and equip more divisions. They will wait until the Allies and Germans annihilate each other. They will wait until the German army confronting them is so weak that their own effort will bring easy and huge results. They will not stop their westward march until the American Army stops them.

Europe is confronted with what seems to many of the powers an "either—or" choice—I. e., either German domination or Soviet domination.

— There is little faith that the United States could control a *victorious* Russia at any peace table conference.

One of Mr. Willkie's secretaries stated to me in Tehran, that Russia and the United States will dictate the peace of Europe. When I repeated this (without mentioning the source) to a very prominent Pole in Tehran, he at first begged me not to jest, and then very sadly said to me that, "In that case Poland has lost the war and the Allies have lost the war."

The choice in Europe is not merely: Democracy vs. Hitler, as so many Americans seem to think it is.

HENRY I. SZYMANSKI,
Lt. Col. Infantry, U. S. Army,
Liaison Officer to Polish Army.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One question if you don't mind. I want to ask counsel, Does that complete the so-called Szymanski reports which we have received from the Department?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, sir. There is one additional report.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where is it?

Mr. MITCHELL. That report is a report by a British officer——

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I mean other than that.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is all, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There are no additional Szymanski reports with the exception of the Lieutenant Colonel Hull's report, that we received from the Department. This completes the record. I will get to that later.

Mr. KORTH. Just as a matter of record here which I indicated in the executive session a moment ago, in order to protect myself with refer-

ence to this last exhibit which was introduced I have not had an opportunity to read it and therefore cannot comment as to whether there is any objection to it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In fairness to Mr. Korth, that should be noted on the record.

Chairman MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But I would like to ask one question again in that connection.

Mr. KORTH. Yes, sir?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When we received the Colonel Van Vliet report we received with it also a copy of a letter of transmittal to the Department of State.

Mr. KORTH. That is right, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. With any of these reports is there a letter of transmittal to the Department of State? Am I to understand that these reports so far as you know have not been transmitted to the Department of State?

Mr. KORTH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. You are quoting for the record?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I am quoting for the record because, if I might make a short statement, part of the work of the committee is to bring out the various things as we see them in the record and their proper significance, which naturally cannot be evaluated now but at a future time will all be tied together by the committee when they make their report. I am reading from the report. This is part of the report signed by Colonel Szymanski and I merely bring it to the attention of the committee. I think I would prefer that the colonel himself read the last three paragraphs.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is the date of this report, please, that particular one that he is referring to?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. November 23, 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. Please read it for the record. It is the last three paragraphs, I believe, that Congressman Sheehan asked for.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading):

There is little faith that the United States could control a victorious Russia at a peace-table conference. One of Mr. Willkie's secretaries stated to me in Tehran that Russia and the United States will dictate the peace of Europe. When I repeated this without mentioning the source to a very prominent Pole in Tehran, he first begged me not to jest and then very sadly said to me that in that case Poland has lost the war and the Allies have lost the war. The choice in Europe is not merely democracy versus Hitler, as too many Americans think it is.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Those were your opinions at that time?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I would suggest the colonel should have been the Secretary of State and we would have been in a lot better position than we are today.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I again ask, Mr. Korth, in view of the fact that there were important conclusions not only of a military nature but of a political nature, and in view of the fact that the report contains such important conversations as conversations between General Sikorski, General Anders, Stalin, Molotov, why were those reports never transferred to the Department of State? Do you know?

Mr. KORTH. No, sir; I do not know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would say that if they were, and if they were heeded there probably would have been no Yalta or Tehran.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, the next matter—

Chairman MADDEN. Let me interrupt. Do you mean to say that these reports were kept in G-2?

Mr. KORTH. No, sir. I answered the question, I think correctly, that I had no knowledge whether these reports were transmitted or not to the State Department or anywhere else.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me tell you this. The previous reports you have sent to us, as the Van Vliet report, you indicated were conveyed to the Department of State.

Mr. KORTH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This report shows no such conveyance.

Mr. KORTH. And I have no information.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To that effect. Will you do this for the committee—

Mr. KORTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. If you find in the Department of Defense or the Department of War any place a letter or any indication that the valuable information contained in these reports, including the conversations between Stalin, Molotov, General Sikorski, and General Anders was brought to the attention of the Department of State, will you let this committee know about it?

Mr. KORTH. I certainly will, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. This might be a good time to observe—will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. This might be a good time to observe that if these observations are true as a fact, and if these reports remained in G-2 at the Army and never reached the Secretary of State, it would be very difficult for the Secretary of State to act upon something he knew nothing about.

Mr. KORTH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. What is the purpose of G-2? Maybe we ought to save some money there.

Colonel, did you ever return to the United States in the interim between 1943 and your other assignment later in 1944 or 1945?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In other words you remained overseas all the time?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. In this interim between the end of the war and the beginning of your reports, did you talk to any official of the Army or the State Department in Europe about your Katyn report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Or the Russian treatment of the Poles?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Are these all the reports that concern the Katyn matter that you now have?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. There are some cables, are there not? Did you have a reply in cables from the Army?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. We differentiate between reports and cables, so there may be and there were cables sent on the disappearance of the

officers, when I first started and made contact with the Poles in April 1942.

Mr. MITCHELL. Those cables he is referring to have not been made available to this committee to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, as I remember in our covering letter to the Army did we not ask them to make available all information?

Mr. MITCHELL. We never wrote a covering letter to the Army. They offered it. They have had considerable difficulty finding all the various reports connected with Poland. If you will recall, it was on the directive of the President, when this entire committee visited with him, that all reports anywhere in the Government of the United States would be made available to this committee. Consequently, those reports have only begun coming in during the past 6 weeks or 2 months. The committee staff has just not had time to sift down all the reports that have come in at this time, but we have not received to my personal knowledge anything in the way of cables signed by Colonel Szymanski or referring to him in any way.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest you instruct counsel to write the appropriate letter getting the necessary cables and any other pertinent information.

Chairman MADDEN. I will order that procedure to be followed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In clarification, so that we won't get into another impasse as we have today—I will have to ask one question if you don't mind—I will ask the Colonel, you had other assignments besides the problem of locating the disappeared Polish officers; did you not?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When you answered Mr. Sheehan's question that this completes all the reports made by you to G-2 at that time, you were referring only to all the reports made by you with reference to the Katyn massacre?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That was his question, as I understood it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I just wondered if Mr. Sheehan got the impact of that. There are other reports that you did file about that time regarding the Russian-Polish situation, did you not?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are those included in the reports we have?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I haven't seen them in these reports.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, then, the file that we have received from the Department of Defense is not a complete file of all your reports on the Russian-Polish situation, is it?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. KORTH. Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether the committee is aware of the information and assistance that the Department of the Army has given. I have a list of the things that we have furnished, if you would like that detailed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think I might say in defense of your Department that probably our letter wasn't broad enough. These reports which do not refer directly to the Katyn incident but which indirectly have a great bearing on the Katyn incident probably were not furnished the committee by you because you had no specific demand for them.

Mr. KORTH. As indicated earlier, we had a directive from the President that we make available to this committee all information that the committee desires in connection with its hearing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think you literally complied when you furnished us only the reports which had a direct bearing on the Katyn incident.

Mr. KORTH. That is true.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I am going to ask the chairman now that in our requests to the Department we request that they furnish us not only the reports which have a direct bearing on the Katyn incident, but also the other reports which I understand are several in number. Am I correct in that?

Mr. MITCHELL. Whose reports?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Colonel Szymanski's reports on the Russo-Polish situation which did have an indirect bearing on the Katyn incident.

Chairman MADDEN. I think Congressman Machrowicz made a good suggestion there, because if my memory doesn't fail me, we requested all reports pertaining to the Katyn massacre. I believe the reports indirectly referring to or that might affect the Katyn massacre are essential to the committee. At the time we visited the President, if I remember right, we asked him for all reports pertaining to the Katyn massacre. Any reports indirectly pertaining to the Katyn massacre I think are essential and I believe that the committee agrees that we should request all reports that indirectly refer to the Katyn massacre.

Mr. KORTH. We will be happy to furnish the committee whatever the committee desires.

Mr. MITCHELL. I might state on behalf of the War Department that there are a great many other reports they have submitted to us in the German, French, and Polish languages which have nothing whatsoever to do with Colonel Szymanski in any shape, form, or manner. They are statistics.

Chairman MADDEN. We are just referring to Colonel Szymanski's reports.

Mr. MITCHELL. I want the record to show we are referring to his reports.

Chairman MADDEN. No doubt the colonel has made reports which probably directly do not implicate or refer to the Katyn massacre, but indirectly would, and I think we should have those reports.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I might say while we are at it, I specifically make the request, if you don't mind noting it, for a report dated around December 8, 1943.

Mr. KORTH. We have that right here, sir. I am sorry.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I see it?

Mr. MITCHELL. This is a report that I have never received.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. We have never received this report. Do you have any objection to that report being offered in evidence now?

Mr. KORTH. It has just been handed to me, sir, by Colonel Szymanski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you want to look at it?

Mr. MITCHELL. I might explain the position of the War Department counselor here. He is not a qualified declassifier as far as our Government system is concerned. He is a representative of the War Department counselor's office. He is in no way connected with G-2. I would like to have the record show that.

Mr. KORTH. That is correct.

Chairman MADDEN. I might make this statement: I do think—

Mr. MITCHELL. Excuse me, sir. This report which Mr. Korth is speaking of right now was handed to him in my presence by Colonel Szymanski just before we started hearing Colonel Szymanski's testimony. Neither I nor any member of this committee has seen such a report.

Chairman MADDEN. I feel that all the members of this committee want to cooperate with the Department of Defense as far as secret reports are concerned, but nevertheless the committee is going to insist on the production of all reports. I can't conceive of any reports being secret dating back 7 or 8 years ago. Reports pertaining to the Katyn massacre directly or indirectly that should not be classified as secret at this late date. If they are classified as secret, they should be declassified.

Mr. FURCOLO. May I say something at this point, Mr. Chairman? I think it probably has been made very clear but in the event it has not, I think every single member of this committee is determined that we are going to do everything we can to find out the truth about this massacre.

Secondly, I think we are determined to make available every paper and document, whatever it may be, whether it helps or hurts the State Department or the Defense Department or the Congress, Democrats, Republicans, whatever it may be.

Mr. KORTH. That is correct.

Mr. FURCOLO. We are going to show that. In view of that, it seems to me if there are any reports at all, whatever kind they may be, which for one reason or another the Department of the Army thinks should be secret or should not be given to this committee, it seems to me that with the reports that you send over you should take it up perhaps informally but in some way with the chairman of the committee or whoever the chairman may designate, saying, "We do have certain other reports that we think may have a bearing. We think they should be secret," and then go on from there.

In other words, there isn't much sense in getting into a situation like this again, I think.

Mr. KORTH. I see your point.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The point I want made clear is why these reports containing such vitally important matter affecting United States-Soviet Russia diplomatic relationships were put away in a warehouse somewhere and not found until we finally made a little noise about it, and why they were never brought to the attention of the Department of State. I hope sometime before our committee has completed its work, the Department will give us a satisfactory answer to that.

Mr. KORTH. Sir; I have made a note of the request in that regard and will ascertain whether I can find that those reports or extracts from those reports were sent to the State Department.

Mr. FLOOD. Before the gentleman from Illinois proceeds, and on this question of documents and authority, who was USA G-2 after General Strong?

Mr. KORTH. I think it was General Bissell. Is that right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. It was as a matter of fact, General Bissell.

Mr. KORTH. I am almost certain there was no one in between the two.

Mr. MITCHELL. Where is General Bissell today?

Mr. KORTH. I can't answer that.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. He has retired, but I don't know where he is.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He is in the country, is he not?

Mr. FLOOD. I know where he is.

Mr. O'KONSKI. He has a job with the Ford Foundation.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is Bissell you are talking about.

Mr. SHEEHAN. May I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MITCHELL. Since Mr. Korth has indicated to the chairman that he is perfectly willing for the committee to have this report, I believe Colonel Szymanski should hand it to the chairman.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have no objection to that report?

Mr. KORTH. No. That is the one of November 6, 1942, I believe it is.

Chairman MADDEN. Is this report from you, Colonel Szymanski?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May it be made clear when you are offering that exhibit that it is not the copy which has been furnished us by the Department. It is a copy furnished by the colonel, the original of which has not yet been furnished by the Department but which I hope you will try to locate; is that correct?

Mr. KORTH. That is right, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to know whether you can locate that report, too.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. May I add that the Army said if I found any documents, to make them available to the committee.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I understand. You are very cooperative.

Mr. FLOOD. Just mark this as "Exhibit 12," Mr. Clerk.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 12" and filed for the record.)

Mr. FLOOD. I have been handed by the clerk what is marked "Exhibit No. 12," which purports to be an addition to the so-called Szymanski report. I now show that to the witness, Colonel Szymanski, and ask him if that is a fact.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. We offer that in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MADDEN. It is accepted.

(The document marked "Exhibit No. 12" follows:)

EXHIBIT 12

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION W. D. G. S.

MILITARY ATTACHÉ REPORT—POLAND

Subject: The Polish Army in England and the Middle East.

From: M. A. Liaison Officer

Date: November 6, 1942

Source and degree of reliability: General Wladyslaw-Sikorski; Lt. General Wladyslaw Anders.

THE POLISH ARMY

1. The Polish Army in England.
2. The Polish Army in the Middle East.

THE POLISH ARMY IN ENGLAND

The Polish Army in England, numbering around 20,000 exclusive of air units, was formed from units evacuated from France and from groups arriving from

Russia. It is charged with the defense of the area north and south of the Firth of Forth in Scotland, stretching for approximately 60 miles along the sea. It is well-equipped (except for some transportation which is about one-half complete), and is continually getting the latest equipment (tanks). It does not get enough ammunition for target practice. All officers have had battle experience. Its outstanding generals are: Boruta, commanding corps; Duch, commanding rifle brigade; and Maciek, commanding 1st Armored Division.

Its organization is as follows:

- (a) 1st Armored Division.
- (b) 1st Independent Rifle Brigade (Regiment, U. S. A.)
- (c) 1st Heavy Artillery Regiment.
- (d) Battery Antiaircraft Heavy Artillery.
- (e) Brigade (Regiment, U. S. A.) of parachutists. (2 bns. of 2 cos. each).
- (f) 309th Air squadron-cooperation with Army.
- (g) Corps Troops.

In addition to the above Corps the Poles have in England 13 squadrons in the air of which 7 are fighters, 4 are bombers, 1 is night fighter, 1 is the cooperating squadron mentioned above.

As of October 30 they are credited with the destruction in combat of 498 German planes. The fighters are being equipped with the latest-type planes.

THE POLISH ARMY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Polish Army in the Middle East, numbering around 70,000, is concentrated in the vicinity of Khanaqin, Iraq, about 125 miles north of Baghdad. Headquarters are in Qizil Ribat, about 35 kilometers below Khanaqin. When the concentration of the Polish forces in Khanaqin is completed, and it should be by now, there will be no Polish forces in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine and nothing but a small evacuation base in Tehran, Iran, under command of Lieut. Colonel Anthony Szymanski, who was also designated as the Military Attaché to Iran.

This force is composed largely of men and units evacuated from Russia in April and August.¹ Its 3rd Division was formed from the Carpathian Brigade of Tobruk fame and from evacuees from Russia (1st evacuation). The division is almost fully equipped (rifles and machine guns). It needs transport and considerable artillery.

The balance of this force, organized according to the attached table of organization, is not equipped. Training equipment was to have been on hand, but was not as of October 5th. The balance of the equipment is supposed to be in transit. At least that is what Churchill and Sir Brooks promised General Anders. It is my opinion that despite promises the force *will not* be equipped by the British. This opinion is based on the British past performances dating back to April, which I followed closely, and upon the fervent pleas of some members of the British Military Mission for American assistance, as well as the prayers of the Poles.

The force can be increased by a further evacuation from Russia of a minimum of 60,000 former soldiers organized into labor battalions, and now serving the Russian Army. These are so concentrated that they can be evacuated to Persia within two weeks. There are also a minimum of 80,000 former soldiers whom the Russians refuse to release because, though Polish citizens, they originate from the so-called minorities—White Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews.

The Poles feel as I do, that pressure on Stalin on the part of our President and Mr. Churchill will bring about the evacuation of this potential force and of the thousands of Polish officers still incarcerated, mostly in Siberia. The total number may run as high as 250,000 men with battle experience. As it is, they are slowly being liquidated by a process of overwork and undernourishment, under impossible living and climatic conditions. *Every effort to locate one group of 8,300 officers who were supposed to have been deported to Franz-Joseph Island has up-date been fruitless. Very little cooperation is being given the Poles by the Russians in this matter.*

¹ The Army has approximately 1,000 women volunteers organized into companies, who serve in various clerical jobs, as nurses, and aids to nurses in field hospital units, and as chauffeurs of passenger cars. They are seriously being considered as replacements for the men in the kitchens. Their camp life is similar to that of the men, they are uniformed, are permitted no cosmetics, and are well-disciplined.

The force in Khanaqin, however, is largely rehabilitated physically, after its experience in Russia, and if given equipment can be made ready for battle within sixty days of this receipt. Its discipline is excellent, its men are tough, being the survivors of the fittest after two years of prison and concentration and labor camp life in Russia.

The force is well officered with regular officers, the old ones having been weeded out. The Commanding General is Lieut. General Wladyslaw Anders; second in command is Lieut. General Joseph Zajac. The two make an ideal team. Anders is the bold, imaginative and audacious leader, and Zajac the careful, methodical planner and executor. The Chief of Staff is Major General Rakowski of whom it is said that he knows the duties of every man in the ranks. Other generals are Tokarzewski, Kopanski, Szyszko-Bohusz. My impression is that the Polish officer is militarily well educated and well qualified in his profession. Given the necessary equipment for his men, he will lead them ably.

HENRY I. SZYMANSKI,
Lt. Colonel, Infantry,
Liaison Officer to Polish Army.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel Szymanski, in your covering letter of May 29, 1943, to Major General Strong, you list the items that you are sending him, and under appendix 4 you list excerpts of conversations between General Sikorski, General Anders, and Stalin and Molotov. Are those conversations part of this record here?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman, those are part of exhibit 10 (A).

Mr. SHEEHAN. Are those the originals there, or copies?

Mr. MITCHELL. Photostatic copies.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Counsel, have we been notified what happened to the original?

Mr. MITCHELL. You have them on the left-hand side, unclassified. The names have not been stricken out. The original is over there [indicating].

Mr. SHEEHAN. I also understand, for the sake of the record, that these excerpts were sent to the Nuremberg trials as part of our documentary evidence in building up the trials. Do you know anything about that, Colonel?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Have you been informed anything about that, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. MITCHELL. Not officially, only on the basis of a pencil note on the original letter which was on the letter when we received it from the War Department.

Mr. SHEEHAN. To what effect?

Mr. MITCHELL. "Documents sent to the Nuremberg trial," with an arrow pointing to appendix 4 on Colonel Szymanski's original letter of May 29, 1943, a photostatic copy of which is part of exhibit 10 (A).

Mr. SHEEHAN. The originals are in here, then, are they?

Mr. MITCHELL. I have in no way touched these reports as a part of this exhibit because my instructions from the committee were that they were to remain as they are. Whatever notes are on there, handwritten notes, pencil, I want the record to definitely show that no one on the committee staff has in any way touched any of these reports. I do not know who placed these pencil notes on the original but it was probably someone in the War Department.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Without studying exhibit 10 (A), is appendix 4 in there, the originals, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. MITCHELL. I will see.

Mr. SHEEHAN. For the sake of the record will you see if appendix 4 is in there, Colonel?

Mr. FURCOLO. It is page 20, in the photostats, if you have this numbered right.

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Sheehan, the colonel says that he cannot find that appendix among the original reports. However, on our photostatic copies we have it. But the photostatic copies were made from the carbon copy of Colonel Szymanski original of appendix 4. We do have the carbon copy of appendix 4 but the original doesn't seem to be here.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The photostatic copy was taken from these documents?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; from the carbon copies of the originals.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to the original of appendix 4?

Mr. MITCHELL. I don't know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In whose possession was the original report?

Mr. MITCHELL. G-2.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Apparently G-2 sent this to us without the appendix 4 in it.

Mr. MITCHELL. They sent the photostatic copies also.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Are we making the photostatic copies a part of the record?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, they are now exhibit 10A.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Apparently the original of appendix 4 is not here. I had been given to understand it was sent as part of the original documents in the Nuremberg trials. I may be wrong on that. But the point I now want to get at, at any time did the Department of the Army, the State Department, or the International Military Tribunal ever consult with you or ask you about these particular conversations that you originally included in your report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you.

Mr. FURCOLO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I will be glad to yield to Mr. Furcolo for a minute.

Mr. FURCOLO. I want to ask you a question about those conversations on page 20 to 25 of exhibit 10A. As I understand it they purport to be a verbatim transcript of conversations between Stalin, Molotov, General Anders, and General Sikorski, is that right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Do not reveal the name if for any reason you should not do so, but what I am interested in is where did that report of the conversation come from? Did that come from someone who himself was present at the conversation?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Did it come from General Sikorski, if you know?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. This came from General Anders; but I discussed this with General Sikorski.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is what I want to get. Those conversations have been repeated in book after book and document after document. Up to now I have not been able to find any witness who has actually talked with someone who was present at those conversations. Do I understand correctly that one of the participants in those conversations referred to in pages 20 to 25 is the source of that transcription?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. Secondly, do I also understand that one of the other participants in the conversation, General Anders in this case, talked with you about it?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. In other words, what you are telling this committee is that those conversations that are described took place with Stalin and Molotov according to the information that was given to you by the two men who were in on the conversations?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FURCOLO. That is all I have.

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman Sheehan.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, I seem to be the chief inquisitor for the time being, but you will be through with me in a short while.

Colonel, for the sake of the record there are some things I want to have you read in as much as these are your reports.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is exhibit No. 11 the Congressman is reading from.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Is this already a part of the record?

Mr. MITCHELL. It is.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have marked the first one. If you will just read that paragraph No. 4 and get it into the record at this time.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

The entrance of Bolshevik troops came as a distinct surprise to the population, the civilian and the military authorities. From conversations I gather that the Bolshevik commanders had two sets of orders, one a directive for peaceful entry as a supposed ally of the Poles, and the other to be read when certain points were reached of entirely different purport.

Mr. SHEEHAN. For the purpose of the record, Colonel, that bears on the testimony which has been given to us previously that the Russians supposedly came as allies into Poland, and when they reached a certain point they were all set to take it over. These were your comments from the reports that were given to you, is that right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. There is another thing interesting to the American people.

Mr. MITCHELL. Who do you receive those reports from?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. General Anders and different officials of the Polish Government.

Mr. SHEEHAN. If you will read section 4, page 2, with reference to unions.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

All trade unions were abolished. Workers' wages remained low despite rising prices. The unemployment problem was solved by voluntary deportation to Russia. The peasants and small farmers were forced to join the Kolhoz, a form of collective farming, where they soon learned they had no liberty to exchange their products for industrial commodities.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you.

Again that bears out the testimony of witnesses that many of them were sent to Russia.

Section 2, here, Colonel is the next one, I believe. Will you be kind enough to read that for the sake of the record?

Mr. MITCHELL. The same exhibit.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

After the invasion of September 17, 1939, the Soviets had held a plebiscite in occupied Poland. All the candidates proposed by the Soviets were elected. There were no other candidates. Eastern Poland was thus joined to the Soviet Republic. Soviet citizenship papers were issued to all inhabitants of the Soviet occupied part of Poland. All became citizens of the Soviet Republic. All papers of identification of the deportees were taken away from them and in their places were issued Soviet citizenship papers. Reference to the date November 1, 1939, in subsequent paragraphs and attached translations of Polish reports is in effect a reference to plebiscite and the issuance of citizenship papers.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Thank you, Colonel. I think that speaks for itself.

The last part I want you to read is on future Soviet relationship. Let's see if I can get hold of that. Page 4. These are apparently observations of your own, are they not? Take a look at them before you state that.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Will you be kind enough to read into the record your own personal observations of the evidence that was given to you?

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

Polish-Soviet relations are made by differences which are, in my humble opinion, irreconcilable. These differences are irreconcilable at present because (a) the Soviets did not carry out their end of the Polish-Soviet nonaggression pact, (b) the Soviets are not carrying out the provisions of the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, (c) Stalin's promises to Sikorski and Roosevelt are not being kept, (d) there are still some 900,000 Polish citizens deportees in Russia slowly being exterminated through overwork and undernourishment, (e) there are still some 50,000 Polish children slowly dying of starvation.

3. If the Soviets forsake their communistic and imperialistic aspirations there is a good chance that peace may reign in the eastern part of Poland.

4. The Polish Government and Army officials are making a determined effort to reconcile the differences. The attitude of the Government is realistic.

5. Thousands of families broken up, deported, tortured, and starved cannot so easily forget the immediate past. Young men just out of Russia, young men 6 months out of Russia, ask not for bread, but for rifles, willing to die provided they can bag their toll of Nazis and then of Bolsheviks.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you mind showing the prophetic qualities of our witness by giving the date of that report?

Mr. SHEEHAN. What is the date of that report, Colonel Szymanski?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. November 22, 1942.

Mr. FLOOD. The last conclusions you gave were all very clear. The first two deal with actual treaties the Poles and the Soviet made. Suppose you just tell us in a sentence or two what was the component part of the treaty of 1932 between Poland and the Soviet and the 1941 amnesty agreement, so the record will show what you ment by the first two points.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. The first treaty of nonaggression, the most important part was that neither country would attack the other. The agreement of 1941, July 30, 1941, was an agreement whereby all of the Polish nationals then in Russia would be immediately released and whereby an Army would be formed within Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. And the 1932 agreement between Poland and the Soviet, the first agreement you gave, was extended in 1934 to run I believe until 1939, wasn't it?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Twenty years, sir, which was broken by the the invasion by Russia—

Mr. FLOOD. But the original 1932 2-year agreement was actually in existence at the time it was breached.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. I believe in 1934 it was extended to 1945.

Mr. FLOOD. I just want the colonel to show in the record what he means. It is well done.

Mr. SHEEHAN. The purpose of these secret reports and your being appointed liaison man with the Polish Government was to inform our G-2, our intelligence of the actual facts, is that right or wrong?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Right, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Could I assume as a nonmilitary man that once the proper authorities of G-2 are informed of the facts, it is their business to assess the facts, their importance and so forth, and to refer them to higher echelon?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir. That is the purpose of intelligence.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Then could we safely assume that such reports as you submitted, which I know are substantiated by other reports, because I know there is an English report that substantially reports to the English Government some of the findings you have here, can we safely suppose that higher echelon such as General Marshall, who was our commander in chief, would know about these if they were of sufficient importance?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yer, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In fact, didn't General Marshall ask you to make the report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. On one phaze of it only, sir.

I should explain that when there is a signature on a cable it doesn't necessarily mean that that cable or that message was composed by the individual. The custom was that to a theater commander, as General Brereton was, only the chief of staff would sign a message. Whether General Marshall actually wrote that or not I don't know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Which cable are you referring to now?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. The cable that directed me to make an investigation of the Katyn affair, in April 1943.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Colonel, I would like to make just one or two statements here to sort of tie this thing up. Assuming this was dynamite, as you said, and you knew it was, I have already stated we know of an English report to the English Government which has been sent to the United States Government where they say substantially the same as you said, about the great importance of the Katyn massacre and Soviet relations. I also know, which so far is not a part of our report here, that there is a report from another military attaché in a neutral country who has seen the facts and figures about Katyn and Polish-Soviet relationship and in that report he states the great importance of this matter. We know that recently Colonel Van Vliet testified (he was the American soldier who was brought by the Germans to Katyn), and I believe 5 or 6 days after he was freed from a German prison camp they flew him back to Washington. He stated that General Collins said his testimony was so vital that nobody but the highest officers should touch it. Do you remember that, Mr. Madden?

Chairman MADDEN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. SHEEHAN. With all your fine reports and your fine diagnosis, plus all these other reports, it seems to me that either General Marshall, who we know from history had a very potent hand in making many of the decisions with Russia, or somebody in G-2 was negligent,

maybe, in not bringing these reports to the attention of the proper authorities, such as the State Department or the President. Is that a right or a wrong conclusion?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I would say that is a correct conclusion.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think, Mr. Chairman, that ends my questioning of the witness.

Chairman MADDEN. Have you any knowledge that General Marshall ever heard about these reports?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. Have you any knowledge as to how far your report got after it arrived at the G-2 office?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. Wait a minute. Who was at the head of G-2 then?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. General Strong.

Chairman MADDEN. When did General Bissel come in?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I was away. I don't know, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. But General Strong was the head of G-2 all the time you were there?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Colonel Szymanski, one of the tasks which you had assigned to you was the interrogation of these various Polish officers in order to determine the fate of the lost Polish officers in Russia, is that correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You interviewed a number of them, is that correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir; quite a number.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you give us a rough estimate of how many you interviewed?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. A couple of hundred.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In these voluminous reports that you sent you included the depositions of quite a few of them, did you not?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir, not depositions of the officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have some depositions here.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. But depositions from some noncommissioned officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of the officers that you interviewed—

Colonel SZYMANSKI. There are two depositions of officers who were in Russia at the time and had talks with Beria, the head of the Secret Service of Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I know we don't have the time nor probably do you have an exact memory of what you found from all of them, but I would like to know whether or not you can give us a general idea, a summary of what you found from examining these various officers regarding the fate of the Polish officers in Russia.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Most of them explained briefly the treatment they received in camps as POW's, that the officers as a whole were not treated as prisoners of war but were treated as political prisoners and were turned over to the Russian secret police. All the interrogation was done by the secret police. It was mostly to find out what the political background was of these Polish officers. When I speak of officers I should take into consideration other, shall we say, educated

classes. There was quite a number of priests there. There were doctors there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Without going into the detail regarding their treatment at prison camps, which is included in the reports, can you tell us, generally speaking, what the conclusion of these officers was as to who was responsible for the Katyn incident?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. There is no question about it as far as their opinion is concerned.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was their opinion?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That the Russians did it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of the several hundred that you interviewed did you find one who had any other opinion than that?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have included in your report an appendix 4. Do you have it before you?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. These are excerpts of conversations between Sikorski, Anders, Stalin, and Molotov. As I understand from a previous question, you got this excerpt from whom?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I got this from General Anders.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And General Anders was present and also served as interpreter at the conversations, is that right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. First-hand testimony.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was present during the conversation and acted as interpreter, and gave you a verbatim report of what happened?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know how he happened to get a verbatim report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Usually immediately after any kind of a meeting they make a memorandum of the meeting, and in an important one like this General Sikorski and General Anders would naturally get together and see that it was correct and that it was exactly what transpired. General Sikorski also told me about this.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, immediately after the conversations they got together and wrote from memory the complete text of the conversations they just had to the best of their memory?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Because I believe this is an important document I would ask you if you would refer to that exhibit, starting from page 8, and read to us the text of that conversation, which is not very long.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Starting with "General Sikorski"?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading): "General Sikorski: But I——"

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What you are reading now is the actual text of the conversation between these people, right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

General SIKORSKI. But I return to our business. I here state in your presence, Mr. President, that your declaration of amnesty is not being executed. Many and the most valuable of our people remain still in the labor camps and in prisons.

STALIN (making a note). This is not possible as the amnesty concerned all and so all the Poles are released.

(He addressed these last words to Molotov. Molotov assents to them.)

General ANDERS (quotes particulars at the request of General Sikorski). This is not in accordance with the real state of things, as we have quite precise data out of which it results that in the camps those released first were the Jews, then the Ukrainians, and lastly the Polish working elements chosen among those physically weaker. The stronger ones were kept back and only a small part of them were set free. I have in the Army men who have been released from such camps only a few weeks ago and who state that in the single camps remained still hundreds and even thousands of our country men. The orders of the Government are not being executed there, as the commanders of the single camps having the obligation of executing the production plan do not want to get rid of the best working material, without the contribution of which the execution of the plan could be some times impossible.

Molotov (smiles and makes a nod of assenting.)

General ANDERS. These people do not understand at all the great importance of our common cause, which in this way is being greatly prejudiced.

STALIN. Those people should be prosecuted.

General ANDERS. Yes; so they should.

SIKORSKI. It does not belong to us to present to the Soviet Government the detailed lists of our men, but the commanders of the camps are in possession of such full lists. I have here with me a list with the names of about 4,000 officers who had been deported by force and who at present are still in prisons and in labor camps, and even this list is not complete as it contains only the names which could be compiled by us out of memory. I gave orders to verify whether said officers were not in Poland as we were in permanent contact with our country. It has been proved that no one of them was there, neither have they been traced in the camps of our prisoners of war in Germany. These men are here. None of them has returned.

STALIN. It is not possible; they must have run away.

ANDERS. Where to?

STALIN. Well, to Manchuria.

ANDERS. This is impossible that they could have run away, all of them, so much more that with the moment of their deportation from the prisoners' camps to the labor camps and to the prisons every correspondence between them and their families had stopped. I know exactly from officers who have returned even from Kolyma that a great number of our officers is still there, each of them quoted by name. I also know that there were transports of Poles prepared already for release and departure, and that in the last moment these transports have been kept back. I have news that our men are sojourning even in Newfoundland. The majority of the officers quoted in this list are personally known to me. Among these men are my staff officers and commanders. These people perish there and die in dreadful conditions.

STALIN. They certainly have been released, only they did not arrive until now.

SIKORSKI. Russia has immense territories and the difficulties are also great. It may be that the local authorities have not executed the orders. Those who arrive after having been released state that the others vegetate and work. Had anybody succeeded in getting out of the Russian borders he certainly would report to me.

STALIN. You should know that the Soviet Government has not the slightest motive to keep back even one single Pole. I have even released Soskowski's agents who were organizing a tax on us and murdering our people.

ANDERS. Still declarations continue to flow in concerning people known to us, quoting the names of their prisons and the numbers of their cells where they are confined. I know the names of a great number of camps where an enormous mass of Poles has been detained and is compelled to work.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That conversation was dated December 3, 1941; is that correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It was held at the Kremlin; is that correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is just one other very brief conversation which you have reported and which I would like to have you read into the record, and that is the conversation at the Kremlin on the 18th day of March 1942, at which were present Stalin, General Anders, Colonel Okulicki, and Molotov.

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

ANDERS. Besides, many of our men are still in prisons and in labor camps. Those released in these last times continually report to me. Up to the present time the officers deported from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov have not made their appearance. They should certainly be by you. We have gathered supplementary particulars on them. [He hands two lists that are taken by Molotov.]

What could have happened with them? We have traces of their sojourn on the Kolyma.

STALIN. I already have given all the necessary dispositions for their release. It has been said that they even are on Francis Joseph lands, and there, as it is known well, there are no such people. I do not know where they are. Why should I keep them? It may be that they are in some camps on territories now occupied by the Germans. They dispersed themselves.

Colonel OKULICKI. It is impossible. We would be aware of it.

STALIN. We have kept back only those Poles who are spies in the German service. We released even those who after passed to the Germans, as for instance Kozlowski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now a third one. I can't locate it right now, but you probably can locate the report as to the conversations with Beria, who was the head of NKVD.

Mr. MITCHELL. Appendix V in exhibit 10A constains the conversations you are referring to. They are in extract of report dated May 6, 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have the conversation of General Beria where he referred to the blunder that they made?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to have you read that. For the purpose of identifying the report, General Beria was the general in charge of NKVD; is that right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This conversation is of what date?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Before October 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was present at the conversations?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Present at the conversation were Gorczyński, G-o-r-c-z-y-n-s-k-i; ex-Lieutenant Colonel Bukojemski, B-u-k-o-j-e-m-s-k-i; and ex-Lt. Col. Sigmund Berling, B-e-r-l-i-n-g.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who gave you this conversation?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. This was taken from the original document, and I was given a true copy of it by General Anders.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. General Anders prepared the document?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Or his staff.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you read the contents of the statement made by General Beria on that occasion?

Colonel SZYMANSKI (reading) :

According to written declarations in the possession of Colonel Gorszynski, Beria when asked about the date of the Polish officers prisoners of war, expressed himself as follows : "We made a great blunder."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was the statement made by General Beria when asked about the fate of the Polish officers?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He said, "We made a great blunder"?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

This opinion of Beria's has been corroborated by the National Commissar of Public Security, Merkulov, out of Beria's further words stating that the above officers were no more. It resulted that something had happened with the officers interned at Kozielsk and Starobielsk even before October 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is also part of the report that you filed with G-2?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When did you file that report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. In May 1943, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know Colonel Hulls?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who is he?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Lieutenant Colonel Hulls is a British officer who was my British counterpart with the Polish forces.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. He was in Russia. I met him when he came with the Poles to Iran.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know whether or not Hulls was assigned to do any investigating regarding the Katyn incident?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I did not see him after the announcement of the Katyn massacre.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know whether or not Colonel Hulls made any report, knowledge of which was conveyed to you regarding this Katyn incident?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Concerning the disappearance of officers; yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Concerning the disappearance of Polish officers in Russia.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you get notice of any report that he may have made?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. He made copy of it available to me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to that copy?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That copy is in the possession of G-2 in the Army. It is a top secret British classified document and not available to us in the sense that we can pass it on without its first being declassified by the British Government.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I am going to ask you a question. Before you answer that I would like to have you confer with Mr. Korth whether or not you are at liberty to answer it.

Did you read that report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt to indicate this? I think the record should show that the full committee is aware of the existence of this so-called Hulls report, and we have communicated our awareness to that fact to the Department of the Army, and we have requested the Department of the Army to get in touch with the British Government immediately for the purpose of declassifying that document and making it available to this committee as an exhibit without delay. Is that correct?

Mr. KORTH. Yes, sir; I so understand.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to have the record show that request is made as of this date.

Mr. KORTH. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all right. The request has been made and we have received assurances, which I have full faith in, that efforts will be made to have it declassified.

Mr. KORTH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have asked the witness to confer with you as to whether or not he is free to answer the question. The question is, Did you read that report?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know what he said in that report as to the disappearance of these Polish officers? You had better discuss it with Mr. Korth before you answer.

(Witness and Department of the Army counsel conferring.)

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I know what is generally in the report.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know the date of the report? For your information I might say it is June 18, 1942.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. June 18, 1942. The title of it is "Polish Army in Russia." I submitted it to G-2 November 19, 1942.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So far as you know, Colonel Hulls submitted the original to his superiors in London?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Mine was one of five copies. One was given to the British Government, one to the British Army, one to the Polish Government, and one was his own copy, and the other one he gave to me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to ask you whether or not you know or whether you remember whether he stated in that report that the arrest and the deportation of millions of Poles was not a haphazard but a definite plan of Soviet Russia?

Mr. KORTH. Mr. Chairman, in connection with that report, I feel that with another meeting, with the declassification of this, we can submit the whole document to the committee.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you object to his answering that at this time?

Mr. KORTH. I would prefer his not answering it at this time. There is no desire to withhold information from the committee.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right.

Mr. FLOOD. Will the gentleman yield? Maybe we can accomplish our purpose for the record at this point, although we are all in agreement as to what is to be done, by this kind of question:

Colonel, are you aware of the connotation of this new term "genocide"?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. From your best recollection of the contents of the so-called Hulls report, without directing your attention to any particular part thereof, but from the four corners of the document, would you say that the gist of the Hulls report dealt with the so-called crime of genocide?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Without a shadow of doubt.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one other question to clarify that. Would you say that, generally speaking, his findings were very much the same as yours were?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. From your discussions with these various people, and from your own investigations, have you personally come to a conclusion as to who was guilty of the crime of Katyn?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. It is a personal opinion.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right. Have you come to it? All of us have only an opinion. No one of us has a complete conviction.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Based upon the conversations and based upon the feeling of the Poles, there is no doubt about it but that, in my opinion, the Russians committed it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you want to give the reasons which led you to that conclusion?

(The witness conferred with Department of the Army counsel.)

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you repeat that question, please?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you give the reasons why you have come to that conclusion?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What are they?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. In the report which already is exhibit 11 and indicates the condition of the refugees which were evacuated from Russia to Iran in 1942, I specifically picked out pictures of children that I took myself, and their condition, because if the children came out in that condition it is certain that the adults perhaps suffered even more. Second, never in all the conversations concerning the disappearance of the officers did the Russians explain that they were captured by the advancing Nazis. Third, why don't the Soviets account for the balance of the 15,000 officers that disappeared in Russia?

Fourth, the Polish underground sources made a search in Poland and could not find even one returnee, and they had exceptionally fine contact with all of them. None of the relatives received any mail after May 1940.

Lastly, I visited POW camps, Polish POW camps in Germany.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How many prisoner-of-war camps of the Germans in which Polish officers were confined, did you visit?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I visited two of them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have ample opportunity to see the treatment of these officers?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Not the treatment so much, because I wasn't in prison when they were there, but I saw the condition when I did get there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was it?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. They were not undernourished, they were fairly well dressed, they were depressed mentally because they had been in for over 5 years, but they were certainly alive.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is an important question. Did they disappear eventually?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. They were taken over by the Polish Government-in-exile.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, those Polish officers in German prison camps did not disappear?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And those Polish officers who were in Russian camps did disappear, is that correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I have the report of December 8?

Mr. KORTH. Yes, sir. It is right here.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I would like to clarify one point there. I more or less may seem like defending the Nazis. I certainly don't want the implication that I am a Nazi in any way, because I also visited Buchenwald and Dachau, and I saw the treatment of the humans there. They did at least observe some rules of law concerning the treatment of prisoners of war.

Mr. MITCHELL. Do you know of any instance where the Germans violated the international agreement at The Hague governing the working of officers who were POW's?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir; I do not know of an instance of that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This is not the report that I wanted. I asked for the report of December 8.

Mr. KORTH. I am sorry, sir. I thought that exhibit 12 was the one to which you had reference.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want the one Mr. Szymanski brought in today.

Mr. KORTH. That is the one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is not December 8.

Mr. KORTH. That is the one he brought in today, sir; isn't that right?

Mr. MITCHELL. It is the second page.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there another report besides this that you have in your possession, which has not yet been brought up?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask you, did you ever file any report with any recommendations of forming a military intelligence agency?

(The witness conferred with Department of the Army counsel.)

Mr. KORTH. Mr. Chairman, I think that the witness must respectfully decline to answer that, from what he has just told me. I did not know the nature of the question prior to the time it was asked.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I asked for the report of December 8, and you gave me the report of November something.

Mr. KORTH. Sir, I was handed that report by Colonel Szymanski. I thought that was what you had in mind.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there another report or letter besides that, I will ask the colonel, which has not yet been brought to our attention?

Mr. KORTH. It is not a report, sir, that you speak of. It is a recommendation to G-2. Is that what you have reference to? There is no other report.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Every report has a recommendation.

Mr. KORTH. As I understand from Colonel Szymanski, there is no additional report. There is a recommendation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I do not care what you call it.

Mr. KORTH. He did make a recommendation, as I understand it.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do we have that?

Mr. KORTH. Do you have it with you?

Could we have about a 30-second recess, Mr. Chairman?

(The witness conferred with Department of the Army counsel.)

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think the committee would like to know what the content of that report or recommendation is.

Mr. KORTH. I have no objection to your seeing it in executive session. I am not trying to hide anything.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let me follow that with one question, and then we can see it in executive session.

Colonel, without reference to the contents of that recommendation, there was a recommendation made by you on or about December 8, 1943, to G-2?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one other question. Was that followed 11 days later with a cablegram, the contents of which we are going to discuss in accordance with a previous agreement?

Mr. KORTH. It was the 23d, I think.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Let us get the date. You made a recommendation to G-2 on or about December 8, is that correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. 1943?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And following that—on what date?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. December 19.

Mr. KORTH. You are right, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That recommendation was followed by a cablegram dated December 19?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As I understand, we are not going to discuss that cablegram at this time, but what I do want to know is, that cablegram followed a report and recommendation of December 8, 1943?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I think the record at that point should show that the entire committee is aware of the existence of that telegram and has seen the telegram. The Army has not had a chance yet to examine the original microfilm of the said telegram. A copy of the telegram is now in the possession of the colonel, and the Army is going to meet with the committee at a special open session at 10 o'clock next Wednesday morning in Washington for the very purpose of examination on the basis of the declassified telegram, is that correct?

Mr. KORTH. That is right, sir.

We understand that, and we will comply with the wishes of the committee.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, I am a precisionist, as far as the record is concerned. I want to have the record in order on this point. I am now reading from exhibit No. 11, part of your report, that part thereof described as "Polish-Russian Relations; Relations between the period July 30, 1941–October 30, 1942." I quote as follows:

1. On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked Russia. On July 30, 1941, the Polish-Soviet agreement was concluded. The text is as follows:

This is a quotation within a quotation, with underlining in the quotation.

"The Government of the U. S. S. R. recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity. The Polish Government declares that Poland is not bound by any agreement with any third power which is directed against the U. S. S. R."

Now, I go to that part of the same page, point 5, which says as follows, and I quote:

This agreement will come into force immediately upon signature and without ratification.

Now, the protocol, quotation within a quotation:

"The Soviet Government grants an amnesty to all Polish citizens now detained on Soviet territory, either as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds, as from the resumption of diplomatic relations."

Then I go to that page of the same exhibit, your said report, called "Polish-Russian Relations; Relations prior to Bolshevik invasion, September 17, 1939," and I quote point 3 thereof as follows:

On September 17, 1939, the Polish Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. was read a note in the Kremlin to the effect that (a) the Soviets regarded the Polish Government as disintegrated and the Polish state as having in fact ceased to exist; (b) that consequently, all agreements between the two countries were rendered invalid; (c) that Poland, without leadership, constituted a threat to the U. S. S. R.; (d) that the Soviet Government could not view with indifference the fate of the Ukrainians and White Russians living on Polish territory; (e) that accordingly, the Soviet Government had ordered its troops to cross the Polish border for their protection; (f) and that the Soviet Government proposed to extricate the Polish people from the unfortunate war into which they were dragged by their unwise leaders and enable them to live a peaceful life.

Do you recognize those statements?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, I want to go for a minute to perhaps a higher realm of our discussion, but being a very intelligent intelligence officer—and that does not always follow—let us see what we can do about motives.

You have had extraordinary experience on this mission. You have had vast opportunity to converse with military and civil leaders of the Allied nations, with particular reference to the Poles and their allies. Directing your attention to the year 1939, I am trying to find out why would the Russians from 1939 to 1941, if they committed this offense, why, in the sense of motives, would they do it?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Genocide.

Mr. FLOOD. Besides genocide, can you think of political reasons specifically resulting from historic and traditional situations within Russia? Why would the Russians want to kill 15,000 military officers, separate from the fact that they were intelligentsia and the recognized concept of genocide, from the military point of view?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. They couldn't swing the officers over to their way or their ideology. They couldn't control the officers. Of the 15,000, only 20 defected, which is a tribute in itself.

Mr. FLOOD. It has been indicated by several reputable witnesses, Polish officers from Kozielsk and Starobielsk who have testified before this committee, that they were subjected to an unending barrage of propaganda to convert them to communism, without success. Does your conclusion follow from that kind of fact?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you agree, from your experience, that there was at that time a conceivable counterrevolutionary situation existing behind the Russian line among the Russian people, the various elements of the Russian people?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Not from the stories I got from the Poles, and that would be my only source.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there ever brought to your attention a situation that was potentially revolutionary in the Ukraine?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Would it be conceivable that the Russians would want to liquidate an officer corps that, if released from prison camps, could be the leaders of a revolution behind the Russian line?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. If that is conceivable, would it make an intelligent motive for the Russians to eliminate revolutionary leadership?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that beyond the realm of reason in this case?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. It is conceivably, therefore, a motive?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, let us jump to the other side of the line. No, let us not jump quite so quickly. Let us go back to the Russians.

It has been indicated by a Russian colonel today, and it is not unknown to intelligent historians, that mass executions, mass migrations, mass murder are not a novelty in the Russian political world, back to the imperial days, perhaps down to date. Is that not so?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You were not surprised or stunned or shocked, or you would not be, if it turned out that the Russians did this crime?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir; I would not be.

Mr. FLOOD. It was indicated by a Russian colonel today that the Katyn massacre was not a great subject of conversation among the Russian officer corps because, from their point of view or thinking, it was really a minor incident.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Correct.

Mr. FLOOD. If that is all true, and if the Russians are more or less experts at this kind of thing, why do you think they would commit such a blunder within a hop, skip, and jump of the Polish border in the Katyn Forest where somebody with his eyes open would stumble over the whole thing?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. The workings of the Russian secret police are such that it is almost utterly impossible to get anything out of that country.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have any opinion as to why such skilled mass executioners would perform such a mass execution in that area, under the circumstances?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I am sure you are aware of the geographical location of Smolensk.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I direct your attention now to the dates of the alleged crime. Would it be conceivable for the Russians to feel, keeping in mind where the German lines were and where the Russian lines were, that the Russians had no reason to believe or expect or think that Smolensk would fall to the Germans and the crime be discovered? Is that not an intelligent thinking?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. It would not be unreasonable for the Russians so to think, under the tactical situation that existed at the time of the alleged crime?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. The tactical situation was then and is now common knowledge?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. That could be one indication of why what might be considered a stupid site was selected, that they felt secure, perhaps?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, let us take a look at the Germans. Directing your attention to the years that these crimes were perpetrated, no matter whose date you take, can you agree—and I am sure you know the facts—that Hitler was in a rather precarious position at that time?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir; he was not.

Mr. FLOOD. Comparatively, in '39? Do you think that he was experiencing any trouble with the German General Staff vis-à-vis the attack upon Russia?

I mean 1941. What did I say—1939? I mean the summer of 1941.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. There were probably staff discussions and disagreements which were finally ironed out, and perhaps they did exactly what Hitler said.

Mr. FLOOD. Not "perhaps." They did exactly what Hitler said, did they not?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I wasn't there, and I couldn't very well say.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you ever heard it indicated that the German General Staff opposed violently the attack upon Russia, and it was only by orders of Hitler that the undesirable creation of a two-front war was instituted?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir—

Mr. FLOOD. You never heard that. This has nothing to do, really, with your type of testimony. If you mind this kind of thing—

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Maybe I am not expert enough on this.

Mr. FLOOD. I think you are. I am trying to probe both sides to see what was going on in their minds, if I can, and then we will apply the facts to what we find as motives, you see.

You have heard of panslavism?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You have heard it indicated that Russia was looked upon by the smaller Slav nations as "Mother Russia," and the leading Slav protector?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Except by the Poles.

Mr. FLOOD. Except by the Poles.

The Germans were not unaware of that state of mind or this geopolitical phrase, "panslavism"?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. It would militate to the advantage of the Germans if they could drive a wedge between any Slavic group?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. And if the Germans were laboring under any impression that the Poles and the Slavs were happily married, they might have taken this kind of action as happened at Katyn for the purpose of turning the Poles against the Russians?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. That is not beyond the kind of fantasy that I am engaging in now, is it?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. In all of your experiences and in all of your conversations, have you ever unearthed one scintilla of evidence which would support that kind of German thinking or action?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I just wanted to know what you thought about those things.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. MITCHELL. Did you at any time during your discussions with the Polish Corps, General Anders, Ozapski, those men that you have reported to us here today, receive an explanation as to why, since the Germans took over the Smolensk area in August of 1941 and held it through August 1943, they delayed releasing this report until April 13, 1943, when they shocked the world with it? Have you got any version that you could give this committee with respect to the delay?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. I haven't seen anything which stated that they did find the graves before more or less, say, April, when they first announced it.

Mr. MITCHELL. Did the Polish people that you may have talked to have any information?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Not that I know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Such as what, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. MITCHELL. As to why there was a delay from August 1941, when the Germans took the Smolensk area, until April 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you established when the Germans located the graves?

Mr. MITCHELL. April 1943. That is when they announced it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know when they found them?

Mr. MITCHELL. April 1943, but they had this area from August 1941 until April 1943. Why didn't they discover these graves sooner?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is probably operational there.

Mr. MITCHELL. I just wanted to know if he heard anything from the Polish officers or anybody else who may have been in Russia at that time.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL. After all, he was the American liaison officer assigned specifically to it.

Chairman MADDEN. They could not announce it until they discovered the graves and there is no evidence that they had discovered the graves any long period of time before they announced it.

Mr. MITCHELL. We don't know that, sir.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Did not one of the witnesses yesterday state something along that line?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, at Nuremberg they alleged they discovered it much sooner. Dr. Miloslavich said something yesterday to that effect. I just wanted to see if this witness had any information or if he had ever imparted that information to the United States Government.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Colonel, I am proud of you as one American to another, extremely proud for the way you carried on and the things that you did against great odds. I am going to give you a little experience before I ask you a question to verify the importance of your testimony.

One of the most thrilling experiences I had when I was elected to Congress and sworn in, in 1943, was to be invited to the Polish Embassy in Washington, at which the guest of honor was General Sikorski. He had just come back from Europe after several meetings with Stalin on this mission that you describe in your report. I was extremely happy to meet him. But I noticed that in our cross-examination of him, not once would General Sikorski say anything that would even give one the slightest hint that he wanted to give the Germans any propaganda value or any military value from the stand-

point of what he might say. He was cautious never to say anything that would be favorable to the Germans, politically, militarily, or any other way.

The reason I mention that is that I want to ask you this question: In dealing with these Polish officers as a liaison man for the United States Army, did you not likewise find that true of all Polish officers and all Polish military personnel and the Polish Government all the way down the line? They never wanted to give any propaganda value to the Germans or give anything to their advantage in this controversy with the Russians. Did you not find that more or less to be true?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, they actually leaned the other way in many instances, actually to cover up for the Russians; not to give the Germans any propaganda value.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Because inherently they hated the Germans with equal vigor as they did the Russians; is that not right?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. So any reports coming from the Poles, from the Polish Government, from the Polish military personnel, or from General Sikorski, would not be a prejudiced report. It would be one based simply on human justice.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I mention that because it brought out the experience very, very pointedly for me, because I recall one of the pictures that I shall prize for my entire life is the personally autographed picture by General Sikorski himself. He was killed shortly after that, much to our regret.

I mention that because it shows that all the way through this picture, the Poles were extremely careful—as a matter of fact, my only criticism of them would be that they protected the Russians too much. They did not want to give Hitler any propaganda value out of any controversy they had with the Russians. Therefore, the testimony that they gave is not a prejudiced testimony.

From the gleaning and the very little information we got from General Sikorski—in other words, we asked him the question, "How are conditions in Russia as regards the Poles?" and his only answer was, "Bad, hard."

Then immediately when we cross-examined him, "What is the condition? Are they in prison camps? Are you having any trouble with Joe Stalin about the treatment by the Russians?" his answer was, "I don't care to talk about that. I don't care to talk about that." In other words, you could see that the tendency there was not to divulge any information that the Germans might pick up and make propaganda out of against the Russians. Do you get my point?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Judging from his conversation, we sort of got the hint that things were not all right. At that time there happened to be nine Members of Congress, Americans of Polish descent, who had several meetings on it, and we did some digging. We knew in 1944 that your report was sent in. We knew that other reports were being sent in. We tried to get the War Department to give us the

contents of those reports, but we were immediately clamped down with the determination that it is secret.

We knew so by telephone conversation, and we got letters in writing that your report, among other reports, was secret.

Then, of course, when the thing blew off, they couldn't find it, but at first it was top secret. In fact, it was so secret that when they wanted it they could not find it. They really made it secret, all right.

It so happened that we did not want to do very much about it, but just to give you an idea of what your reports were up against, it so happened that this uprising in Warsaw broke out in 1944, and the begging and the pleading of the Polish underground was, "For God's sake, have mercy on us. Come to our rescue. Come to our aid." I believe it was during the month of July 1944, that we made an appointment—we tried to get an appointment with the President of the United States to make a plea on behalf of justice for the Polish people in Warsaw and all over the world. We could not get an appointment with the President, but we did get an appointment with our Secretary of State at that time. He graciously saw us, and at that time we told him that there were reports available in the War Department and there were reports available in other places in the Government, to show that things were going bad for the Poles. It seemed that our conversation was falling on deaf ears, because if the Secretary of State heard anything, he heard it between the batch of pills that he had on his desk.

After we saw that we were not getting anywhere, I believe that just about every one of us had tears in our eyes. So we said, "In the name of mercy and in the name of God, Mr. Secretary of State, will you please convey our message to the President of the United States to intervene at least so that the Russians will show a little bit of mercy on the Poles in this great crisis?" He said that that message would be conveyed. And the next thing we heard, of course, was the Yalta agreement, which meant that our message fell on deaf ears.

In other words, Colonel, our personal intervention clear up to the Secretary of State, pointing out to him that these reports were available, our personal intervention on the part of Members of Congress, did not get anywhere at that time. So do not be disappointed because your reports did not get anywhere at that time.

That is all.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, I am sure that as a distinguished graduate of our Military Academy, and as a distinguished colonel of Infantry, the mere fact that you are fortunate enough to have in your veins the proud blood of Polish ancestry that you have will not make you a prejudiced witness, either as against Russians or as against Germans. Is that not correct?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You are a sworn military officer doing your sworn duty.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. That is right, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Certainly no United States Army colonel of Infantry after World War I or World War II could be conceivably classified as a friend of the Germans.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, in your wanderings on this mission of yours, did you ever run into this situation? We have been listening to

witnesses for several days, and we have all been intrigued by the failure of the Soviet to reply to interrogations directed to their government from the Poles, from other governments, and from other peoples, as to the fate of these prisoners, Polish officers. We have been intrigued by the failure of the Russians to participate in the German and other requests for international investigations.

We have been advised that from time to time inquiries were directed from various sources, individual, organizational, and governmental, to the Soviet Government, asking for information about these missing officers. You have heard of that?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever hear that the Vatican addressed an inquiry to the Soviet Ambassador at Istanbul for the same purpose?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I just want to ask a question to correct any impression that may have been made on the record, either by my cross-examination or any other, namely, have you had any instructions from your superiors as to what your reaction should be here today?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Full cooperation, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to say that I believe that those instructions were given you honestly so.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I do not want any questions that I have directed to you to be any evidence of any lack of faith in the leadership that is in the Department of War as it is constituted today.

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir. I feel very strongly that full cooperation has been given.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Because of questions which may arise later, I am going to ask you, in the preparation of your reports in 1942 and 1943, were you at any time directed by prejudice one way or the other?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At that time did you have any prejudice?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And they were unprejudiced reports?

Colonel SZYMANSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to join with Mr. O'Konski in telling you that I am very proud to have had the opportunity to have you as our witness, and I would say if we had more people with the foresight that you had in 1942, our country might not be in the precarious position it is today. It is easy for us today to look back and say what was the right thing to do; but to have had the opportunity and the foresight at that time to predict things as you did, I think is a great compliment to you, and I certainly hope the Army will appreciate that.

Mr. O'KONSKI. If you never did anything else in your life, Colonel: "In that case Poland has lost the war and the Allies have lost the war. The choice in Europe is not merely democracy versus Hitler, as so many Americans seem to think it is." If you never did anything else in your life, Colonel, you have earned the right to be a real American on that score.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there further questions?

Colonel Szymanski, you have had vast experience as a military man. You are a graduate of West Point. You have faithfully carried out many assignments as a soldier in the United States Army. You can certainly be proud of the record you have made in so loyally and patriotically and faithfully carrying out your assignments. Your testimony here today, even in spite of some of the opinions that were existing 10 years ago reveals you had the proper analysis. I know that I voice the sentiment of this committee in stating that if the Army and the Navy and the marines were composed of all Colonel Szymanskis, there would be no stopping our country in this battle against communism.

On behalf of the committee and the Congress, I want to thank you.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before we adjourn, could I ask Mr. Korth a question?

Do I understand that at the meeting Wednesday, you will try to have available to us complete information as to what departments, if any, these reports have been made available?

Mr. KORTH. That is right, sir, although the deadline you have set is new to me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I will ask you to make an honest effort—

Mr. KORTH. I will, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To get that information to us by Wednesday; and, if not by Wednesday, as soon thereafter as possible.

Mr. FLOOD. Just one more thing. I concur in these very laudatory comments made in connection with Colonel Szymanski, but may I suggest that that part of the record dealing with these commendations of Colonel Szymanski be forwarded by the committee to the Adjutant General's office and be made part of his file?

Mr. KORTH. I think it might be well also that the Secretary be informed of that through your official media.

Mr. FLOOD. You know what I mean.

Chairman MADDEN. I instruct the counsel to carry that out.

The committee now stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 5:45 p. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

NOTE.—An executive session of the committee was held in Washington on March 19, as directed by the chairman during the hearing on March 14 in Chicago. At this session the committee was advised by a Department of the Army spokesman that the letter written by Colonel Szymanski on December 8, 1943, to G-2 and the subsequent cable reply sent to Colonel Szymanski by G-2 on December 19, 1943, cannot be declassified at this time. Consequently it will not be made a part of this record.

LISTA KATYŃSKA

J E Ń C Y O B O Z Ó W
KOZIELSK – OSTASZKÓW – STAROBIELSK
ZAGINIENI W ROSJI SOWIECKIEJ

OPRACOWAŁ
ADAM MOSZYŃSKI



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[Translation of Title Page]

The KATYN LIST

✦ ✦ ✦ ✦

PRISONERS OF WAR AT THE
CAMPS

KOZIELSK
STAROBIELSK
OSTASZKOW

WHO
DISAPPEARED IN
SOVIET RUSSIA

✦

Prepared by
ADAM MOSZYNSKI
"GRYF", LONDON



OD AUTORA

Opracowania tej „Listy Katyńskiej” podjąłem się jako jeden spośród znikomej garstki pozostałych przy życiu byłych jeńców obozu Starobielsk.

Chciałem w ten sposób spłacić Opatrzności Bożej część długu wdzięczności za własne ocalenie, a równocześnie oddać tę niejako ostatnią posługę tym wszystkim współjeńcom, którzy tragicznym zrządzeniem losu musieli złożyć swe życie w ofierze.

Członkom Rodzin zamordowanych i zaginionych moich kolegów - współjeńców składam na tym miejscu wyrazy głębokiego współczucia.

Za ewentualne omyłki, których genezę wyjaśnia wstęp, a których uniknięcie w obecnych warunkach było niemożliwe, z góry najmocniej zainteresowanych przepraszam.

Na koniec serdecznie dziękuję tym wszystkim, którzy okazali mi swą pomoc w opracowaniu tej dokumentacji.

Londyn, w maju 1949 r.

ADAM MOSZYŃSKI.

[Translation]

FROM THE AUTHOR

I have undertaken the task of preparing this “KATYN LIST” as one of only a handful of survivors among Polish prisoners of war interned at Starobielsk.

In this manner, I hope to repay Providence for sparing my life and at the same time give this final service to all those fellow prisoners of war who through the tragic dictates of fate had paid with their lives.

To the members of families of my fellow prisoners of war who were murdered I offer my deepest condolence.

I apologize for any mistakes which may have crept into this list and wish to call attention to the preface in which I explain why it is virtually impossible under prevailing conditions to eliminate all errors.

I also wish to take this opportunity to thank all those who have given tireless cooperation toward the completion of this list.

London, May 1949.

ADAM MOSZYŃSKI.

WSTĘP

Lista Katyńska jest uzupełnieniem zbioru dokumentów, które zostały zawarte w książce pt. „Zbrodnia Katyńska w świetle dokumentów“^{*)}).

W rozdziale drugim wymienionej książki stwierdzono, że w obozach Kozielsk, Ostaszków i Starobielsk znajdowało się w miesiącach zimowych 1939/40 około 15.000 polskich jeńców wojennych. Kozielsk liczył około 5.000, Ostaszków około 6.500, a Starobielsk około 4.000 polskich jeńców wojennych. Z ogólnej tej ilości pozostało przy życiu około 400 jeńców, przewiezionych do obozu Pawliszczew - Bór, a stamtąd do obozu Griazowiec, skąd we wrześniu 1941 zostali wypuszczeni na wolność. Jeńców z Kozielska odnaleziono pomordowanych w grobach katyńskich, a reszta zaginęła bez śladu, przy czym wszystko wskazuje na to, że zaginionych spotkał ten sam los, co ofiary katyńskie.

W ten sposób, kto mówi lub pisze o Katyniu, ma w gruncie rzeczy na myśli nie tylko te ofiary mordu, które w ilości powyżej 4.000 odnalezione zostały w mogiłach lasu Katyńskiego pod Smoleńskiem, ale ogół zaginionych z wszystkich trzech obozów, którzy od wiosny 1940 r. nie dali o sobie znaku życia. Lista imienna winna przeto objąć nie tylko byłych jeńców kozielskich z Katynia, a'e wszystkich zaginionych, czyli około 15.000 nazwisk.

Ogólne cyfry jeńców przebywających w trzech obozach pochodzą ze źródeł wiarogodnych i kompetentnych. Opierają się one na informacjach tych jeńców każdego z obozów, którzy uniknęli likwidacji, i znaleźli się w obozie Pawliszczew - Bór, a następnie Griazowiec. Już wtedy rozpoczęła się bowiem pomiędzy jeńcami, pochodzącymi z trzech obozów zlikwidowanych, i zannienokojonymi losem pozostałych kolegów, wymiana informacji na temat ogólnej ilości zaginionych. Jak wiadomo, obozy jeńców, które posiadały nieco odmienną organizację niż obozy pracy przymusowej, czyli tzw. łagry, dopuszczały jeńców w szerszym zakresie do współadministracji obozów. Dlatego też jeńcy posiadali konkretne i źródłowe informacje o ogólnej liczbie mieszkańców zamkniętych w obozach. Podawane więc przez uratowa-

^{*)} „Zbrodnia Katyńska w świetle dokumentów“, z przedmową gen. Władysława Andersa, „Gryf“, Londyn 1948.

nich jeńców ogólne cyfry stanów zlikwidowanych obozów można uważać za sprawdzone i wiarogodne.

Zestawienie imiennej listy ogółu zaginionych, kompletnej i bezbłędnej, jest niemożliwe, i odnaleźć ją możnaby chyba jedynie w moskiewskich archiwach NKWD. Lista Katyńska nie jest pierwszą publikacją, ani pierwszą pracą polską tego rodzaju. Były przeprowadzone już poprzednio — poza spisem niemieckim „Amtliches Material“ — spisy częściowe i mniej zupełne, na których lista niniejsza została oparta po przeprowadzeniu możliwych i koniecznych poprawek oraz uzupełnień.

Źródła, na których opiera się poniżej ogłoszona lista, są następujące:

1) «AMTLICHES MATERIAL ZUM MASSEN MORD VON KATYN» — (URZĘDOWY MATERIAŁ O MASOWYM MORDZIE W KATYNIU) WYD. BERLIN 1943 — STR. 167 DO 273 — ROZDZIAŁ IV.: WYKAZ 4143 ZWŁOK ZIDENTYFIKOWANYCH DO 7. CZERWCA 1943.

Wykaz ogłoszony przez Niemców w „Amtliches Material“ nie był alfabetyczny, a nazwiska, imiona, nazwy miejscowości, adresy oraz inne szczegóły podane są często w brzmieniu zniekształconym. Lista była sporządzana i ustalana ostatecznie przez osoby narodowości niemieckiej, i to często może na podstawie znalezionych przy zwłokach dokumentów, wystawionych w okresie niewoli w języku rosyjskim; prócz tego dokumenty te po ekshumacji zwłok znajdowały się często w stanie daleko idącego zniszczenia. Wszystkie te czynniki złożyły się na omyłki i nieprawidłowości wykazu niemieckiego, których sprostowanie wymagało krytycznej oceny na podstawie innych źródeł, oraz uwzględnienia faktu, że listę sporządzali cudzoziemcy, nie znający dokładnie języka polskiego, ani brzmienia polskich nazwisk i nazw. Prócz tego krytyczna ocena listy niemieckiej prowadzić musi do jeszcze jednego zastrzeżenia: oto mordowane w Katyniu ofiary nie zawsze musiały posiadać przy sobie swoje własne dokumenty. Jeśli na przykład jedynym dowodem tożsamości była kartka z nazwiskiem, lub z zaadresowaną kopertą, albo nazwisko wypisane na notatniku lub kalendarzu, to nie koniecznie musiały te dane dotyczyć zwłok, przy których ślad ten znaleziono. Niektóre, — aczkolwiek bardzo nieliczne, — wypadki tego rodzaju zostały już stwierdzone, i tak na przykład wiarogodne informacje pozwalają przyjąć, że Franciszek Biernacki, właściciel książeczki oszczędn. PKO., znalezionej przy zwłokach w Katyniu i opublikowanej wśród fotografii niemieckiego zbioru, a zreprodukowanej w książce „Zbrodnia Katyńska“, w rzeczywistości w obozie kozielskim nie był, ani też nie znalazł śmierci w Katyniu. Zostało stwierdzone, że owa książeczka oszcz. PKO. została przez niego pozostawiona w Wojskowym Instytucie Geograficznym w Warszawie, i następnie przy ewakuacji WIG. z Warszawy została wywieziona przez innego oficera celem doręczenia właścicielowi przy spotkaniu, które jednak nie nastąpiło. W ten sposób dokument ów, opiewający na nazwisko Fr. Biernacki, został znaleziony w grobach katyńskich przy innym oficerze.

2) WYKAZ CZŁONKÓW B. ARMII POLSKIEJ, ZAMORDOWANYCH PRZEZ BOLSZEWIKÓW W KATYNIU, ZIDENTYFIKOWANYCH DO DNIA 1. CZERWCA 1943 R., — STR. 3 DO 55. — (BROSZURA BEZ PODANIA WYDAWCY, AUTORA, ROKU I MIEJSCA).

Wykaz powyższy — w porównaniu z niemieckim — jest mniej kompletny i kończy się na pozycji 2916. Układ, kolejność poszczególnych, nie zawsze numerowanych pozycji, a wreszcie treść danych, zawartych w tym wykazie, — pozwalają przypuszczać, że został on sporządzony przez Polaków pracujących w Katyniu przy ekshumacji zwłok. Nazwiska, adresy i inne dane zamieszczono w wielu wypadkach w brzmieniu również zniekształconym. Numeracja poszczególnych zwłok nie zawsze pokrywa się z numeracją „Amtliches Material“; — tak samo treść danych nie jest tażsama, lecz w pewnych wypadkach obszerniejsza, w innych szczuplejsza; niż w wykazie niemieckim. Znajdują się w tym wykazie pozycje, których w niemieckim spisie w ogóle brak, względnie których odpowiedniki oznaczono w wykazie niemieckim jako niezidentyfikowane. Wykaz ten ogłoszony został drukiem anonimowo, najprawdopodobniej w Kraju, pod okupacją niemiecką.

3) LISTA ZAGINIONYCH JEŃCÓW Z OBOZÓW ROSYJSKICH KOZIELSK, OSTASZKÓW I STAROBIELSK, — ZESTAWIONA PRZEZ BIURO OPIEKI NAD RODZINAMI WOJSKOWYMI DOWÓDZTWA POLSKICH SIŁ ZBROJNYCH W ZSRR., UZUPEŁNIONA DODATKOWYM SPISEM BIURA POMOCY RODZINOM WOJSKOWYCH I JEŃCÓW WOJENNYCH DOWÓDZTWA WOJSK POLSKICH NA ŚRODKOWYM WSCHODZIE. L. dz. 904/RW/45 z daty Egipt 30. listopada 1945.

Lista ta została zestawiona na podstawie: a) pisemnych relacji jeńców ocalałych, którzy przebywali w jednym z 3 zlikwidowanych obozów. Relacje te zostały złożone w r. 1941 po odzyskaniu wolności; b) indywidualnych zgłoszeń rodzin, albo znanych zaginionego jeńca, opartych na fakcie poprzedniej korespondencji z zaginioną osobą w okresie pomiędzy jesienią 1939 a wiosną 1940 r. Lista powyższa została zestawiona początkowo przez ocalałych jeńców z pamięci, a następnie uzupełniano ją stopniowo, w miarę napływu korespondencji z rodzinami i znajomymi zaginionych. Listę, obejmującą 3848 nazwisk, wręczyli ś.p. gen. Sikorski i gen. Anders Stalinowi w czasie rozmowy w dniu 3. grudnia 1941 r., a następnie dodatkową, uzupełnioną do cyfry 4518, wręczył gen. Anders podczas bytności u Stalina w dniu 18. marca 1942 r. — Ostatecznie ilość zestawionych tą drogą nazwisk doszła do około 9.000. W rzeczywistości cyfra ta była wielokrotniona, ponieważ w trosce o to, by nikogo nie pominąć w poszukiwaniach, wpisywano nieraz na listę zaginionych to samo nazwisko w kilku zniekształconych wersjach, tak, jak były one przedstawiane przez poszczególne źródła. Nazwiska te bowiem — podawane z pamięci, albo kreślone w listach pismem nie dość czytelnym lub wyblakłym, — ulegały nieraz przekręceniom. Wykaz powyższy, jak to już stwierdzono w 7 wypadkach, w okresie publikowania „Listy Katyńskiej“ na łamach tygodnika „Orzeł Biały“, — nie może uchodzić za bezwarunkowo miarodajny. Mogą bowiem — wyjątkowo co prawda — znaleźć się w nim nazwiska niewłaściwie w swoim czasie

tam zarejestrowane, albo też należące wprawdzie do b. jeńców Kozielska czy też Starobielska, ale z okresu niewoli po maju 1940 r., które to osoby — przeważnie ocalałe — w ostateczności odnalazły się, czego następnie w wykazie powyższym nie uwidocznilono.

4) DODATKOWE RELACJE WIAROGODNYCH OSÓB. — Są to, nieliczne zresztą, informacje indywidualne, pochodzące od ocalałych b. jeńców jednego z 3 obozów, albo też od naocznych świadków przeprowadzonej w 1943 r. ekshumacji zwłok ofiar mordu w Katyniu, które to informacje dostarczono bezpośrednio w okresie zestawiania tej Listy.

5) ROCZNIKI OFICERSKIE BIURA PERSONALNEGO MINISTERSTWA SPRAW WOJSKOWYCH: a) ROCZNIK OFICERSKI 1932 — WYD. WARSZAWA 1932., ORAZ b) ROCZNIK OFICERSKI REZERWY, — WYD. WARSZAWA 1934.

Roczniki Oficerskie pozwoliły na skontrolowanie, poprawienie lub odtworzenie brzmienia nazwisk lub imion zaginionych w wypadkach, kiedy zostały one przytoczone w źródłach w sposób zniekształcony albo niezupełny. I tak na przykład — jeśli nazwisko lub imię były podane w źródłach w postaci nieścisłej lub niejasnej, a inne dane odpowiadały Rocznikowi Oficerskiemu, można było sprostować lub uzupełnić brzmienie, opierając się na danym Roczniku.

Wymienione powyżej źródła stanowią wszystko to, co w obecnych warunkach jest w tym zakresie osiągalnym. Niemniej ogłoszenie niniejszej Listy powinno być punktem wyjścia do dalszego uzupełniania jej. Wykończenie tej pracy będzie oczywiście możliwe dopiero w Kraju, i to w Polsce wolnej, kiedy wszystkie rodziny zaginionych jeńców będą miały pełną swobodę zestawiania nazwisk swoich bliskich, o których pobycie w latach 39/40 w Kozielsku, Ostaszkowie lub Starobielsku posiadały wiadomości, — oraz kiedy będzie można ustalić szczęśliwe a wyjątkowe wypadki odnalezienia się osób, uważanych za zaginione.

Ogłoszenie tej Listy jest wyrazem hołdu pamięci ofiar tego — rzadko spotykanego w dziejach — masowego mordu jeńców wojennych, i spełnieniem smutnego obowiązku wobec ich rodzin. Lista ta jest równocześnie uzupełnieniem materiału dokumentacyjnego, potrzebnego do aktu oskarżenia przeciwko mordercom, którzy pozostali dotychczas bezkarni. Jest rzeczą nas Polaków ten akt oskarżenia przygotować, i dążyć się postawienia zbrodniarzy przed Trybunałem Wolnych Narodów, który zbierze się jeszcze dla ukarania winnych.

Niniejsze książkowe wydanie „Listy Katyńskiej“ jest drugim z rzędu, poprawionym i uzupełnionym. Po raz pierwszy „Lista Katyńska“ była ogłaszana na łamach tygodnika „Orzeł Biały“, poczynając od Nru 41/327 z dnia 9. października 1948 r.

PREFACE

The *Katyn List* constitutes an amplification of documents which were included in the book *The Katyn Massacre in the Light of Documents*.

In the second chapter of the above-named book it has been established that some 15,000 Polish prisoners of war were interned in the three camps—Kozielsk, Ostaszkow, and Starobielsk—during the winter months of 1939–40. There were approximately 5,000 Polish prisoners of war in Kozielsk, 6,500 in Ostaszkow, and approximately 4,000 in Starobielsk. From this entire group only approximately 400 Polish prisoners of war survived who were first transferred to the prison camp at Pawliszczew-Bor; then to the camp at Griazowiec, and from there, in September 1941, this group of 400 finally was liberated. Those prisoners of war interned at Kozielsk subsequently were found murdered and buried in the Katyn graves. Those from the other two camps have disappeared without any trace of their whereabouts and all indications point to the conclusion that they met with the same fate as those Polish prisoners of war whose corpses were found at Katyn.

It must follow then, that whoever discusses or writes about Katyn, must keep in mind not only those 4,000 victims whose bodies were found in the graves of the Katyn Forest near Smolensk, but all of the prisoners interned at the three camps who disappeared and have given no trace that they are alive since the spring of 1940. Of necessity, then, this list of names must not only include the names of those former prisoners of war interned at Kozielsk and subsequently found dead at Katyn, but all the names of the 15,000 Poles interned at the three camps.

The total figure of Polish prisoners of war interned at the three camps is based on reliable and competent information. They are based, for the most part, on information supplied by those prisoners of war interned in the camps who escaped liquidation and found themselves in Pawliszczew-Bor and later in Griazowiec. Already at these last two camps the survivors from the three liquidated camps

began discussions amongst themselves in an effort to correctly establish the total number of Poles interned at the three camps. As it is known, these prisoner of war camps had a somewhat different organization than the forced labor camps commonly known as "Lagers" and provided for considerable self-administration by the prisoners. It is because of this that the survivors of the liquidation were able to compile definite and concrete information regarding the number of prisoners interned at the three camps. The numbers compiled by these survivors can, therefore, be accepted as correct and wholly reliable regarding the total number of Poles interned at these three camps.

A complete and absolutely correct compilation of names of all those who disappeared is virtually impossible and probably could be accomplished only through a careful search of all records in the archives of the NKVW headquarters in Moscow. This book titled *The Katyn List* is neither the first nor the only Polish publication of this nature. There have been lists prepared prior to this publication. Some of them go beyond the scope of names included in the German list titled "Amtliches Material"—which in some instances was less complete than this list but nevertheless served as the basis for this report after further checks and corrections were made.

Sources from which the following list was compiled are as follows:

- 1) "Amtliches Material Zum Massenmord von Katyn"—the official material about the mass murders in Katyn published in Berlin in 1943, pages 167 to 273, Chapter IV, table 4143 of the corpses identified up to June 7, 1943.

The German list of victims was not arranged in alphabetical order; first names, last names, names of towns, addresses, and other details in the German report frequently appear to be illegible. This list, it should be remembered, was prepared by Germans frequently on the basis of documents which were written in Polish or Russian and also the German list was prepared on the basis of documents found on the corpses which were in an advanced state of decay. All of these factors, justifiably account for the mistakes included in the German report which was prepared by people who do not know the Polish language and do not recognize characteristic signs in Polish names. A critical and impartial appraisal of the German list must also give consideration to the possibility that there may have been cases where documents found on bodies of the

victims did not necessarily belong to the corpse they were found on. If for instance, identification was based solely on the fact that a card or letter or penciled notation on a note bore a name, it cannot be taken for granted that this was necessarily the name of the victim. This has already been demonstrated in some instances although these cases were few in number. As an example it can be reliably stated that Franciszek Biernacki, whose bank book was found on a corpse in Katyn and reproduced in the book Katyn Massacre, actually never was in Kozielsk and was not murdered in Katyn.

It has been established that Biernacki's bank book was left behind by himself at the Army Geographic Institute in Warsaw and that it subsequently had been found by another Polish officer at the Institute who took the bank book with the hope of giving it to Biernacki if the two ever met subsequently. This meeting never took place and as a result the bank book bearing Fr. Biernacki's name was found on the corpse of another officer.

2) Report of former members of the Polish Army murdered in Katyn by the Bolsheviks identified up to June 1, 1943, pages 3 to 35. (This brochure does not list the publisher, the author, nor the date or place of publication.)

The above report is less complete than the German report and ends with victim No. 2916. The format of this document, along with the manner in which the names are written plus the order in which the bodies were removed, suggests it was prepared by one of the Poles who was sent to Katyn to work on the exhumation of the bodies. In many instances here, too, the names and other information are illegible. The numerical order in which the bodies apparently are reported in some instances does not agree with the German report. In some instances the additional information regarding each corpse is not the same as reported by the Germans, i. e., frequently, the information is more detailed and complete and in others less so. We find in this document actual positions of the bodies which were not listed in the German report and we find identifications for bodies in this list which the Germans reported as unidentified. This list most probably was published anonymously in Poland during the German occupation.

3) Official list of those prisoners who disappeared from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszkw as prepared by the Polish Relief Bureau for Families of Polish Soldiers in

the USSR. The list has been supplemented with information provided by the Polish Welfare Bureau for Families of Polish Soldiers in the Middle East, assembled Nov. 30, 1945, in Egypt.

This list was prepared on the basis of information gathered from: a) written reports of surviving Polish prisoners of war who were interned in one of the three liquidated camps. These reports were prepared in 1941 after their liberation; b) individual reports of families of prisoners interned in the three camps based on correspondence they carried on with the prisoners between the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1940. The above list was prepared first on the basis of memory of those who survived liquidation and later by refreshing their recollections through letters received from the families inquiring about their dear ones. This list of 3,848 was handed to Stalin by the late General Sikorski and by General Anders during a conference Dec. 3, 1941. An amended and corrected list bearing 4,518 names was handed to Stalin by General Anders on March 18, 1942. Eventually the total number of names transmitted to Russian authorities through these conferences reached 9,000. This list was increased somewhat because of duplications submitted by the various sources. Also, because many of the names were submitted from memory and others from poorly written letters, in some cases the same name was spelled two or three different ways and constituted two or three corpses when in reality they all involved only one person. Therefore this list, which was published in seven installments in the publication *The White Eagle*, cannot be considered conclusive or absolutely correct, because in some instances it includes names of prisoners in Kozielsk and Starobielsk who were interned at these camps subsequent to May, 1940 and who have for the most part survived.

4) Additional reports of reliable persons—This is information from prisoners who survived liquidation from the three camps or who participated in the actual exhumation and supplied information for the preparation of this list.

5) Annual reports of the Personnel Division of the Ministry of Military Affairs of the Polish Government; a) Annual Report of Officers from 1932 published in Warsaw; b) Annual Report of the Reserve Corps published in Warsaw in 1934.

The annual reports of Polish officers permitted me to check for the correct spelling of names. Hence, if a name was illegible but all the other facts pertaining to the vic-

tim were, we were able to establish the correct spelling of a name through a careful check of the annual list of Polish Officers.

The above-mentioned sources constitute all of the sources so far as is known which may have information pertinent to this subject. Publication of this list should afford the opportunity to correct further any possible errors unknown to the author. The ultimate completion and correction of this list will be possible only in Poland when the country is free and when families of the victims are permitted to make their full reports in complete freedom regarding any correspondence or contact that they have had with prisoners interned at Kozielsk, Ostaszkow, or Starobielsk, and also when it will be possible to locate any survivors now listed among the missing, if any survived.

Publication of this list is an expression of tribute to the memory of those who disappeared in this unprecedented mass murder of prisoners of war and an expression of condolence to their loved ones. This list furthermore constitutes a further documentation of material necessary to bring an indictment against those guilty for this crime if they haven't been brought to the bar of justice as yet. It is our duty as Poles to prepare this indictment and seek to have the murderers brought before the Tribunal of Free Nations, which eventually will be formed to punish the guilty ones.

The following book *The Katyn List* constitutes the second publication of an expanded and corrected list. The first *Katyn List* was published in the newspaper *White Eagle* beginning Oct. 9, 1948.

CZEŚĆ PIERWSZA

OBÓZ W KOZIELSKU
GROBY KATYŃSKIE

PART I

THE KOZIELSK CAMP
GRAVES AT KATYN

OBJASNIENIE ZNAKÓW, OZNACZAJĄCYCH ŹRÓDŁA:

- AM. — „Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn (Urządowy wykaz niemiecki) z cyfrą, oznaczającą poz. rej. zwłok.
- WO. — Wykaz ofiar — członków b. Armii Polskiej, zamordowanych przez bolszewików w Katyniu (sporządzony przez Polaków obecnymi przy ekshumacji zwłok w Katyniu) z cyfrą oznaczającą poz. rej. zwłok, względnie ze stroną wykazu tego.
- LZ. — Lista zaginionych jeńców z obozów rosyjskich (sporządzona przez Biuro Opieki nad Rodzinami Wojsk. D-twa Polskich Sił Zbr. w ZSRR., względnie przez Biuro Pomocy Rodzinom Wojsk. D-twa Wojsk Polskich na Śr. Wschodzie) z literą oznaczającą oboz, w którym dany jeńiec miał przebywać: K. — Kozielsk. O. — Ostaszków, S. — Starobielsk. Są informacje, wedle których dany jeńiec był kolejno w dwóch wzgl. trzech obozach.
- RO. 32 — Rocznik Oficerski Biura Pers. MSWojsk. — wyd. Warszawa 1932.
- RO. 34 — Rocznik Oficerski Rezerwy Biura Pers. MSWojsk. — wyd. Warszawa 1934 r.

- Abramski Jan, 1905, ppor. art. (LZK)
- Achtelik Paweł, w mundurze, karta szczyptenia, 2 listy, karta z zapiskami (AM 3752), 1912 (LZK)
- Adam Franciszek, — — — — —, por., 1 list z adresem: Adam Franciszek, Kozielsk, karta szczyptenia 1616, medalik z lancuszkami (AM 1459)
- Adam Władysław, — — — — —, w mundurze, dwa różne bilety wizytowe: 1) Dr. Adam Władysław, 2) Zeman Rudolf, 1 karta z adresem: Klimiec Ludwik, Kraków ul. Bosaka 39, wieczne pióro, karta szczyptenia (AM 2750)
- Adamczyk Franciszek, — — — — —, por. rez. (LZK)
- Adamczyk Franciszek, por. K.O.P. (LZK)
- Adamczyk Stefan, por. br. panc., 1897, znak tożsamości, list, odznaka pułkowa, notatnik, pierścień z brylantem, 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Adamczyk Genowefa, Warszawa, Czerniakowska 174 m. 9 (AM 2202)
- Adamek Józef, na razie brak szczegółów (WO str. 3), ppor. (LZK)
- Adamski — — — — — chorąży (LZK)
- Adamski — — — — — sierż. p.p. (LZK)
- Adamski Franciszek, 1901 s. Feliksa i Justyny, por. K.O.P. (LZK)
- Adamski Ignacy, mjr - lek., Dr. med., leg. ofic. (AM 3424), (LZK)
- Adamski Józef, nauczyciel, ppor., ur. 1.9.97 Bajki Stare, zam. Michałowo - Niezabudka, ks. oszcz. PKO, leg. odznaczeniowa, wizytówka, pocztówki, karta szczyptenia (AM 2255)
- Adamski Stanisław, s. Antoniego, mjr. Inst. Geogr. (LZ. S. K)
- Adamski Władysław, por. (LZK)
- Adas B., ppor. lotn. (LZK)
- Afeld Tadeusz, por., dowód osob., karta szczyptenia, karta mobil., ołówek do napędzania, pismo służbowe, kontrakt służbowy z Zarządem Miasta Łódź (AM 3398)
- Aksamiński Stefan, Aksamiński Stefan, ppor., metryka urodzenia, (AM 59), Aksamiński Stefan (WO. str. 5), Aksamiński ppor. (LZK)
- Aksan Mikołaj, ppor., zam. Poznań, 1 zaświadczenie, prawo jazdy (AM 1526)
- Alamas Tadeusz Andrzej, ppor., ur. 11/IX, — — — — — leg. ofic. rez., karta szczyptenia (AM 3921), Alamas Tadeusz ppor. (LZK)

Albrecht Leon, ewangelik, ppor., znak tożsamości (AM 860). (LZK)

Aleksandrowicz Paweł, 1901, ppor. art. (LZK)

Aleksandrowicz Władysław, mjr. lek. (LZK)

Aleksiewicz Zygmunt, Aleksiewicz Zygmunt s. Józefa, ppor., 2 listy (AM 376), Aleksiewicz lub Alecewicz Zygmunt (WO str. 7)

Alfer Józef, oficer, s. Aleksandra (LZK)

Allery Antoni, (?) ppor., leg. ofic. (AM 3328)

Alonczyk Franciszek, 1900, ppor. art. (LZK)

Alpiński - Solowicki Roman, ppor., znak tożsamości (AM 1770), ur. 1909 w Warszawie (WO 1770 str. 24), Alpiński-Salowski Roman, por. (LZK)

Alaszejew Leon, Dr. mjr., powołanie wojenne, zaświadczenie ze Starostwa, 1 list, karta meldunkowa, 1 medalik (AM 3278)

Ambroziewicz Włodzimierz, Ambroziewicz Włodzimierz, Dr. med. w mundurze, Poznań ul. 3-go Maja 6, ur. 26.6.95 w Odesie, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, bilety wizytowe, 1 list, pismo Związku Lekarzy Poznań (AM 2433), por. lek., 1895 (?), s. Katarzyny (LZK)

Amerik Jan, w mundurze, prawnik, pracownik Twa Ubezpiecz. w Lublinie, metryka ślubu, 1 list (AM 4127)

Anasiewicz Jan, Anasiewicz Jan por., ks. ofic., medalik (AM 1942), Anasiewicz (?) Jan (WO 1942 str. 28), Anasiewicz Jan kpt. art. (LZK)

Anc Józef, aspirant, mgr., (LZK)

Androletti Roman, w mundurze, ur. 5.6.06, ks. oszcz. PKO., 2 listy, 1 pocztówka (AM 1575)

Andrusiewicz Wacław, kpr. (LZK)

Andrzejewski, por., rozkaz wyjazdu, karta szczep., cwikler (AM 1286)

Andrzejewski Bogdan, ppor., 3 pocztówki, kalendarzyk kieszonkowy (AM 1997), por. (LZK)

Andrzejewski Henryk, ppor., leg. urzęd., pocztówka, list, kwit depozytowy (AM 4110), ppor. art., 1900 (LZK)

Andrzejewski Marjan, ppor. piech., 1908 (LZK)

Andrzejewski Stanisław, w mundurze, ur. 1909, znak tożsamości (AM 2995)

Andrzejkiewicz Borys, ppor., 1 leg. ofic. (AM 1868), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Andziak Józef, kpt., rez., komisarz P.P., lat 44 (LZK)

Andziak March, dowód osob., list, karta szczep. (AM 87), ppor. (LZK)

Anton Konstanty, kpt., 2 koperty z nadawcą: Gala Antonowa, Wilno, Anksaicio 12 (Koponica), 2 telegramy (AM 9), rtm. K.O.P. (LZK)

Antonik Józef, por., zam. Dublany wojew. Tarnopol, bilety wizytowe, pismo urzędowe, karta szczepienia 3636 (AM 1416), por. rez. 1894, syn Wojciecha (LZK)

Antonik Stanisław, ppor. art., 1906 (LZK)

Antoniewicz Wacław, w mundurze, kwit depozytowy, karta szczepienia, medalik (AM 4089), kpt. art. (LZK)

Antonowicz, kpt. (LZK)

Antoni Bolesław, kpt., 1 zaświadczenie, części legit. ofic. (AM 2113) kpt. piech., (LZK)

Antoszek Józef, Antoszel Józef, oficer, legit. ofic. (AM 17), Antosze dowód oficerski (WO str. 5), ppor. rez., 1906 (LZK)

Antoszewski Lech, por., 1911 (LZK)

Anufrijew Jerzy, w mundurze, 1 pocztówka, 1 list, 1 krzyżek (AM 1962), list od Emilia . . . (nazwisko nieczytelne), Kowel, ul. Mosieckiego 6 m. 4 (WO 1962 str. 29)

Araszkiewicz Włodzimierz, ppor., lat 43 (LZK)

Archowski Mieczysław, dr. med., (LZK)

Arcimowicz Henryk, ppor. (LZK)

Arcimowicz Zenon, w mundurze, 1 pocztówka, kartka z zapisami (AM 2289)

Arciszewski Jan Piotr, por. rez. żand., 1894 (LZK)

Arct, pchor. lek. (LZK)

Arendarski Antoni, 1901, ppor. art. (LZK)

Armata Władysław Stefan, Armala, dowód zwolnienia z wojska w 1935 r. w stopniu sierżanta, karta szczepienia 230 (AM 2055), Armala (Armata) syn Józefa (WO 2055 str. 31), Armata, ppor. rez., 1899, s. Józefa (LZK)

Astapczyk Adolf, (?) w mundurze, ur. 1909, znak tożsamości, list z nadawcą: Dorota Astapczyk (AM 3665), ppor. art., s. Józefa i Malwiny (LZK)

Auc Antoni, w mundurze, ur. 8.3.907, dyplom prawniczy, metryka urodzenia, zasw. przynał. państw., leg. sportowa, monogram MA (AM 2711), (LZK)

Augustowski Karol, ppor., ur. 1903, znak tożsamości, 1 list, karta szczep., kartka z zapisami (AM 2097), (LZK)

Augustynowicz Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)

Augustynowicz Mieczysław, sędzia, cywilny, różne pisma sądowe (AM 1905), ofic. rez., medalik (WO 1905 str. 28)

Aziukiewicz Aleksander, por. rez. art., 1901 (LZK)

Babczuk Władysław, por. (LZK)

Babicz Rudolf, ppor., lat 25 (LZK), ppor., dowód osob., świad. szczepienia, telegram, listy (AM 221)

Babinski Zbigniew, kpt., karta szczep., rozkaz wyjazdu, zaświadczenie (AM 1958), kpt. lotn. (LZK)

Babuchowski Marian, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., lista z nazwiskami, różne kartki (AM 1487), ppor. (LZK)

Babula Jerzy, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta szczep., medalik (AM 2946)

Baczkowicz Szymon, 2 listy, naramiennik bez odznak, fotografa (AM 367)

Badecki Feliks, kpt., 3 pocztówki pisane do Wandy Badeckiej, Włodzimierz Woł., ul. Listopada 115 m. 1, dwa listy, różne kartki, naramiennik z cyfrą 25 (AM 1875), (WO 1875 str. 27) kpt. art. (LZK)

Badowski Wiktor, kpt., znak tożsamości z napisem: PKU Bochnia, koperta (AM 255)

Badowski Witold, (bez nazwiska), por., dowód osob., kalend. kieszonkowy, łańcuszek, odznaka Szkoły Podchor. (AM 451), Badowski Witold, nauczyciel, leg. Nr. 777/37 (WO 451 str. 19)
 Badowski Zbigniew, por., zaświadczenie, ofic. leg. (AM 1883), (LZK)
 Bagieński Eugeniusz, kpt., 3 pocztówki, list, karta szcze-
 orzelek polski (AM 344), (LZK)
 Bagieński Czesław, ppor. pilot (LZK)
 Bagieński Edward, ppor., ur. 20.9.912 Czeladź, dowód osob., listy, pocztówki (AM 1394), ur. 20.2.1... w Czeladzi (WO 1394 str. 17), por. rez. 1912 (LZK)
 Bagieński Władysław, por., Toruń - Podgórz, Młynna 2, wy-
 ciąg z „drzewa rodowego”, część franc. dowodu osob., 2 listy,
 medalik (AM 1594), por. rez. (LZK)
 Bahr Marek, pchor. (LZK)
 Bajaj Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)
 Bajkowski Jerzy, por. rez. (LZK)
 Bajkowski Jan, Dr med., mjr., docent Uniw. Poznańskiego,
 zam. Poznań, Patr. Jackowskiego, Krzyż i leg. Virtuti Militari,
 wizytówka, listy, pocztówki, (AM 1484), mjr dr (LZK-O), karta
 Bajowski Jan, syn Józefa, w mundurze, pocztówka, karta
 szczepl. (AM 2568)
 Bakoń Julian, w mundurze, pocztówki, karta z książeczką
 wojsk. (AM 1895), pocztówka z nadawcą Michał Bakoń, Sanok
 ul. Kościuski 5 (WO 1895 str. 28), pchor. rez., 1917, 20 p. ufa-
 nów (LZK)
 Bakula Stanisław, por., 1 karta z ofic. ka wojsk., kartki z za-
 piskami, karta szczepl. 1534 (AM 1881)
 Balcer Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)
 Balingier Antoni Witold, mjr. ur. 13.6.86, dwie leg. osob., karta
 szczepl. 3596, pismo Min. Spr. Wojsk., wizytówka, 3 kartki z za-
 piskami (AM 300), mjr st. sp. (LZK)
 Baliko Antoni, mjr, karta szczepl., leg. LOPP, pocztówka (AM
 2175), mjr., 1893 s. Stanisława i Anny (LZK)
 Balon Tadeusz, w mundurze, ks. wojsk., karta szczepl., leg.
 urzęd. (AM 1407), ppor. rez., 30 lat (LZK)
 Bałachowski Witold por., część leg. odznacz., 2 zaśw. wojsko-
 we, list, karta szczepl. (AM 4115), por. (bez imienia) — (LZK)
 Baldowski Wincenty strz. piech., 1914 (LZK)
 Balaban Karol, Dr med., kpt., 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, karta
 szczepl. 2229, 2 wizytówki, okulary (AM 905)
 Banach Czesław, oficer (LZK)
 Banach Eugeniusz (Ramaeh) zam. Łwów, ul. Wąska 8 (WO
 839 str. 19), w mundurze (bez nazwiska), karta z adresami. 2
 medaliki (AM 839)
 Banach Tadeusz, ppor., karta mobil., 1 przepustka, karta sta-
 lej jazdy, zaśw. z 8. p.p., listy, kalend. kieszonkowy (AM 1486)
 Banasiewicz Teodor, ppor. rez. piech., urzędnik PKP Ostrów
 (LZK)
 Banaszk Stanisław, adwokat, ks. oszcz. PKO., części dowo-
 du osob., wizytówka, listy, karta szczeplenia (AM 1209) (WO
 1070 str. 15), por. rez. piech. Kępno, adwokat (LZK)

Banaszewski Jan, kpt., wizytówki, karta na broń, fotografie,
 zegarek kieszonkowy (AM 1722)
 Banaszewski Władysław, ppor., prawo jazdy z Warszawy, kar-
 ta szczepl. 3556, kwit (AM 618)
 Bandt... por. (LZK)
 Bania Józef Kazimierz, policjant, 39 lat, s. Rozalii, Czortków
 (LZK)
 Bandurek Michał, ppor., znak tożs., 1 rosyjska gazeta z 3.
 kwietnia 1940 r., dwie odznaki pułkowe (AM 1724)
 Baniewicz Henryk, por., ur. 25.10.909 w Petersburgu, dowód
 osob., listy, fotografie (AM 3470)
 Banikowski... st. post. pp. (LZK)
 Banikowski Bogdan znak tożs. z napisem: 198/34 Wilno Mias-
 to 1910, 2 kalendarzyki kieszonkowe (AM 184), Roman (WO
 str. 5)
 Banikowski Czesław, por., 1905, s. Karola i Bronisławy (LZK)
 Bańkowski Roman, (AM 146), odnaleziono pocztówkę (WO
 str. 4)
 Bańkowski Zygmunt, por. (LZK)
 Barabasz Józef, Barabasz, ppor., leg. urzęd., państw., 1 pocz-
 tówka karta szczepl., 1 list, orzelek polski (AM 544), Barabasz
 (WO str. 8)
 Baran Bronisław, ppor., leg. szkolna, notatnik, świad. Uniw.
 Warsz., różne świadectwa, części dowodu osob., 1 medalik (AM
 1332), ppor. art. plot., 1910, s. Jana i Józefa, Łódź (LZK)
 Baran Kazimierz, pchor., 1921, 5. p.p. (LZK)
 Baraniecki Kazimierz, por., leg. Virtuti Militari, medalik, 1
 list (AM 519), Baranowski (WO str. 8), Baraniecki — por.
 piech., 1901, 57. p.p., Poznań (LZK)
 Baranowicz Edward, naramiennik bez odznak, koperta, 2
 pocztówki, karta szczepl., odręcznie rysowana mapa Europy (AM
 275), (bez imienia) podpułkownik (LZK)
 Baranowski Adolf, ppk., dowód osob., karta szczepl. 1240,
 karta z 3-ma adresami i uwagą: „Proszę napisać mi pod tymi
 adresami: 1) Warszawa, Stalowa 5, 2) Milanówek pod Warsza-
 wą, Chrzanów ul. Piłsudskiego 63, 3) Warszawa, ul. Rydzka Śmig-
 lego 6 m. 9 (AM 248), (bez imienia) ppk. kaw., (LZK)
 Baranowski Aleksy, ppor. rez., Poznańskie (LZK)
 Baranowski Bolesław, w mundurze, części leg. (AM 1470),
 ppor. (LZK)
 Baranowski Jarosław, ppor., karta szczeplenia, 1 list (AM
 2209)
 Baranowski Józef, w mundurze, 1 list (AM 2122), list z Nie-
 świeża (WO 2122 str. 33), policjant, 1900, s. Michała (LZ-O)
 Baranowski Kazimierz, dowód osob., pocztówka, telegram (AM
 699), ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Baranowski Ludomir, kpt. san. adj., Kmtda C.W.San. (LZK)
 Baranowski Ludwik, por., część leg. it., pismo MSWojsk., 1 pis-
 mo (AM 1876)
 Baranowski Stanisław, mjr. aud. (LZK)
 Baranowski Tadeusz, ppor., ks. wojsk., karta szczepl., notat-
 nik, 3 odznaczenia (AM 507)
 Baranowski Tadeusz, por., ur. 9.2.95, Kołomyja, zam. Warsza-

wa, ul. Kozielska 4, 2 ks. oszcz PKO., 1 notatnik, różaniec (AM 2049), por. san., oficer gosp. CWSan. (LZK)

Baranowski Teodor, kpt. pilot, Łódź (LZK)

Baranowski Wacław, kpt., różne pocztówki (AM 1879), pocztówki od Baranowskiej Jadwigi, Warszawa, Żoliborz, ul. Niegołewskiego (?) — (WO 1879)

Barański Tadeusz, w mundurze, zam. Gdańsk, ul. Chrzanowskiego 12, prawo jazdy, ofic. leg., telegram, listy, 1 pocztówka (AM 2664)

Barański Tadeusz, dowód osob., bilet wizytowy, notatnik, fotografie (AM 93)

Barański Wacław, ppor. (LZK)

Barczyk Franciszek, chorąży, leg. Virtuti Militari, karta na broń, wizytówka (AM 106), chor. kaw., 20 p. ul. (LZK)

Barciński Wacław, (bez nazwiska) karta ściepienia 1898 (AM 241), Barczyński — por. (WO 241 str. 19), Barciński ur. 10.1.03 (ROR 34 str. 147)

Barczak Jan, (?) w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, karta ściepienia 1174, plakieta (AM 2285), Barczak — s. Jana (WO 2285 str. 37)

Barczyński Stanisław, w mundurze (WO 1058 str. 19)

Barowski w mundurze, turecka skórzana z monogramem, 3 lekarskie zaświadczenia, 2 cygarzniczki (AM 733)

Barski Kazimierz, kpt. lotn. 1906, Łódź (LZK)

Barczak Janusz, kpt. (LZK)

Bartela Władysław, Bartel — kpt., 2 listy przewozowe, 1 odciinek pocztowy (AM 2167), Bartel — kpt., Puławy (LZK)

Bartnik Stefan, 1905 (LZK)

Bartkowiak Czesław, w mundurze, dowód osob., 3 pocztówki, list, medalik, dzienniczek (AM 581), Borkowicz lub Bartkowiak (WO str. 9)

Bartoszyński Kazimierz, ppłk. - aptekarz, Warszawa, ul. Czerniakowska 204 m. 37, pismo MSWojsk, karta na broń, świad. ściepienia, wizytówka, karta jazdy (AM 277)

Bartys Jan, ur. 9.10.909, zam. Kraków, ul. Krupnicza 22, ks. oszcz., kalend. kieszonkowy, zaśw. na aparat fotogr., listy (WO str. 3)

Baruch Kazimierz, mjr., s. Pawła i Heleny (LZK)

Barwicz Kazimierz, w mundurze, listy, pocztówki, fotografie, 1 medalik (AM 2898)

Barwiński Wacław, ppor. lek., 1904 (LZK)

Bastrzyk Jan, w mundurze, 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, bilety wizytowe (AM 3382), (LZK)

Baszkiewicz Ryszard, por., 1913, s. Franciszka (LZK)

Baszkowski Edmund, w mundurze, ur. 25.7.03, leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez., 2 listy, kartki meldunkowe (AM 2060)

Batorski Kazimierz, inżynier, ppor., zam. Anin, ul. Krótka 12, 2 legitymacje, karta ściepienia 2308, 2 pocztówki, bilet wizytowy (AM 821)

Batycki Jan, mjr. (LZK)

Bauer Czesław, mjr. rez. lekarz, lat 50 (LZK)

Bauer Jan, syn Jakuba, major, 2 pocztówki, 1 telegram, 1 list (AM 3520), mjr. lek., 1884, s. Jakuba i Pauliny (LZK)

Bauer Ludwik, oficer, ur. 11.10.08, znak tożs., leg. urzęd. (AM 3514), ppor. art., 1908 (LZK)

Bauerfeld Gustaw, mjr. rez. (LZK)

Baumfeld Gustaw, kpt., ur. 1879, leg. ofic., karta ściepienia, 1 zaświadczenie (AM 3523)

Bawolski Roman, kpt. (LZK)

Bazakowski podpułkownik (LZK)

Bazarnik Ignacy, mjr., 1898, s. Jana i Katarzyny (LZK)

Bączkowski Witold, ppor., koperta, odznaka pułkowa, różaniec, medal pamiątkowy 25-lecia bitwy 70/71, kartka z adresami (AM 2862), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Bączkowski Szymon, 1910, (LZK)

Bączynski Tadeusz, Będziński — por., dowód osob., prawo jazdy, różne legitymacje, pełnomocnictwo, fałsz, róż. kaz. wyjazdu (AM 1977) zam. Inowrocław, list od Janiny Będzińskiej z datą, Warszawa 28.8.39 (WO 1977 str. 29), Będziński — por. inż. chemii, 1907, s. Stefana i Heleny (LZK)

Bakiewicz Marian, (LZK)

Bąk Jan, w mundurze, ks. wojsk., leg. urzęd., 2 pocztówki, 1 list (AM 1904)

Beck Leonard, inż. ppor. ur. 6.11.04, zam. Lublin, leg. Aero-klubu, leg. urz. państw., leg. cyw. pilota, karta na broń, 3 wizytówki, karta ściepienia 3477 (AM 983), (WO 934 str. 13)

Bedlinski chorąży kaw. (LZK)

Bednarek Piotr, pchor. piech. (LZK)

Bednarek Leon, ppor. ur. 4.11. . . . , ks. wojsk., wizytówka, medalik (AM 560)

Bednarek Czesław, ppor. ur. 12.7.09 w Wilnie, dowód osob., leg. urzęd. pocztówka, list (AM 2216), Bejnarowicz (WO 2216 str. 35)

Bednarz Jan, pchor. (LZK), w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta ściepienia, 2 listy, leg. odznac., papierosnica, zegarek naręczny (AM 1657)

Beksiński Władysław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Bekusik ppor. (LZK)

Belicki Władysław, (?) cywilny, koperta (AM 2553), Belecki (WO 2553)

Belinski Zygmunt, w mundurze, karta ściepienia, pocztówki (AM 1896)

Belohlavek Roman, Bielogłówek — kpt., pocztówka (AM 167), Bielogłówek (WO str. 4), Belohlavek — kpt. rez. (LZK)

Belowski Józef, por. (LZK)

Benesch Julian, ppor., obs. 3 p. lotn. (LZK)

Benesch Michał, por., leg. PCK., (AM 2595), pismo Diwa Pułku Radiowego (WO 2595 str. 47), ppor., 1899, s. Izydora i Heleny (LZK)

Bentle Jan, por., pocztówka, list (AM 2871)

Berczyński Kazimierz, Berczyński — w mundurze, ur. 21.7.08, dowód osob., listy (AM 1519), Berczyński — lat 38 (LZK), Berczyński ur. 21.7.08 (ROR 34 str. 116)

Bernstein Felwel, cywilny, karta ściepienia, różne rosyjskie pisma, 1 gazeta rosyjska z 27. marca 1940 r. (AM 2549), Berensztejn Fejwiz (LZK)

Berent ppor. (LZK)
 Beresiewicz Jerzy, mjr (LZK)
 Bernierblau Leopold, 2 karty, na jednej z nich adres: Obóz Fichnowsk, st. Babinka koło Smoleńska (WO 473 str. 20), Le-on — por. lek., 1900 (LZK)
 Bernadiewicz ppor. (LZK)
 Bernatowicz Czesław, Franciewicz Czesław Bernatowicz, kpt., pocztówka (AM 174), kpt. (LZK)
 Bernatowicz Stanisław, kpt., Suwałki (LZK)
 Berodirski Zygmunt, kpt., zaświadczenie, dzienniczek (AM 214)
 Bersowski Hipolit, mjr lek., wizytówki, karta szcep., 3 pocztówki, kalendarz, kieszonkowy (AM 3461)
 Beryka Tadeusz, por., ofic. legit. (nieczytelna), karta z personaliami zestawionymi własnoręcznie, karta szcep. 1043 (AM 2018), Bryka, ur. 8.9.911 w Wieruszowie, woj. Łódzkie (WO 2018)
 Berzyński Maks, ppor., leg. służb., pocztówki, odznaka pułkowa (AM 3619)
 Beuth Jan, kpt., kartka z nazwiskiem (AM 783), (LZK)
 Beuza Józef, ppor., ur. 5.8.98, medalik z łańcuszkiem, ks. ofic. (AM 1216) Zeuze (?) ur. 5.8.908 (WO 1076 str. 15)
 Bezucha Zygmunt August, asp. Str. Gran. (LZK), por. ur. 22.4.12, ofic. legit., dowód osob. (AM 2210)
 Bezuhly Jerzy, ppor. rez. (LZ, K-S)
 Bezan Jan, kpt. (LZK)
 Białecki Leon, ppor. ur. 1896, ks. wojsk., prawo jazdy dla p. Apolonii Białeckiej, Borek, ul. Kilńskiego 62, wystawione 16.7.35, — notatnik, wizytówka (AM 229)
 Białek Roman, kpt. dr, karta mob., 2 listy, pocztówki (AM 1337), (LZK)
 Białogrodzki Kazimierz, ofic. legit., pocztówka, karta szcep. (AM 2984), por. art. (LZK)
 Białokos pchor. (LZK)
 Białowiejski Maksymilian Edward, inż. ppor., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., wizytówki, rozkaz wyjazdu, karta na broń, karta na polowanie, medalik (AM 3113), ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Białozor Bolesław, prof. gimnazjalny (LZK)
 Biały Witold Edmund, ppor., ur. w marcu 09 w Jamienysłu, pow. Środa, pocztówka, fotografia (AM 213), (bez imienia) ppor. (LZK)
 Bicz Aleksander, w mundurze, karta na broń, listy i pocztówki (AM 2053), (LZK)
 Bicz Aleksander, leg. urz. urz. urz., fotografia, różaniec (AM 1884), nauczyciel (WO 1884 str. 27)
 Bieganski Stanisław, sierżant (LZK)
 Bieganski Tadeusz, w mundurze, leg. urz. urz., karta szcep., list (AM 2135)
 Biel Franciszek, w mundurze, kier. firmy „Arbor“, Warszawa, ul. Grochowska 263, pismo tej firmy, karta szcep. 262, rachunek, kwit., wizytówki, fotografie (AM 1218), (WO 1078 str. 16), ppor. (LZK)
 Bielaczyc Wilhelm, Bielaczyc — w mundurze, leg. szkolna,

karta szcep., fotografie, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1625), Bielaczyc — s. Antoniego, leg. członk. Kola Mechan. Stud. Politechn. Lwowskiej (WO 1625 str. 21), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Bielan Józef, ppor. KOP (LZK)
 Bielański Konstanty, Belawski — ppor., ks. oszcz. PKO., me-dalik (AM 1053) Bielański (WO 969 str. 13)
 Bielski Adam, ppor. ur. 1882 (2. Komp. sap.), część wojsk. zaśw. etykieta firmowa apteki, 1 karta (AM 2560), ppor. (LZK)
 Bielski Henryk, por. (LZK)
 Bielski Jerzy, ppor., ur. 1.8.08, karta mob., wizytówka (AM 3253)
 Bielski Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
 Bielski Wilk, ppor. (LZK)
 Bielski WL, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Bielfec Józef, mjr, karta szcep., wizytówka, list z nadaw-cą: Zofia, Sandomierz, ul. Mickiewicza 11 (AM 77), (bez imie-nia) mjr sap. (LZK)
 Bielski Józef, kpt. art. (LZK)
 Bieliacz Włodzimierz, przy zwłokach Czyżewski Jerzego znale-ziono drugą kartę szcepienia na nazwisko Bieliacz Włodzimierz (AM 2971)
 Bielski Bogusław, por., leg. urz. państw., karta na broń, listy, złoty medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1208), (WO 1069 str. 15)
 Bielski A., dr lekarz, w mundurze, 1 kwit., znak tożs. (AM 3144)
 Bielski Henryk, kpt., ofic. leg., karta szcep., wizytówki, świad. lek., (AM 3204), syn Wincentego, 1896, (LZK)
 Bielski Robert, junak piech. (LZK)
 Bielski Stanisław, por., 2 listy (AM 3020)
 Bielos Julian, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Bienia Jan, ppor. rez., 1902, (LZK), porucznik koperta (AM 55)
 Bieniawa - Gabryszewski Aleksander, por., ofic. legit. (AM 2753)
 Bien Stanisław, oficer, ur. 22.12.91, Warszawa, dowód osob., okulary (AM 2269), por. lek. (LZK)
 Bienko ppor. rez., lek.-wet., Ostrołęka (LZK)
 Bienko Kazimierz, por. kaw. (LZK)
 Bienkowski Adam, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 2751), Bienkowski — syn Adama (WO 2751 str. 51), ppor. (LZK)
 Bienkowski Kazimierz, por. (LZK)
 Bienkowski Stanisław, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Bienkowski Mieczysław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., 1 pocztówka (AM 2213), nad. wca pocztówki: Michał Bienkowski, Wilno (WO 2214 str. 35)
 Bieroński Izak, oficer (LZK)
 Bieroński Tadeusz, ppor., leg. urz. urz., 2 pocztówki, fotogra-fia, zaświadczenie (AM 2537), ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Biernacki Zygmunt, kpt., szczegółów brak (WO str. 9), 1883 r., syn Wilhelma i Michalina, kpt. (LZK)
 Biernacki Zygmunt, chorąży (LZK)
 Bierzane Remigiusz Henryk, ppor., zniżka kolejowa dla urz.

państw., wizytówki, cygarniczka z napisem „Kozielsk” (AM 1105), (W 999 str. 14)

Bierzyński Stefan, Berzyński — por., Warszawa, ul. Delka 4 m. 28, cztery pocztówki z nadawcą: Zofia Wordziaszowa, Warszawa, ul. Ziota 37 m. 28, karta szczepienia, plan Obozu Kozielsk, leg. Zw. Kolon., odznaczenie wojenne, odznaka pamiątkowa (AM 756), Berzyński (WO str. 11), por. piech. (LZK) w Białadzielski Konstancy, kpt., 1 list, karta szczep., 2 kartki w jez. ros. (AM 2047)

Boguszewski Mieczysław, s. Leona, w mundurze, karta szczep., kwit. depoz., fotografia (AM 4117), por., 1911 s. Leona i Walerii (LZK)

Bilewicz Józef, por. (LZK)

Bilewicz Witold, (LZK)

Bilewski Henryk Wiktor, por. (LZK)

Bilewski Józef, kpt. art. (LZK), kpt. ofic. leg., karta szczep., wizytówki (AM 1856)

Bilmin Stanisław, dowód osob., (AM 374), Bilmins (WO str. 7)

Bilwin mjr (LZK)

Binder Eugeniusz, ppom., Kraków, ul. Łobzowska 52 m. 6, książka z jez. niemieckim, karta szczep., 1 odznaczenie, wizytówka (AM 363)

Binder Eugeniusz, ur. 1904, oficer, ks. wojsk., 5 pocztówek, 2 listy, 2 wizytówki, fotografia, portfel (AM 452), Eugeniusz Henryk por. rez. (LZK)

Binder Stanisław, ppom., leg. urzęd., wizytówki (AM 2057)

Binakowski Bronisław, por. (LZK)

Binikowski por. (LZK)

Birnbaum Mieczysław, w mundurze, pismo Urzędu Pracy, Krzyż i Legitymacja Virtuti Militari, 2 odznaczenia, karta na broń (AM 2579), por. (LZK)

Biskupski Ignacy, ppom. art. (LZK)

Biskupski August, ptk., lekarz, leg. ofic. (AM 1833), list i pocztówka z nadawcą: Maria Biskupska, Warszawa, Podhalaska 24, wykaz otrzymanych i wysłanych listów (WO str. 19 i 20), dr ptk., 1890, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Bisping Kazimierz, 1887, s. Józefa i Heleny, Wolkowysk (LZK)

Bitner Witold, ppom. rez., 1897, s. Ryszarda i Aliny (LZK)

Bittnier sędzia (LZK)

Bittnier Karol, por. dr med., znak toż., dowód osob., leg. lekarska, leg. P.C.K., 1 list (AM 3367)

Blacha Wilhelm, ppom., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 1992), (LZK)

Bladye Marian, (?) w mundurze, ur. 1909, znak toż. (AM 3163), ppom. (bez imienia), (LZK)

Blatkiewicz Karol, por., leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez., karta kasowa, karta szczepienia (AM 1494), (LZK)

Blecki Bolesław, (LZK)

Bleicher Aleksander, pchor. (LZK)

Blicharski Tadeusz, por. ze Lwowa (relacja kpt. K. W.)

Blicharski Wojciech, por., korpus V., ks. wojskowa, koperta, fotografia, z jego nazwiskiem na odwrocie. Jego pismo do kmity

Obozu w Kozielsku, datowane 18. kwietnia 1940: „Dnia 8/....40 żona moja wysłała mi z Tarnopola paczkę . . .” (AM 187), (LZK)

Blasiak Jan, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., karta szczepienia, medalik (AM 3392)

Blaszczykowski Władysław, por. aptekarz, leg. ofic. rez., pismo wojsk., karta szczep. 3938, zaśw. przeszkolenia Obr. Płotn. (AM 2649)

Blaszczykowski Bolesław, Glazewski, ppłk. lek., pocztówka z Kowna, list, okulary (AM 484), Glazewski wzgl. Blaszczykowski (WO str. 7), Blaszczykowski, dr ptk., Szef San. O.K. II. Lublin (LZS)

Blaszczykowski Roman, Władysławski — w mundurze, części dowodu osobistego, karta na broń, karta szczep. (AM 2073), Blaszczykowski — oficer rezerwy, zniszczone fotografie, miniatura świętego (WO 2073 str. 32), ppom. lek. wet. (LZK)

Blaszczycki Aleksy, ppom. art. (LZK)

Blaszczyński Andrzej, ppom., leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez., karta szczepienia, pocztówki (AM 2136)

Błędzi Bolesław, w mundurze, rozkaz wyjazdu, karta z jego nazwiskiem (AM 2972)

Błędzi Brunon, Błędzi, kpt., 1 karta szczepienia, 1 telegram, pół koperty (AM 853), Błędzi (WO 848 str. 11), Błędzi kpt. br. panc. (LZK)

Błociszewski Lucjan, Lociszewski — w mundurze, 4 pocztówki, 1 list (AM 2691), Błociszewski — (WO 2691 str. 49) — por. piech., 1906, s. Kazimierza i Zofii (LZK)

Błonski Kazimierz, ppom., 1910 (LZK)

Błonski Stanisław, ppom., 1911, s. Bolesława, 45 p.p. (LZK)

Bniński Rafał, 1921, s. Konstantego (LZK)

Bober Antoni, dr med., w mundurze, Kraków, ul. Długa 88, wizytówki, karta szczep., notatki (AM 649), (bez imienia) ppom. lek. (LZK)

Bober Wojciech, kpt., dowód osob., wizytówka (AM 143)

Boberski por., 1900 (LZK)

Boberski Leon, ppom., ur. 17.6.04 w Poznaniu, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., 1 pocztówka (AM 4076)

Bobiatyński Stanisław, ppom., 1910, s. Ottona (LZK)

Bobowski Teodor, ppom., ur. 22.10.89 w Berlinie, karta szczep. 1770, (AM 1345)

Bobrowicz Longia, kpt., 1905, s. Józefa i Jadwigi (LZK)

Bobrowski Stefan, kpt., (LZK)

Bochenek Mieczysław, s. Katarzyny i Józefa (LZK)

Bocheniński Władysław, kpt. (LZK)

Bochański Maurycy, Rochaniński — oficer, dowód osob. (AM 41), Bochański (WO str. 5)

Boczek ppom. (LZK)

Bodnarowski ppom. (LZK)

Bodzielew Jerzy, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., karta szczep. dowód osob., listy (AM 4107)

Boenisch Hipolit Antoni, ppom., 3 leg., medalik (AM 637)

Bogdziewicz Eugeniusz, wizytówka z nazwiskiem: Bogdziewiczowa Eugenia, 1 notatnik z adresem, karta szczepienia (AM 23

1249), nierozpoznany pplik. (WO 1100 str. 15), Bogdziewicz pplik. 1889 s. Piotra i Kłotydy, M.S. Wojsk. (LZK), Bogdziewicz ur. 26.8.89, mjr - aud. (RO 32 str. 309)

Bogobowicz Aleksander Romuald, por., dowód osob., barełka, karta szczep., 2 listy, legít. odznacz., prawo jazdy (AM 2339), ur. 7.2.99, (WO 2339 str. 39), por. 1899 s. Władysława i Marii (LZK)

Bogucki Kazimierz, kpt. (LZK)

Bogusławski Czesław, ppor. (LZK)

Bogusławski Walerian, kpt. (?) (LZK)

Bogusz Marcin, w mundurze, wizytówki, karta szczep. 2824, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1464), ppor., 1905 s. Józefa i Amalii (LZK)

Boguszczyk Józef, dr. ppor., dowód osob., leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez., wizytówki, karta szczep. 4002, różaniec w etui (AM 3142)

Bahaczewski Kazimierz, ppor. (LZ. K-S)

Bohaterewicz Bronisław, generał, zam. w Warszawie, ul. Tej-towa 3 — 28, własny list, pisany w Koziełsku, 2 fotografie, więk-sza gotówka (AM 2), gen. bryg., lat 68 (LZK)

Bohdziel Antoni, ppor., 1919 (LZK)

Bojanowski Szymon, w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Jad-wiga Świderska, maj. Mzurów, pocztówki (nieczytelne), medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1455), adres nadawczym pocztówki: maj. Mazurów (WO 1455 str. 18), por., ur. 1902, s. Michała i Jadwi-gi (LZK)

Bojarski legít. służbowa 1884 (AM 862)

Bojarunas Dionizy Aleksander, ppor., dowód osob., medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 3317), ppor. ur. 1908, s. Dyonizego i Władys-ławy (LZK)

Bokoniowski Stanisław, cywilny, leg. urzęd., list, fotografie, karta szczepienia (AM 3235)

Bolbat Antoni, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, karta z notatkami (AM 1254), (WO 1102 str. 16)

Boldok Tadeusz, sekretarz, Warszawa, ul. Grodzka, dowód osob., notatnik, 2 fotografie (AM 211), ppor., 1910, s. Jana i Julii, 36 p.p. (LZK)

Bolechowski Jan, kpt., leg. ofic., wizytówki, list (AM 2723), nauczyciel gimn. (WO 2723 str. 50), kpt. (bez imienia), profe-sor z Łodzi (LZK)

Bolesła Tymoteusz, kpt. (LZK)

Bolbota Anatol, ppor. (LZK)

Bombel Antoni, ppor. (LZK)

Bomsewicz Benedykt, ppor. (LZK)

Bomski Czesław, ppor., lotn. techn. 3 p. lot. (LZK)

Bonchowitz Simon (LZK)

Boncza Pióro ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Boras Alojzy, kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Borczyński Jan, kpt. (LZK)

Borczyński Wiktor, kpt. art. (LZK)

Bordziak Leonard, kpt., leg. ofic., karta na broń, list, wizy-tówki, (AM 4092), z Równego (LZK)

Borek Ludwik, ppor. (LZK)

Borgowiec Alojzy, Borgowicz — w mundurze, oficer rezerwy, okulary, medalik, cygarniczka, list (WO 881 str. 19 i 20)

Borkowski ppor. (LZK)

Borkowski kpt. st. sp. (LZK)

Borkowski Piotr, kpt., 1 list, karta szczep. 611, kwit depoz. (AM 2283)

Borkowski Romuald, wachm. pchor. (LZK)

Borkowski Tadeusz, w mundurze, dowód osob., (nieczytelny), 3 fotografie, 1 list, koperta, medalik (AM 775)

Borodicz Ignacy, Borodycz — w mundurze, pocztówki (AM 1531), Borodicz — ppor., 1881 (LZK), Borodicz — ur. 1.1.73 por. (ROR. 34 str. 254)

Borowski Wacław, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., państw., odcinek pocztowy, karta szczep. 2878 (AM 448), ppor. (LZK)

Borowicz Kazimierz, dr. praw — por., urzędnik Starostwa w Białymstoku (LZK)

Borowicz Wacław, kpt. lek. dent., 1902, s. Piotra i Marii, Szpi-tal Wojsk., Warszawa (LZK)

Borowicki Wacław, kpt., część leg. ofic., karta szczep. 1408, kartka z adresem, 2 medaliki (AM 843), (WO 841 str. 11)

Borowiec Lucjan, Borowicz — ppor., leg. członk., karta szczep. (AM 2044), Borowicz — syn Józefa, leg. Czl. Zw. Naucz. Pol. (WO 2044 str. 31)

Borowiecki Zygmunt Wiktor, Borowicki ur. 10.3.08, zam. War-szawa, ul. Marszałkowska 35 m. 9, ks. oszcz. PKO., (AM 4049), Borowiecki ur. 10.3.08, por. (ROR. 34 str. 105)

Borowski Piotr, metryka ślubu (AM 64), por., 1911, s. Józefa i Anny (LZK)

Borozdin Konstanty, mjr, leg. ofic., listy, pocztówki (AM 3410), mjr inż. 1897, s. Jana i Marii (LZK)

Borkiewicz por. (LZK)

Borucki Teodor, mjr P.P. (LZK)

Boryslawski Mikołaj, por., 1 list, pismo urzędowe, karta szczep. 2454, (AM 1917), ppor. (LZK)

Borysowski Romuald, mjr (LZK)

Borzechowski Tadeusz, w mundurze, listy, pocztówki (AM 1718), ppor. art. 1904, (LZK)

Borzym ppor., nauczyciel Szkoły Powsz. w Wołko-wysku (LZK)

Borzym Władysław, w mundurze, 3 listy, 2 pocztówki (AM 3441), ppor. 1894, s. Bartłomieja i Sabiny (LZK)

Borzymowski Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Bosiakiewicz Jan, por. (LZK)

Bowbelski Roman Tadeusz, mjr, s. Konstantego (LZK)

Boyd por. (LZK)

Bożek Daniel, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., 1 list (AM 3432)

Brachaczek Rudolf, kpt., świadectwo, 2 kartki, koperta, karta szczep. (AM 108), kpt. (LZK)

Brancewicz Czesław, ppor. ur. 25.3.08, w Ćorodyszczu, ks. oszcz. PKO., medal 10-lecia służby, zaświadczenie z Politechniki (WO 1396 str. 20), ppor. rez. 1908, s. Wacława i Marii (LZK)

Brandwein Marek, ppor., dr. med. (LZK)

Brański ppor. lekarz (LZK)

Brącki ppor. (LZK)
Brądy Franciszek, Brądy — kpt., 4. Szpital Woj., Łódź, leg. ofic. (AM 709), Brądy lub Brandys (WO Str. 10) Brdys (bez imienia), por. int. (LZK)
Brejdygant Karol, Brejdygant — por., karta szczepl., polic. kar. ta, meldunk., 1 list, różaniec, 3 medali (AM 1983) Brejdygant (WO 1983 str. 30)
Brejta Wacław, aptekarz (LZK)
Brenda Hieronim Edmund, ur. 10.10 . . (?), inż. dypł., plis-mo, dowód osob., karta szczepl. 1728, plakietka (AM 1885), dyp-lom Polit. Lwowskiej. (WO 1885)
Brendel Henryk, kpt. lek. (LZK)
Brendel Napoleon, dr por. (LZK)
Breyte ppor. rez. (LZK)
Brodniczewicz Teofil, por. rez., Drawsk (LZK)
Brodowski Zbigniew, por., leg. urzęd., karta mob., 2 pocz-tówki (AM 2412), nadawca 2 kart: Emilia Brodowska, Warsza-wa, Mokotów, ul. Malczewskiego 3/8 (WO 2412 str. 40)
Brojeński Mieczysław, Brojeński — w mundurze, karta plat-nierza, listy, medalik (AM 1949), Brojeński lub Brojerski (WO 1949 str. 29), Brojerski por. lotn. (LZK)
Brondzinski Jerzy, por. (AM 3908)
Bronowicz Wiktor Stanisław, w mundurze, ur. 15.12.11, w Krakowie, dowód osob., legitt. odznacz., karta szczepl., listy, pocztówki, fotografia, plakietka, wizytówka (AM 3406)
Bronowski Marian, nauczyciel, ur. 22.10.10, w Husiatynie, zam. Janów, ppor., ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 680)
Brosek Jan, por. inż., 1900, s. Jana i Marii (LZK)
Bross Marian, ppor. (LZK)
Broszkiewicz Antoni Maksymilian, por., leg. służb., 2 wizy-tówki, list, okulary, różaniec, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 939) (WO. 904 str. 12), kpt. — audytor (LZK)
Brożek Jan, w mundurze, wizytówki, 3 listy, 2 medali z łań-cuskiem (AM 3333)
Bróźda Bolesław, pchor. rez. (LZK)
Brodnicki Adam, por. (LZK), w mundurze, 2 listy z nadawcą: Edward Brudnicki, Warzynek, gm. Bialiszewo, pow. Sierpc, kar-ta szczepl. (AM 3671)
Brodnicki Jan, por., 1897, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK-S)
Bruksztos Jan, Szkoła Ofic. (LZK)
Bruksztus Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)
Brulński Wilhelm, pchor. rez. (LZK)
Brunner mjr dypł. art. (LZK)
Brus Paweł, ppor. (LZK)
Brych Czesław, st. post. P.P. (LZK)
Bryk Józef, mjr piech. (LZK)
Bryk Stanisław, kpt., ur. 8.5.88, zam. Toruń, części leg. ofic. ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 2761)
Bryk Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)
Brykowicz Stefan, kpt., list, pocztówki — jedna z nich z na-dawcą: H. Brykowicz, Kalisz, Kopernika 17, (AM 2032), (WO 2032 str. 31), (LZK)

Bryłowski Kazimierz, por. art. (LZK)

Bryzek Leszek, w mundurze, listy, pocztówki, fotografie (AM 3492), Leszek Aleksander, 1912, s. Jana i Stefani (LZK)
Brzana Kazimierz, por. (LZK)
Brzana Kazimierz, w mundurze, 1 karta, rzeźbione wieszko (AM 2978)
Brzeziński Mikołaj, w mundurze, list z nadawcą: Franciszka — Młynów, pow. Dubno, notatnik (AM 2149), ppor. art. (LZK)
Brzeziński Adam Roman, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., wi-zytówka, fotografia, 2 pocztówki (AM 3183)
Brzeziński Stefan, por., sekr. rachunkowy Urz. Woiew. Wil-no, zam. Warszawa, ul. Kielecka 35 (Mokotów), pismo Urzędu Woiew. Wilno, rachunek, notatnik (AM 115), por. (LZK)
Brzeziński Zbigniew, ppor., wizytówki, pocztówki, plakietka (AM 1467)
Brzeziński Zygmunt Leopold, metryka urodzenia, prawo jaz-dy, karta szczepl. 2082, list (AM 2040), metryka wystawiona przez Parafie Ewang. w Wilnie (WO 2040 str. 31)
Brzostek Aleksander, lek. kpt., ur. 5.3.92, w Białej, ofic. ks. sl., 1 dyplom rosyjski lekarski, różne pisma urzędowe cywilne, fotografia (AM 1829) dr kpt. lek. (LZK)
Brzozowski Antoni, mjr inż., leg. ofic., przepustka, ks. oszcz PKO., wizytówki, karta szczepl., fotografie, karta z nazwiskiem (AM 2122), zam. Warszawa, ul. Czerw. Krzyża 9, (WO 2122 str. 33), (bez imienia) — mjr (LZK)
Brzozowski Jan, kpt. (LZK)
Brzozowski Tadeusz, por. (LZK), Brzozowski — ppor., 2 kart-ki, notatnik (AM 53), Brzozowski (WO str. 5)
Brzozowski Teofil, Brzozowski — w mundurze, karta szczepl. 3168, dwa listy, medalik (AM 1961), Brzozowski — syn Wojcie-cha, dwa listy od Zofii Brzozowskiej, Grodno, ul. Grzędzicka 28 (WO 1961 str. 29)
Brzozowski Władysław Bogdan, metryka ślubu, karta szczepl. 3396, pocztówka (AM 1697)
Brzozowski Zbigniew, ppor., 1912 (LZK)
Bubik Witold, w mundurze, ur. 12.7.08, Zebrzydowice, dowód osob., metryka ślubu (AM 2900), por. (LZK)
Bucevski w mundurze, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Bucevski, 2 fotografie (AM 3219)
Buchalski Feliks, por., list (AM 47), 1897, s. Teodora i Sta-nisławy (LZS)
Buchcik Julian, kpt., leg. ofic., wizytówki, dowód osob. (AM 755), Buchcik (WO str. 11), Buchcik Jan (?), kpt. (LZK)
Buchcik Robert, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta szczepl., kar-ta na broń (AM 3989); ppor. (LZK)
Buchholz Mieczysław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., 1 pocztówka (AM 3462), Buchole (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)
Bucianski Jan, rtm. (LZK)
Buctor Wojciech, mjr st. sp. (LZK)
Buczkowski Wacław, por., Poznań, ul. Szwajcarska 29 m. 8, wizytówka, różaniec, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 2027), mgr., (WO 2027 str. 31), por. rez. (LZK)
Budkiewicz por. (LZK)

Budmer Władysław, ppor., ur. 1912, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2876),
Budner (WO 2876 str. 54)
Budyn Józef, Budin, ppor., ur. 1904, znak tożs., karta na broń,
karta szczeniaka (AM 2996), Budyn, ur. 1.8.04 ppor. (ROR. 34
str. 87)
Budzic Bolesław, wachm. pchor. (LZK)
Budzik Józef, kpt., leg. ofic. karta szcep. 1085, monogram
na ubraniu B.J. (AM 909), (WO 888 str. 12)
Budziński Aleksander, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., 2 listy, 2
pocztówki (AM 3515)
Budzyn Julian, Budzin — ur. 1909, lekarz, naramiennik bez
odznaki, dowód osob., pakietek opatrunkowy 2 listy, 1 pocztów-
ka, dzienniczek (AM 260), Budzyn — (LZK)
Budziński Eugeniusz, Budziński — mjr lek., ofic., ks., tele-
gram w języku rosyjskim, wizytówki, karta szcep., medalik
(AM 1863), lekarz Zakładu Zdrojowego w Busku (WO 1863 str.
27), (bez imienia) Budziński, ppłk. lek. (LZK)
Bugajewski Tadeusz, w mundurze, 3 listy; z nich jeden z ad-
resami: Laszkiewiczowa Wanda, Kraków, ul. Kremszowska 14
m. 7 (AM 1930)
Bugajski Jan, naczelnik w Min. Oświaty (LZK)
Bugajski Władysław, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Bugajski Włodzimierz, por. (LZK)
Bugajski Zygmunt, oficer, 1887, s. Waleriana i Emilii, naczel-
nik Wydziału w Min. Sprawiedl. (LZK), cywilny, 1 pismo urzę-
dowe, leg. urzęd. ks. wojsk., pocztówki, list, 1 dyplom (rosyjski),
(AM 1906), zam. Pawia 21 m. 3 (WO 1906 str. 28)
Bujalski Jan, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Bujalski Stanisław, por. piech. (LZK)
Bujnowski Zygmunt, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. karta mobil., rozkaz
wyjazdu, karta szczeniaka, fotografia (AM 3014), por. piech.
(LZK)
Bukowski Romuald, pchor. (LZK)
Bukowy kpt. lekarz (LZK)
Bulicz Kazimierz, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Bulik Piotr, ppor. art. (LZK)
Bullo (Bułko ?), (Butto ?) por. (LZK)
Bulat Aleksander, Bulaj — ppor., leg. ofic., karta szcep.
2711 (AM 2111), Bulat (Butaj) — (WO 2111 str. 33)
Bulczak przodownik P.P. (LZK)
Buniakowski Bronisław, por., ofic. ks. wojsk., leg. urzęd.
(AM 1529), por. piech. 1903 (LZK)
Burakowski Józef Władysław, ppor., ur. 18.3.99 (AM 597)
Burakowski Marcell, kpt. (LZK)
Burakowski Michał, ppor., ur. 21.4.12, karta szcep. 3516,
znak tożs., część leg. (AM 1450), ur. 25.4.12 (WO 1450 str. 18),
ppor. (LZK)
Burba Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)
Burdziejewicz Mieczysław, plk. dypl. (LZK)
M. Burdziejewicz, Moschen, Kreis Schrimm, Muehlenstr. 20, list
(AM 175)

Burdziński Jerzy Jan, ppor., ur. 11.6.910, leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez.,
notatnik (AM 2117), ppor. (LZK)
Burhardt Mieczysław, kpt. aud. (LZK)
Burhardt Stanisław, kpt. rez., Wilno, 3 bat. sap. (LZK)
Burka Józef, dowód osob. (AM 323)
Burkacki Kazimierz, Kusman (imię), por., pocztówka (AM
44), Kazimierz (WO str. 5)
Burkacki Jan, por. rez. (LZK)
Burkowski Romuald, pchor. kaw. (LZK)
Bursa Wojciech, oficer, leg. ofic., 2 pocztówki, list (AM 2159)
Bursa kpt., ur. 23.6.95 Bukowsko, szereg zasw. wojsk., leg. Le-
gionów Polskich (WO str. 45 oraz 2159 str. 34), (bez imienia)
kpt. art. (LZK), Bursa — ur. 23.4.95, kpt. art. (RO. 32 str. 185)
Bursa Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
Bury Dominik, ppor. art. (LZK)
Bury Franciszek Marian, ppor., ur. 18.9 . . . (?), ks. wojsk.,
leg. urz. państw. (nieczytelna), 3 pisma urzędowe (AM 837), ur.
1908 (WO str. 11), ppor. art. (LZK), ur. 18.9.05, ppor. (ROR. 34
str. 80)
Buryński Józef, ppor. lotn., listy, fotografie, odznaka puł-
kowa (AM 3437), (LZK)
Busiakiewicz Apoloniusz, kpt. KOP., 1896, s. Łukasza i Do-
roty (LZK)
Butkiewicz Aleksander, ppor., leg. ofic., karta szcep. kwit
depozyt. (AM 2288), ppor. piech. (LZK)
Butkiewicz Ignacy, Budkiewicz — świad. przysiał. państw.
rozkaz likw., odznaka pułkowa (AM 2901), odznaka 22 p.p. (WO
2901), Butkiewicz — kpt. (LZK), Butkiewicz — ur. 15.2.95 kpt.
(RO. 32 str. 72)
Butkiewicz Józef, cywilny, karta na pobieranie bezpłatnych
obiadów w Gospodzie Federacji Obronców Ojczyzny (AM 1643
i WO 1643 str. 21)
Butkiewicz Wincenty, ppor. art. 1905 (LZK)
Butwilko Bogusław, kpt. (LZK)
Butwilko Witold, w mundurze, leg. ofic. na nazwisko Bupwil-
lo Witold, kapitan, 2 koperty na nazwisko: Radziszewski Leonard
(AM 3782), kpt. (LZK)
Bużyński por., część leg. urzęd., 1 krzyżek (AM
1890)
Bużer ppor. inż. (LZK)
Bychowicz Jan, kpt. (LZK)
Bychowicz Jerzy, Bychowicz — syn Michała, kpt., 3 pocztów-
ki, leg. ofic. na nazwisko Świdzki Tadeusz (AM 4106), By-
chowicz — kpt. piech. (LZK)
Byczkowski Mikołaj, ppłk., dowód osob., różne pisma, wizy-
tówka, nożyczki do paznokci (AM 292), ppłk. st. sp. (LZK)
Bylina Aleksander, wile Ronowski, Dr ppłk., przy zwłokach
tych znaleziono m.in. znak tożsamości na nazwisko Bylina Alek-
sander, plk. lek., ur. 3.4.75 (AM 997), (WO 941 str. 13)
Bynkowski Kazimierz, w mundurze, leg. ofic., list (AM 1367),
Bankowski (WO 1367 str. 17)
Byszewski Tomasz, dr kpt. (LZK)
Bzowski Jerzy, por. rez., 1903 (LZK)

Cabanowski Mieczysław, por., 1901, s. Wacława i Józefy, 2 p. ul., Suwałki (LZK)

Cakolński Karol, (WO 1439 str. 45)

Cała Julian, por., leg. ofic. rez., wizytówki (AM 3083), Cała — (LZK)

Całka dr por. - lekarz (LZK)

Car Władysław, kpt., leg. ofic., karta szcep., karta na broń, 1 obrączka ślubna (AM 3156)

Cebo Kazimierz, w mundurze, wizytówki z nazwiskiem: Cebo Kazimierz, na odwrocie adres: Antoni Cebo, Niwka koło Mysłowic, ul. Mickiewicza 1 m. 10 (AM 2411)

Ceimer Robert Karol, syn Hermana, por., 6 listów z adresem: Władysław Ceimer, Warszawa, ul. Jana Kazimierza 1 m. 5 (AM 2470), por. 1908, 44 p.p., Chelmski (LZK)

Celaki por. (LZK)

Cendro Wincenty Witold, rtm., leg. i Krzyż Virtuti Militari, karta szcep. 1811, ofic. leg. papierośnica „Warszawa — październik 1932”, monogram CW, 1 ks. oszcz. PKO, na jego nazwisko, 1 protokół, dekret na nazwisko Symonowicz Władysław 1528, wystawiony 1.5.35 (AM 996), Cendor (WO 940 str. 13), Cendro Witold — mjr (rtm.) 1895, 25 p. ul. (LZK)

Cepil Wacław, por., 20 p. ul. (LZK)

Cercoła Wacław, kpt., lot. Baon Szk. Lotn. (LZK)

Certowicz Jan, plk. lek., części dowodu osob., świad. szcep. 3990, cegarnicza, cwikier (AM 472)

Chaciński Jan, Chachianki — por., pocztówki z nadawcą: Chachianka Z., Kutno (AM 3940)

Chadt Andrzej, w mundurze, 1 list (AM 3354)

Chajński Leon, por. piech. (LZK)

Chajewski Włodzimierz, por. art. 1881 (LZK)

Chajewski Włodzimierz, dr kpt., karta mobil., wizytówka, grzebień, nożyczki, listy, 1 medalik, naramiennik bez odznaki, (AM 381) Chajewski (WO str. 7), Chajewski (bez imienia) dr kpt. (LZK)

Chajewski Konstanty, por. (LZK-S)

Chamski Antoni Zbigniew, por. 1911, s. Adama i Reginy, 10 p. kaw. (LZK)

Chaniwsky Henryk, por., kalend. kieszonkowy, karta szcep., odneczek pocztowy ze stemplem „Horyń 2.6.39” i nazwiskiem Chaniwsky Henryk, różne kartki (AM 463)

Charbuziński por. rez., Urząd Skarbowy Lubartów (LZK)

Charkiw Piotr, Charków — por., leg. urzęd., pocztówki, fotografia (AM 3823), Charków (bez imienia) — por. rez., nauczyciel (LZK), Charkiw Piotr Jan, ur. 29.6.07, por. (ROR. 34 str. 88)

Chat Zenon, por., rozkaz stawienia się, leg. ofic. rez., karta jazdy, karta szcepienia (AM 3631)

Chądziński Bronisław, w mundurze, 1 list, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 3793)

Chelchowski Tadeusz, por. łączn. (LZK)

Chelkowski Ludwik, kpt., 1900, s. Ludwika i Teofilii, radiotelegraf (LZK)

Chiberski Władysław, por., 2 listy, łańcuszek do zegarka, 1 odznaka (AM 1437), (LZK)

Chiliński Piotr, (bez imienia), por., karta szcepienia (AM 2892), Piotr, por. piech., syn Piotra, KOP. Stolpee (LZK)

Chimenchik Grzegorz, (LZK)

Chirkowski Jan, por. dr (LZK)

Chirkowski Stanisław, pchor. sap. (LZK)

Chlebny Czesław, por., części dowodu osob., list, karta szcep. (AM 1684)

Chludziński Czesław, por. 1905 (LZK-K-S)

Chludziński Włodzimierz Józef, w mundurze, zaśw. Związku Adwokatów, różne wizytówki, metryka ślubu (AM 3672), (bez imienia) por. art. (LZK)

Chłopiński Stanisław, 7 pocztówek z nadawcą: Chłopińska — Warszawa, ul. Kaliska 17 (WO 929 str. 13), ur. 1893, s. Mariana i Felicji, Modlin (LZK)

Chmielewski Julian, przod. P.P. (LZK)

Chmielewski Kazimierz, kpt. lotn., leg. ofic., karta na broń, karta mobil., różne wojskowe rozkazy, 2 odznaki lotnicze, 2 listy z nazwiskami: Irena Schmidt — Lwów, ul. Bułgarska 1, adresowany do: Edward Schmidt, Kozielec (AM 1776), (WO 1776 str. 25)

Chmielewski Stanisław, por. 1904; Raclawice, pow. Miechów, 45 p. strz. k. (LZK), por., ks. wojsk., wyciąg z Zarządu Miejskiego (AM 1176), (WO 1046)

Chmielewski Tadeusz, rtm. (LZK)

Chmielewski Witold, plk., burmistrz m. Klecka (LZK)

Chmielewski Witold, plk. (LZK)

Chmielński Witold, w mundurze, leg. P.C.K. 1937, karta szcep., kalend. kieszonkowy (AM 2161), chorąży 45. p.s.k. (LZK)

Chmielniczy por. lek. (LZK)

Chmielowiec Franciszek, w mundurze, inż. ur. 13.11.09, ks. oszcz. PKO, karta na broń (AM 3591)

Chmielowiec por. (LZK)

Chmielowski Juliusz, w mundurze, leg. Krzyża Virtuti Militari, medalik (AM 991), rtm. kaw. (LZK)

Chochlewicz Jan, por. rez., 1904, s. Stanisława i Julii, 44 p.p. (LZK)

Chochlewski Władysław, oficer, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2975)

Choczner Wiktor, por. posp. r. 1893 (LZK)

Chodakiewicz Symeon Kazimierz, por. ur. 18.2.900 w Babinie, różne świad. szkolne, 1 pocztówka (AM 1109), Kodakiewicz, ur. w Babinie (WO 1002 str. 14)

Chodan Tadeusz Stanisław, por. ur. 19.9.14 w Grybowie, leg. Szkoły Ofic., dowód osob., leg. Odznaki Strzeleckiej, łańcuszek, list (AM 2846)

Chodkowski Józef, Chotkowski — por. ur. 14.3.04 Działyn, świad. szk., 1 list, Krzyż Zasługi, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 2832), Chodkowski — ur. 14.3.04, por. (ROR. 34 str. 61)

Chodkowski Karol, por. lek. 1907, s. Antoniego, docent Uniw. Warsz., (LZK)

Chodkowski Stanisław, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd.,
1 list (AM 2943)
Chodoń Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)
Chodorowski Bronisław, ppor. lek. wet. (LZK)
Chodorowski Józef, w mundurze, karta szczep. 2232 (AM 3572)
Chodorowski Stanisław, mjr rez., ur. 16.12.87, zam. Białystok, ks. oszcz. PKO, okulary (AM 3434)
Chodorowski Władysław, mjr (LZK)
Choiner Jan, por. (LZK)
Chojacki Edmund, Chojacki — mjr, leg. ofic., 3 pocztówki, leg. Virtuti Militari, 2 listy, 1 pugilares (AM 480), Chojacki (WO str. 7), Chojacki mjr kaw. Rej. Insp. Koni Łuck (LZK), Chojacki — ur. 18.3.92, mjr (VM. 5 kl.) (RO. 32 str. 145)
Chojacki Leon, w mundurze, karta szczep. 1207, część koperty „Warszawa 17.1.40” (AM 963), (WO 922 str. 12)
Chojacki Władysław, Mieczysław, kpt. ur. 17.9.98, ks. oszcz. PKO, złota moneta 20-dolarowa (AM 655), Władysław lub Mieczysław (WO str. 9), Władysław kpt., s. Stanisława (LZK), Władysław Bohdan ur. 16.9.98, por. (RO. 32 str. 281)
Chojnowski Jan, (LZK)
Cholewiak Władysław, ppor., kwit kasowy, karta szczep., 1 list (AM 3237), ppor. rez., s. Józefa (LZK)
Cholewicki Stanisław, kpt., karta szczep., wizytówka (AM 4075), ur. 1893 (LZK)
Cholowiecki Rudolf, oficer, Korpus W. 2 listy telegraficzne, z Baranowicz: „Odpisz jak Ci się wiesz. Wysłałem pieniądze, Zona”, telegram z Gorodaja z 2 lutego: „Jesteśmy zdrowi... Michalina i dzieci mieszkają u Stefy Olechowickiej. Wanda”, pocztówka z adresem: Cholowiecka Gorodaja, pow. Baranowicz: „Dwa telegramy otrzymałem. Ciesze się bardzo. List wysłałem. Zdrów Caba. Cholowiecki” (AM 185), ppor. lat 53, syn Michała (LZK)
Cholowiecki Tadeusz, ppor., leg. ofic., leg. Krzyża Wojennego (AM 2500)
Chomici Ludwik, Antoni, kpt., karta szczep., koperta oraz pokwitowanie Kolej. Kasy Chorych w Lublinie (WO str. 3), kpt. lek. (LZK)
Chomicz Ostapiej, ppor. art., 1915 (LZK)
Chomlin Władysław, ppor. (LZK)
Choromański ppor. (LZK)
Choroszewski Władysław, Chorowski — w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, leg. urzęd. (AM 2375), ppor. rez. 78 p.p., zam. w powiecie Nowogrodzkim, aresztowany w 1940 r. (LZK)
Choroszcza Józef, (?) inż., w mundurze, ur. 21.3.98 w Rudnicy, zam. Choszczówka, ks. oszcz. PKO, (AM 2469), por. inż. (LZK)
Chorowski Jan, w mundurze, 1 list z nadawcą: Antoni Chynowski Kraków, ul. Długa 54 (AM 3713)
Chromik Walerian, ppor. (LZK)
Chrostowski Tadeusz, w mundurze, pocztówka, koperta, różnianiec (AM 513), ppor. art. ur. 1899 (LZK)

Chróścielewski Stanisław, kpt., pocztówki, kwit, wizytówki, notatnik (AM 2145), ur. 1891, kwatermistrz 3. Baonu Panc. (LZK)
Chruszczewski rtm. st. sp. (LZK)
Chrzanowski por. dr. docent Uniw. Wileńskiego (LZK)
Chrzanowski ppor. (LZK)
Chrzanowski Bogdan, por., 1900 (LZK)
Chrzanowski Edmund, ppor. ur. 23.7.191 . . . (?) , leg. Aero-klubu, list, pocztówki z nadawcą: Róża Minejko, Warszawa, odznaka pułkowa
Chrzanowski Lubomir, rtm. (LZK)
Chrzanowski Mirosław, kpt. (LZK)
Chudyba ppor. (LZK)
Chudicki Antoni, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., pocztówki, karta szczepienia, papierosnica (AM 3290), ur. 1900 (LZK)
Chudzikiewicz Wiktor, Chudzikiewicz — w mundurze, karta szczep. 3520, kwit depozytowy, listy i pocztówki (AM 3057), Chudzikiewicz — por. (LZK), Chudzikiewicz — ur. 18.12.900 por. (RO. 34 str. 30)
Chutlewski Antoni, w mundurze, 2 kartki kasowe, 1 kwit Zw. Ofic., odcinek pocztowy, 2 medaliki (AM 2844)
Chwasciszewski Jan, st. wachm. rez., umysłowo chory (LZK)
Chworoszewski Władysław, por. (LZK)
Chyliński por. piech., 1905-6, 1. Kemp. Baon Stółpce (LZK)
Chyliński Stefan, ppor., (LZK)
Cianclara Jan, ppor. (LZK)
Cichobłazinski Zbigniew, (LZK)
Cichobryński Zbigniew, ppor. (AM 3225)
Cichocki Herman, ppor. inż., 1909, inż. chemik (LZK)
Cichocki Hieronim, ppor., leg. szkolna, 2 fotografie (AM 579)
Cichocki Jan, mjr piech. (LZK)
Cichowicz Mikołaj, ks. kpt., kapelan (LZK)
Ciekota Władysław, (LZK), Ciekot — w mundurze, ur. 7.12.07, Czuryły, pow. Siedlce, dr. med., dowód osob., wizytówka, karta szczep., 3 listy (AM 729)
Ciennoczołowski Edmund, (?), por., leg. sportowa, plakietka medalik (AM 3563), ur. 8.10.02, ppor. (RO. 34 str. 55)
Cienny Stanisław, kpt. lek. (LZK)
Ciepielowski Marcell, w mundurze, pocztówki z nadawcą: Ali-na Ciepielowska, Warszawa, ul. Marienstadt 6 m. 3, 3 fotografie kobiece (AM 2613)
Cieplak Witalis, ppor., s. Aleksandra i Stefani (AM 559)
Ciepluch Wincenty, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. (AM 4034), ppor., 1907, s. Stanisława i Franciszki (LZK)
Ciepley Józef, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., list (AM 2875), ur. 22.11.02 (WO 2875 str. 14)
Ciesielski Czesław Jan, ppor., ur. 12.7.01, leg. ofic. rez., karta zwolnienia z wojska, Krzyż Walecznych, medalik, odznaka pułkowa (AM 3826)
Ciesielski Stanisław, ppor. piech., 1913 (LZK)

Ciesielski Stefan, ppor. (LZK), ppor., pocztówki z nadawcą: Tartań Laski, poczta Hirsceh, pow. Kempen, Warthegau, karta szczeplenia (AM 3690)

Ciesielski Tadeusz, por. lot., CWL II (LZK), por. lot., paszport, leg. sportowa, rozkaz wyjazdu, leg. ofic., pocztówki, prawo jazdy, fotografie, zaświadczenie (AM 3024)

Ciesiński Zbigniew, ppor. (LZK)

Ciesiński Zdzisław, ppor. (LZK)

Cieszyński Marian, ppor. piech., 1907 (LZK)

Cieśla Edward, ppor., lat 41, s. Michała, nauczyciel, Białystok (LZK)

Cieśla Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Ciesiewicz Władysław, 1890 (LZK), w mundurze, wizytówki, różaniec, medalik (AM 3170)

Cieslicki Antoni, ppor. art. (LZK)

Cieslicki Tadeusz, ppor., 1911 z Lubelskiego (LZK)

Cieslik Bolesław, ppor., 1907, 5. Baon Sap. (LZK)

Cieslik Bronisław, 1907 (LZK)

Ciesliński Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK), w mundurze, karta szcep. 1 list, kwit rosyjski, 5 pocztówek (AM 1761)

Cieśla por., 1888, adwokat, Tarnowskie Góry (LZK)

Cieciel Stanisław, Cencel — plk., 2 listy, 5 pocztówek, 1 odznaka (AM 3502), Cieciel — plk., dr. 1885, s. Jana i Marii, wiceprezes Sadu Woj. (LZK)

Cikowski Edward, nauczyciel, ur. 2.10.97, zam. Kraków, ul. Szlak 39 — 2.250 dol. amer. w portfelu zaszyte (AM 1092), (WO 990 str. 14)

Cimek Adam, ur. 1907 (LZK)

Cimek Roman, w mundurze, dowód osob., plakietka, medalik (AM 3107)

Ciołkosz Jan, mjr 75 p.p., dowód osob., wizytówki (AM 777). (bez imienia) — mjr (LZK)

Ciosanski Bronisław, kpt., ofic. legit., kawałek drewna z jego nazwiskiem, ks. do modlenia (AM 1645), (bez imienia) — kpt., brat majora (LZK)

Ciosanski Józef, mjr inż. techn. Uzbr. 2 — Dęblin, (LZK)

Cioslinski Zdzisław Józef, ppor., znak tożs., ur. 28.10.08 (AM 3842)

Cisły Józef, por., leg. służb., leg. ofic., odznaka Piłsudskiego (AM 3389)

Ciszewski Tadeusz, ppor., pocztówka, karta szcep. 4235 (AM 1690), ur. 1914 (LZK)

Ciszewski Zygfryd, w mundurze, dowody osob., karta członk. Zw. Śpiewaków, list. różne kartki (AM 1443), ppor., ur. 1902 (LZK)

Ciszewicz Stanisław, ppor., leg. PKC., wizytówki, 1 zaśw. (AM 2406)

Ciundziejewski ppor. (LZK)

Cnitkowski ppor. (LZK)

Curyłło Tadeusz, Curillo — w mundurze, karta szcep. 997, notatnik, pocztówka (AM 2799), Curyłło — (WO 2799 str. 52)

Cwałbaum ppor. lek. (LZK)

Cwałina Edward, w mundurze, znak tożs. (AM 2746), z Łomży, służył w pułku którego Szefem był Prez. Mościcki (WO 2746 str. 50), ppor., (LZK)

Cwykelski Maurycy, dr med., mjr lek., ks. wojsk., 1 pocztówka, wizytówka, fotografia (AM 854)

Cyankiewicz Stanisław, w mundurze, 2 kartki z adresami, karta podatkowa, karta szcep., karta z zapiskami (AM 2084)

Cybulski Aleksander Antoni, ppłk. lek., leg. ofic., pocztówka, etui na cwikier (AM 2705), mjr dr (WO 2705 str. 50), mjr lek. 1896 (LZK)

Cycoń Stanisław, kpt., 1899, s. Jana i Elżbiety, 75 p.p. (LZK)

Cyganski Adam, syn Włodzimierza, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2850, karta mobil., pocztówka, 1 list (AM 2297)

Cymbalista Jan, ppor., 1901 (LZK)

Cyran lekarz (LZK)

Cywiński Feliks, por. lotn. Kowszun - Cywiński (LZK)

Czajka Bronisław, Czaska ur. /2.1912, ppor. (AM 191), Czajka — dowód osob., (WO str. 6)

Czajka Józef, mjr, Tarnów, ul. Konarskiego 8, wizytówka, wieksza gotówka (AM 14)

Czajka Stefan, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., karta na broń, medalik z łańc. (AM 2980)

Czajkowski Adolf, dr med., por., ur. 16.4.86, w Piotrkowie, 1 zaśw., wizytówki, leg. Zw. Lekarzy (AM 1714) ur. 16.6.86, (WO 1714 str. 23), kpt. dr, ur. 1886 (LZK)

Czajkowski Bohdan, ofic. rez., zam. Kutno (WO str. 3), por. (LZK)

Czajkowski Bogdan, syn Stanisława, karta z adresami, list, oraz pocztówka z Kutna z 6.2.40 (WO str. 3)

Czajkowski Hieronim, kilka pocztówek, naramiennik bez odznaki, łańcuszek z krzyżkiem (AM 408), ppor., ur. 1911, s. Franciszka i Stefani (LZK)

Czajkowski Zygmunt, ppor. (LZK)

Czalek Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)

Czamański Adam, ppor. rez. pil. (LZK), dr inż. dypł., dowód osob., karta szcep. 279, listy, bilety wizytowe (AM 1744), Czamański (WO 1744 str. 24)

Czapiewski Jan, chorąży (LZK)

Czapla Stanisław, post. P.P. (LZK)

Czaplicki Stefan Cezary ppor. ur. 27.8.04, karta mobil., 1 rachunek, legit. odznacz. (AM 3051), ur. 1904 (LZK)

Czapliński Antoni, ppor., prof. gimn., ur. 16.2.04, ks. wojsk., leg. urzęd., państw. (AM 782), Czapliński (WO str. 11)

Czaprowski Alfred Alfons, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. (nieczytelna), (AM 1632), Alfons — ppor. rez. (LZK)

Czapski Bronisław, mjr, komisarz kolejowy, stała karta jazdy 1 kl. kolej., karta szcep. 2137, pocztówki, przepustka, karta na broń (AM 1603) — mjr (LZK)

Czarkowski Jan Bolesław, por., wizytówki, 1 pismo wojskowe (AM 1420), Jan — por. (LZO)

Czarkowski - Golejewski senior (LZK)

Czarkowski - Golejewski Junior (LZK)

Czarniński Stanisław, mjr, 2 notatniki (AM 4040), (LZK)

Czarnecki Czesław, por., dowód osob., 1 tymczasowa wojsk. legít., karta szcep. 309 (AM 1493)

Czarnecki Feliks, oficer, leg. rez. (AM 2743), ppor. (LZK)

Czarnecki Kazimierz, kpt. ur. 1892 (LZK)

Czarnecki Kazimierz, ppk. (LZK)

Czarnecki Stefan, plut. pchor. (LZK)

Czarnecki Zygmunt, ppk., zastępca D-cy 40 p.p., 1 łącznik z krzyżkiem, legít. osob. (AM 455), por. 40 p.p. (WO str. 6)

Czarnek Zbigniew, ppk. lek. (LZK)

Czarnik Jan, (LZK)

Czarnowski Stefan, kurator (LZK)

Czarnuszczyk Władysław, st. sierż. (LZK)

Czarski Benedykt, kpt. lek., ur. 13/... 83, ofic. ks. wojsk., leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez., pocztówka (AM 1584), ur. 13.8.83 (WO 1584 str. 44), kpt. dr (LZK)

Czełgik Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)

Czekaj Aleksander, ppor., wizytówka, notatnik (AM 3597)

Czekalski Stanisław, w mundurze, karta szcep., wizytówka na nazwisko Czekalski Stanisław (AM 3991)

Czekot ... por. lek. (LZK)

Czeplak Antoni, chorąży (LZK)

Czepurno Stefan, ppor. lek (LZK), leg. ofic. (AM 3753)

Czerkawski Marian, mjr, 1891, s. Antoniego i Albiny (LZK)

Czermak ... ppor. piech. (LZK)

Czermański Adam, ppor. pilot (LZK)

Czeroniowski ... mjr (LZK)

Czeroniowski Włodzimierz, kpt., ur. 3.11.96, leg. ofic., karta mobil., pocztówka (AM 2545)

Czeroniowski Leon, por., nauczyciel, leg. urzęd., karta czł. Ligi Kolon., 1 ks. oszcz., odznaka pułkowa, dowód osob. (AM 3719), (bez imienia) ppor. (LZK)

Czernecki (Kazimierz), ppor. art. (LZK)

Czernecki Ksawery, admirał, (LZK)

Czernek Maksymilian Michał, mjr, ur. 15.9.90, w Zawichoście, 1 ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 2140), ur. 158.90, mr, ktp. apt. (RO. 32 str. 338)

Czerny Stefan, kpt. (LZK)

Czernyszewicz ... pchor. (LZK)

Czerwinski Stanisław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Czerwinski Zygmunt, por. art. (LZK)

Czerwionka Stanisław, ppor., 1 karta z ks. ofic., 1 pismo, karta szcep. 2853 (AM 1683), pismo do Inspektora Szkolnego (WO 1683 str. 22)

Czerwionko Wacław, w mundurze, 1 list (AM 3233)

Cześnik Marian, ppor., 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Cześnik — Warszawa, ul. Płusa XI Nr 16, karta mobil., leg. ofic. rez., karta szcep. (AM 2351)

Czobodziński Adam, por. (LZK)

Czobodziński Romuald, por. (LZK)

Czółowski Antoni, kpt., leg. ofic., medalik (AM 1379)

Czółowski - Dąbczański Stefan, Czółowski - Dobczyński Sas, (bez imienia), por., wizytówka z nazwiskiem Czółowski Bronisław major art. Równie, koszary wotyńskie (WO 928 str. 13), Czółowski Stefan — (LZK)

Czornik Jan, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., (AM 2771)

Czort Zygmunt, ppor., 1903, prof. gimn., Kraków (LZK)

Czuba Franciszek, por. (LZK)

Czubernat Jan, Czubernard — por., karta szcep., medalik z łącznikiem, notatnik (AM 2919), Czubernat Jan — por. (LZK)

Czubinski Marian, ppor., kwit na nazwisko: ppor. Czubinski (AM 273), ppor., ur. 1900, s. Leona i Felagii, Poznań (LZK)

Czubinski Stanisław, mjr, 2 kalend. kieszonkowe okulary, cygarniczka (AM 464), Czubinski mjr, (WO 464 str. 19), (bez imienia), mjr (LZK)

Czyżewski ... mjr, 1 pocztówka z Krakowa, karta szcep. 753, (AM 734), Czyżewski (bez imienia) — (WO str. 10)

Czyżewski Antoni Eugeniusz, kpt., metryka ślubu, 4 listy, 2 pocztówki, karta szcep. 4167, medalik z łącznikiem (AM 828), kpt. sap. (LZS)

Czyżewski Jerzy, Czysewski — ppor., karta szcep., pismo urzędowe, wizytówki, blok notesowy, druga karta szcep. na nazwisko Bielicz Włodzimierz (AM 2971)

Czyżewski Kazimierz, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Dabiński Florentyn, Dąbiński — por. ofic. legít., wizytówka, 2 odznaczenia, fotografie, różaniec, notatnik (AM 1941), odznaka pułkowa, pamiętnik (WO 1941 str. 28)

Dachowski Władysław, ppor. rez. piech. (LZK)

Dachtera Czesław, lek. ppor. rez. (LZK)

Daglis Jan, ppor. rez., 1908, s. Bartłomieja, Korpus Uzbr. Białystok, (LZK)

Dajczak ... kpt. 1901, MSWojsk., Warszawa (LZK)

Dajewski Marceł, ppor. piech., sędzia — Miłosław, Poznań (LZK)

Dalecki Michał, ppor., ur. 1901, zam. Warszawa, ul. Farczyńska 9 — 28, ks. oszcz. PKO., karta szcep. 1944 (AM 1481)

Darmochwał Kazimierz, ppor. art. 1911 (LZK)

Danda Antoni, sekr. Zarządu Miejskiego Kraków, dowód osob., list, bilet wizytowy, notatnik (AM 85)

Danikiewicz Edward, Danikiewicz — kpt., ks. oszcz. PKO., odznaka, monogram DE (AM 2709), Danikiewicz (WO 2709 str. 50), kpt., ur. 1889, s. Franciszka i Marianny (LZK)

Dankiewicz Jan, kpt. lek., ur. 1893, leg. ofic. rez., ks. wojsk. Legionów Polskich z 1-szej wojny światowej 914/18, wizytówki, 2 pocztówki (AM 4096), (bez imienia), kpt. lek. (LZK)

Danyluk Jan, oficer, znak toż., leg. ofic., list (AM 51), ppor. 1914, s. Bazylego i Marii, 6 p. art. (LZK)

Darmochwał Kazimierz, ppor., list, pocztówka (AM 1148), Darmochwał (WO 1028 str. 14)

Dardecki Ryszard, w mundurze, karta szcep. 719, 1 list, medalik z łącznikiem (AM 2253), syn Bolesława (WO 2253 str. 36)

Daszkiewicz Erwin, kpt., odcinki pocztowe, 1 list, rachunki (AM 3189), (bez imienia), kpt. st. sp. (LZK)

Daszkiewicz Kazimierz, (bez imienia) ppor., dowód osob., (AM 119), Kazimierz — ppor. art. 1906 (LZK)

Dawidczyk Leon, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 1925), por. (ppor.), aptekarz, Gabin (LZK)

Dąbkowski Jan, mjr (LZK)

Dąbkowski plk. d-ca 13 p. ul. (LZK)

Dąbrowski Czesław, ppor., ur. 7.7.08, leg. ofic. rez., karta szcep. (AM 3491), ppor. piech., ur. 1908 (rezerwa), (LZS)

Dąbrowski Czesław, Dombrowski — notatnik z adresem: Regina Romanówna, Brześć Litewski, Kulegia, — plakietka z blachy (AM 314), Dąbrowski — poczta od Reginy Romanowskiej (WO str. 7)

Dąbrowski Jan, mjr, Dombrowski, leg. ofic., karta szcep. (AM 1857), Dąbrowski (WO 1857 str. 27), Dąbrowski mjr kaw. — ur. 1893, ziemianin z Kresów (LZK)

Dąbrowski Jan, Dombrowski — w mundurze, listy, kwit de-pozytowy, pióro wieczne, ołówek do wykrecania (AM 3799)

Dąbrowski Jan Henryk, Dombrowski — por., karta na brzo-ni 2 pocztówki, list, karta szcep. (AM 2465), Dąbrowski (WO 2465 str. 42), Dąbrowski — por. sap. 1908, Szkoła gar. w Trauguto-wie — Brześć (LZK)

Dąbrowski Jerzy, Dombrowski — ppor., leg., odznacz., wi-zytówka, różaniec (AM 3684)

Dąbrowski Józef, Dombrowski — por., ofic. ks. wojsk., foto-grafia (AM 1557), Dąbrowski — (WO 1557 str. 44)

Dąbrowski Ludwik, Dombrowski — ppor., karta mobil., leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, list, karta z adresami (AM 2281), Dąb-rowski — pocztówka z nadawcą: W. Dąbrowska, Warszawa, ul. Wileńska, (WO 2281 str. 37)

Dąbrowski Mieczysław, por. inż., leg. urzęd., karta szcep. — wizytówki, dowód osob., notatnik (AM 2114), inż. leśnik (WO 2114 str. 33), ppor. art., ur. 1900 (LZK)

Dąbrowski Roman Stanisław, Dombrowski — ppor., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, wizytówki, odznaka (AM 3703), Dąbrowski — ppor. 77. p.p., ur. 1908, syn Szymona i Marii, Lida (LZK)

Dąbrowski Stanisław, przod. P.P. (LZK)

Dąbrowski Stanisław, ppor. art., ur. 1891 (LZK)

Dąbrowski Tadeusz, kpt., aresztowany w Rydze (LZK)

Dąbrowski Zbigniew, w mundurze, 1 pocztówka (AM 2924), ppor. (LZK)

Dąbski Bronisław Roch, Donski — Stanisław Roch, ppor., leg., odznacz., pocztówki, list, fotografie, karta z zapiskami (AM 3490), Dąbski Bronisław — oficer, s. Karola i Józefa — z Borysławia (LZK)

Dec Ignacy, por., koperta, pocztówka (AM 3341)

Dec Władysław, kpt. piech., notariusz z Rzeszowa (LZK)

Dejewski Stanisław Arkadiusz, por. z pułku Piłsudskiego (1 p. szw.), leg. ofic., wizytówki, karta szcep., 2 pocztówki, 1 list (AM 2401), (bez imienia) — por. (LZK)

Delebowsi Władysław, por. (LZK)

Dembecki Stanisław, dr. por. lek., dowód osob., karta mobil.,

legit. odznacz., okulary (AM 3562), por. lek., wzięty do niewoli w Kostopolu we wrześniu 989 (LZK)

Dembecki Józef, por., ks. ofic. z fotografią, 1 pocztówka (AM 2009)

Dembecki Witold Józef, ppor., ur. 15.5.90, ofic. ks. wojsk., do-wód osob. (AM 1225), Dembecki ur. 13.5.90, (WO 1084 str. 15), Dembecki ppor., Lubawa (LZK-O)

Denison, por. rez. z Lublina (LZK)

Dentryjak Eugeniusz, kpt. lek. wet., 23 p. ul., Postawy (LZK)

Deryżyski Stanisław, cywilny, list, dowód osob., uczniowska karta jazdy dla Marii Deryżyskiej, notatnik, polska gazeta z 22. kwietnia 1940, zaśw. w jez. rosyjskim, że „Deryżyski przeby-wał od 24.11.39 do 21.2.40 w lazarecie Koziełskim Obozu NKWD“ (AM 397), (LZK)

Desberg Jerzy Jakub Władysław, Deuberg — karta z legit., medalik (AM 2303)

Deszcza Władysław, kartograf wojskowy, ur. 2.3.92, zam. Warszawa, al. Ujazd. 22 m. 20 (WO str. 3)

Deszert Bolesław, rtm., 21 p. ul., Równe (LZK)

Dewiński Henryk, adwokat, kpt., zam. Tarnowskie Góry, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., wizytówka (AM 2320), (LZK)

Dewojnow Witold, ppor. rez. piech. s. Pawła, z Białegostoku (LZK)

Dewind Witold, cywilny, 3 listy (AM 3911)

Debicki, wiceprezes S. O., Warszawa (LZK)

Debicki Witold, por. (ppor.), 3. p. lot. (LZK)

Dębice Michał, por. rez., s. Jana, Kierownik Szkoły Powsz. w Tłumaczu, woj. Stanisławowskie (LZK), nauczyciel, w mun-durze, leg. urzęd., listy, pocztówka, wizytówka, karta szcepie-nia (AM 1871)

Debogori - Mokrylewicz Anatol, w mundurze, ur. 1906, znak toża, dowód osob., prawo jazdy (AM 3472)

Dębowski Jan Stefan, por., lek. wet., leg. ofic. rez., karta szcep., medalik (AM 2077), lek. wet. w Brzesku (LZK)

Dienstl Franciszek, (LZK)

Długosz, kpt., bez nogi (LZK)

Długosz Józef, ppor. lot., obs. 1 p. lot. (LZK)

Długosz Mieczysław, ppor., leg. ofic., legit. graniczna, list, pocztówki, karta szcepienia (AM 2106)

Dmochowski Antoni, Dmochowski — ppor., ur. 21.6.02, ka-roszcz. PKO., leg. urzęd., wizytówka, karta szcep., medalik z łancuskiem (AM 3487), Dmochowski — pchor., 34 lat (LZK)

Dmochowski Jan, kpr. pchor., ur. 1907, s. Adama, Ostrołęka (LZK)

Dmowski Franciszek, kpt. art., st. sp. 1904, S.P.Art. To-ruń (LZK)

Dmowski Marian, kpt. (LZK)

Dmistrzanski Roman, por. art., 1907, 1 p. plot. (LZK), leg. urzęd., karta szcep., telegram, wieczne pióro (AM 3721)

Dobak Stanisław, mjr lek., dowód osob., karta czł. Zw. Lek., zam. Bydgoszcz, ul. Gdańska 1, list (AM 2250), (bez imienia), mjr lek. (LZK)

Dobek Czesław, kpt., ofic leg., 3 listy, karta szcep. 1750 (AM 1806)

Dobek Jan, kpt. art., (LZK)

Doberski Adam, kpt., wójt — **Bielsko** (LZK)

Dobija Michał, ppor. (LZK)

(AM 132), Dobor — ppor. art. (LZK)

Dobosz Piotr, znak tożs., z napisem 102, W. Wilejka 1912

Doboszyński Jarosław, ppor., znak tożs., odznaka, medalik (AM 2186) ur. 1899 (WO 2186 str. 34), por., inż. roln., pow. Działna (LZK)

Doboszyński Julian, ppor. art. kon., 1904, s. Henryka, inż. leśnik nad Naroczą (LZK)

Doboszyński Stanisław, ppor. rez., 35 lat (LZK)

Dobraut Ryszard, ppor. (LZK)

Dobrogowski Tadeusz, Dobrogonski — ppor., skierowanie cho-robowe, świadectwo szczeniemia (AM 39), Dobrogowski — por. piech. 1901, z Poznańskiego (LZK)

Dobrogowski Bohdan, ppor. rez., 1906 (LZK)

Dobrostański Kazimierz, mjr, 1898, s. Alojzego i Herminy, Mielec (LZK)

Dobrowolski Czesław, por. chemik, dowód osob., wizytówka, karta szczeniemia, No. 3586, 1 list, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: M Dobrowolska, Warszawa, ul. Markiejska 49, notatnik, fan-cek do zegarka, odznaka „SP” (AM 289), por. inż. (LZK)

Dobrowolski Hieronim, (WO 586 str. 45)

Dobrowolski Jan, ppor. rez., Kalisz (LZK), część dowodu osob., pocztówka, prawo jazdy, wizytówka, fotografia, karta szczeniemia (AM 1114), (WO 1006 str. 14)

Dobrowolski Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Dobrowolski Włodzimierz, ppłk. lek., znak tożs. z napisem ppłk. 1889, słuchawka (AM 272), (bez imienia) ppłk. dr (LZK)

Dobrowolski Zygmunt, rtm. dypl., Sztab Armii gen. Dąb-Biernackiego (LZK)

Dobrzański Zbigniew, ppor. piech., 1909, Lwów (LZK)

Dobrzański Zygmunt, kpt., 3 kartki z nadawcą: A. Dobrzań-ska, Radom, Parbatka 101 (AM 68)

Dobrzycki Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Dobski Prezes Sądu (LZK)

Dobuszyński Jarosław, (LZK)

Doczyński Bolesław, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., różne kartki, medalik (AM 1981), Dobczyński — (WO 1980 str. 29), Doczyń-ski — 1912 (LZK)

Dolecki Edmund, por. (LZK)

Domagała Tadeusz, ppor., 23 p.a.l., dowód osob., karta na broń, pęk kluczy z tabliczką: Resta uracia da voi, Sosnowice — plinik (angielski), notatnik (AM 217)

Domagallo Wincenty, st. przod. P.P., 5 plut. W.P.P. (LZK)

Domalewski Adam, por., pocztówka (AM 172), por. KOP., Działna (LZK)

Domania Jan, w mundurze, kartka z zapiskami, list, medalik (AM 3666)

Domanski Eugeniusz, por., karta szcep., wizytówka, notat-nik (AM 515), ppor. KOP. 1909 (LZK)

Domaradzki Antoni Leon, kpt., 2 wizytówki, 1 pocztówka, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 2704), kpt. piech. st. sp. (LZK)

Domaradzki Tadeusz, ppłk., dowód osob. na nazwisko Helena Domaradzka, list (AM 2172), kpt. (por. ?), (LZK)

Domaradzki Tomasz, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Donaj Stanisław, ppor. 1905, Buk woj. Poznańskie (LZK)

Dorczyk Stanisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., 1 pocztówka, foto-grafie, (AM 4067), oficer, 1907, Jedwabne, pow. Gostyn, Poz-nańskie (LZK)

Dormanowski Bogdan, w mundurze, ur. 9.10.08, Skokówka, zam. Poznań, ul. Starohetmańska 40/6, pocztówki, list. ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 2631)

Dorobczyński Lucjusz, Dorotczyński — ppor., ur. 11.2.02 w Baranowiczach, dowód osob. (AM 299), Dorobczyński. — ur. 11.2.02, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 169)

Doroszczak Józef, w mundurze, 2 karty szczeniemia: 1) Do-rozszak Józef, 2) Kazoła Jerzy, kwit depozytowy, listy (AM 2241), na jednym liście podpis „Twoja Kazia” (WO str. 36)

Doroszewski Edward, w mundurze, 1 list, 1 pocztówka, 1 ró-żaniec (AM 2064), karta z Włodawka z dnia 24.2.40, (WO 2064 str. 32), Doroszewski — por. (LZK)

Dorosz Józef, ur. 16.8.08, ks. uposaż. (AM 92)

Dorożyński Aleksander, kpt., ofic. leg., karta szcep. 885, 3 pocztówki, 1 list (AM 1791), Doroszyński — (WO 1791 str. 25)

Dowbor Michał, por.; 1 pismo wojskowe, leg. ofic. rez., 2 od-znaki (AM 3812), ppor., 1896, s. Michała i Weroniki (LZK)

Downarowicz Kazimierz, ppor. art., ur. Jarosław (LZK), Downarowicz — 1 list, łańcuszek, słownik niemiecko - rosyjski, naramienniki bez oznak, pamiątki (pamiątka z Częstochowy), (AM 306), Downarowicz — (WO str. 7)

Drabczyński Dominik, brat Zakonu Reform. (LZK)

Drabczyński Ignacy, por. (LZK)

Draczyński Michał, ppor. rez., z Kupy (LZK)

Drągiew Włodzimierz, ppor. art., 1911 (LZK)

Drapański Erazm, ppor. rez., lek. wet., 1905 (LZ. K-S)

Drappella Rudolf, mjr piech. (LZK)

Drapow Borys, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Drapow Edward, ppor. rez. art. (LZ.K-S)

Drązkowski Sylwester, Drązkowski — mjr, karta szcep., Virtuti Militari, medalik (AM 698), Drązkowski — ur. 31.12.90, kpt. (RO. 32 str. 67) Drązkowski (bez imienia) — mjr st. str. (LZK)

Drecki Edmund, por., ur. 24.7.97, zam. Kościerzyna, leśniczów-ka, leg. urzęd., dowód osob., pocztówki, listy, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. Dyr. Lasów, karta mobil. (AM 1999), por. (LZK)

Dresdner Robert, por. lek. (LZK)

Dreski Karol, inż., ur. 8.2.89, zam. Warszawa, ul. Wspólna 19/7, (WO str. 19)

Dreszier Dyonizy, kpt. (LZK)

Drewnski Karol, kpt., 1894 (LZK), ur. 8.2.94, (ROR. 34 str. 198)

Drewnski Wacław, mjr, 7 p. ul. (LZK)

Drobczyński Antoni (LZK)

Drobinski Stanisław, ppor., 1 list (AM 2205), ppor. piech. (LZK)

Drojański Erazm, (?) ur. 23.1.05, w Buczaczu, karta szcep., karta z nazwiskiem, notatnik (AM 178), ur. 23.1.05, (WO str. 5)

Drozd (Grzegorz?), ppor. (LZK)

Drozdowski Jan, ppor. (LZK), list (AM 91)

Drozdowski Romuald, Stefan, karta szczeniemia, kalend. kieszonkowy (AM 2325), kpt. geogr., 1906, s. Włodzimierza i Marii (LZK)

Drucki Daniel, por., list, karton, świad. lekarskie (AM 2918), (bez imienia), por. br. panc. (LZK)

Druhan Włodzimierz, w mundurze, ur. 15.1.1910, metryka służby w Lwowa, 2 pocztówki, 1 łańcuszek, 1 portmonetka (AM 501), ppor. (LZK)

Druhwinio Olgierd, mjr, inż. elektryk, leg. Obr. Plot., wizytówka (AM 170), ppor. inż. (LZK)

Druzbicki Franciszek, (LZK)

Druzbicki Józef, Nauczy, ppor., ur. 19.3.06, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka (AM 3482), ppor. rez., 1906, s. Feliksa i Wandę, 10 p. art. (LZK)

Drzewicki Stefan, Czerwicki Szczepan — ppor., nauczyciel, leg. ofic. rez., wizytówka, leg. urz. (AM 3387), Drzewicki (bez imienia) ppor., (LZK), Drzewicki Stefan Eustachy — dr, ur. 20.9.98 ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 144)

Drzewicki Stefan, por. lek. (LZK)

Drzewiecki Józef, mjr uzb., s. Bronisława i Heleny, Warszawa (LZK)

Drzewiecki Władysław Kazimierz, por., ur. 22.11.98, leg. ofic. karta mobil., 2 odznaki pułkowe (AM 1378), z Grudziądza (LZK)

Drzewiecki Władysław, ppor., 65 p.p. (LZK)

Dubaniowski Dionizy, kpt., pocztówka (AM 99), wzgl. Dziubowski — (WO str. 6)

Dubas Tadeusz, ppor., prof. chemii, dowód osob., karta na broń, wizytówka, notatnik, 2 pocztówki (AM 188)

Dubiel kpt. kap. (LZK)

Dubowski Jan, kpt., fotografie, leg. urz. (AM 1532)

Duchnowicz Antoni, instruktor O.K., ur. 2/. . . . 05. ks. oszcz. PKO, naramienik bez oznak (AM 282)

Duczak Tadeusz, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3926)

Duda kpt. (LZK)

Duda Eugeniusz, ppor. rez. art. (LZK.S)

Dudek kpt. lek. (LZK)

Dudek w mundurze, karta szcep., karta z jego nazwiskiem (AM 778), Dikk (?) — (WO str. 11)

Dudyński Władysław, ppor., leg. Banku Polskiego, karta szcep., dwie pocztówki, kalend. Kieszonkowy, medalik (AM 2884), Dudziński (WO 2884 str. 54)

Dudzik Julian, Dudzie — ks. czl. Nr. 71 Klubu Sport. Czerwonia, leg. stud., 2 medaliki (AM 682), Dudziec lub Dudzik — (WO str. 10)

Dudziński Edward Stanisław, ppor., ks. upos., 2 listy, medalik, świad. szcep., wieczne pióro (AM 429), ppor. piech. (LZK)

Dudzinski Władysław, podoficer, 1899, s. Władysława i Marii (LZK)

Dulas Milan, ur. 24.10.10, ppor., ks. upos. (AM 81)

Dulęba Jan Władysław, kpt., świad. lekarskie, część ofic. leg., wizytówki pocztówka (AM 1912), (LZK)

Dulęba Piotr, kpt. (LZK)

Dukoński Adam, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Dumania Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Dumaniek Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Dunaj Juliusz, kpt., ur. 24.9.89, Kraków, ofic. ks. upos., dowód osob., karta szcep., 2 medaliki (AM 1812), kpt. lek., Kraków (LZK)

Dunkowski Stefan Jan, por., 1900 (LZK)

Dunin - Borkowski kpt. dyp. art., 1898, (LZK)

Dunin - Brzeziński Jan, por. (LZK)

Dunin - Brzeziński Jan, ppor. rez., lat 25 (LZK)

Duracz kpt. (LZS), (bez imienia) kpt., karta szcep., dwie wizytówki na nazwisko: Batorski Kazimierz, inż., i Andrzejewski Bogdan (AM 2128)

Duras Tadeusz, por., 1899 (LZK)

Durek Czesław Antoni, ppor., ofic. ks. upos., 1 medalik (AM 1816), Durak — (WO 1816 str. 26)

Duszyński Henryk, ksiądz kapelan (LZK)

Duszyński Henryk Stanisław, kpt. aud., 1899 (LZK), kpt. leg. Krzyża Wojennego, świadectwo, złoty medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1256), (WO 1103)

Duszyński Karol, 1912 (LZK)

Duszyński Lucjan, por. (LZK), Lucjan Stanisław — por., 2 pocztówki (AM 5)

Dworakowski Jerzy, w mundurze, wizytówki, odznaka (AM 1944), wizytówki wlasne i Haliny Dworakowskiej, (WO 1944 str. 29), ppor. art. (LZK)

Dworakowski Kazimierz, ofic., karta z legit. Nr. 23378 — innych szczegółów brak, (WO 863 str. 19 i 20)

Dworakowski Włodzimierz, ppor., ur. 1895, ks. wojsk. (AM 173)

Dworczak Władysław, por. (LZK)

Dworecki mjr (LZK)

Dworecki Bolesław, kpt., wizytówka, leg. ofic. (nieczytelna), 1 przepustka, karta szcep. 1714, (AM 2272)

Dwornik Kazimierz, kpt., Inst. Topogr., 1899, s. Bartłomieja (LZK), 1 list, karta z zapisami, negatywy (AM 3452)

Dworzecki - Bogdanowicz Józef, ppor., karta wstępu, 1 list, wizytówki (AM 4073), (LZK)

Dyba Roman, w mundurze, wojsk. prawo jazdy, leg. sportowa, wizytówka, pocztówki, list (AM 3686), ppor. (LZK)

Dybada Józef, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Dybiec Bogusław, por., leg. ofic., karta szcep. 3900 (AM 2259)

Dyga Józef Ignacy, ppor., leg. Szkoły Pchor., 2 kwity (AM 3357)

Dygnarowicz Jan, por. lek. (LZK)

Dyja Kazimierz, por. piech. (LZK)

Dyjas Augustyn, ppor. (LZK)
Dylewski Tadeusz, 1908, (LZK), ppor., 2 stałe karty jazdy, karta szcep. 3008, list, pocztówka, część dowodu osob. (AM 1404)
Dymczyński Erwin, ppor., nazwisko na drewnianej tabliczce (AM 3556)
Dymitrow Narcyz, ks. oszcz. PKO., listy z nadawcą, Józef Dymitrow, Przemyski, ul. Słowackiego 59 (AM 86), mjr, 1898, s. Jana i Józefa (LZK)
Dyńko Tadeusz, Adam Tadeusz, cywilny, leg. odznacz., karta szcep. 2174, (AM 2198), Tadeusz — mjr, (LZK), Tadeusz Adam — ur. 11.10.94, kpt. ROR. 34 str. 135)
Dysna Adam, por. KOP. (LZK)
Dyszłonek Ludwik, Dyszłylenko — 3 listy, 2 wizytówki, różne adresy, medalik (AM 1107), Dyszłylenko Ludwik, Onnek Kamierz (?) (WO 1001 str. 14), Dyszłonek — ppor. rez. (LZK). Dyszłonek ur. — 20.3.95, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 123)
Dwyer Wilhelm, dr, ppor. lek. z Przemysła (LZK)
Dzenajewicz Józef, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., karta na broń, 2 pocztówki (AM 2293), Drzenajewicz — pocztówki z nadawcą: Wanda Drzenajewiczowa, Wilno, (WO 2293 str. 37), Dzenajewicz — ppor. art. (LZK)
Dzeń Edward, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Dziadek Jan, ppor., Dziągiewów (LZK), w mundurze, 3 listy, 1 pocztówka z nadawcą: Maria Dziadek, Dziachoau, pow. Cieleszyn — Śląsk (AM 3292)
Działul Bronisław, ppor., 2 leg. ofic. (AM 2603), ppor. piech. (LZK)
Dziarnowski Franciszek, pchor. (LZK)
Dziedzik Roman, w mundurze, karta polowania, dowód osob. (nieczytelny), karta szcep. 3179 różne kartki, pocztówki (AM 1869), Dziedzik — karta łowiecka Nr. 33969, (WO 1869 str. 27)
Dziedziuk, por. 1911 (LZK)
Dziedziuk - Dziedziuk Romuald, ppor. KOP., 1908, s. Józefa i Heleny (LZK)
Dzielski Antoni, ppor., leg. ofic., karta na broń, list, wizytówki (AM 4091), (LZK)
Dziopowicz Leonard, ppor., ur. 1904, w Warszawie, zam. w Lublinie, ks. oszcz. PKO., karta mobil., leg. urzęd., wizytówki (AM 3101)
Dzierżęcki Zygmunt, por., leg. odznacz., pocztówki (AM 2299)
Dzierżęcki Michał, por., dr fil., ur. 19.02, w Poznaniu, dyplom doktorski, karta czł. 1 list, fotografie (AM 2116), dyplom mgra fil. (WO 2116 str. 33)
Dzierżyński Kazimierz Maria, ppor. 1908 (LZK)
Dzierżanowski Ludomir, w mundurze, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Dzierżanowski Ludomir, inżynier (AM 900), (WO 881 str. 12)
Dzierżanowski Ludwik, inż., w mundurze, leg. służbowa (AM 2982)
Dziwicki Tadeusz, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd. (AM 3524)

Dziwulski Zdzisław Zygmunt, por., 1 leg. urzęd., wizytówki, fotografie, list, karta mobil. (AM 1923)
Dzięgowski Michał, por. (kpt.) pil. (LZK)
Dzik - Dzikowski Feliks, ppor. rez., lek. wet. (LZK)
Dzikowski Czesław, w mundurze, inżynier, Warszawa, ul. Asfaltowa 12, prawo jazdy, wizytówka, ks. oszcz. PKO., list, złoże okulary (AM 446), (LZK)
Dziwnajewicz Józef, ppor. (LZK)
Dziubek Stanisław, Dzenbek (?) — dr kpt., rozkaz wyjazdu (nieczytelny), (AM 1711), Dziubek — dr, (WO 1711 str. 46), Dziubek (bez imienia) kpt. (LZK), Dziubek — dr, ur. 9.4.93 kpt. lek. (ROR. 34 str. 217)
Dziubiński Karol, Warszawa, ul. Radzywińska 10, ks. wojsk., listy, pocztówki (AM 676), ppor. rez. 1897, s. Rajmunda i Rozalii, farmaceuta (LZK)
Dziurzyński Juliusz, (LZK)
Dziurzyński Kazimierz, ppłk. dypl. (LZK), Dzierżyński — plk., 2 leg. osob., karta tranwajowa, 2 pocztówki, 2 wizytówki, krzyż Virtuti Militari, (AM 286)
Dzwonek, ppor. 1906 (LZK)
Dzwonek Adolf, Dzwonka — ppor., 1 pismo urzędowe, telegram, listy (AM 1882), nauczyciel, Dzwonka, (WO 1882 str. 27), Dzwonek — ur. 6.12.05, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 108)
Dzugań Włodzimierz, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Eberhardt Tadeusz, ppor. 1914, s. Henryka i Reginy (LZK)
Edelman Bernard, por., dr med., paszport (AM 2689), por. rez. lat 55, s. Wincentego (LZK)
Eggers Bolesław, kpt., list, pocztówka, legit. (AM 1902), karta z nadawcą: Helena (?), Warszawa, ul. Dobra 19/8, (WO 1902 str. 28)
Egierski, w mundurze, odcinek poczt. z nazwiskiem: Cygan Stanisław, — kartka z napisem: „Proszę zawiadomić moją żonę, Egierska Sabina, Łódź”, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1307)
Ehrenkreuz Włodzimierz, dr med., ppor., ks. wojsk., listy, recepty, (AM 1721), Ehrenkreutz, zam. Siedlce, ul. Sienkiewicza 14, (WO 1721 str. 23)
Eibel Konstanty, kpt., ur. 22.12.99, w Żywcu, zam. Sandomierz, ul. Mickiewicza 22, karta oszcz. PKO., wizytówki (AM 592), (LZK)
Eiger Antoni, ppor. pocztówki listy (AM 2493) ppor. inż. (LZK)
Ejsmont Paweł, w mundurze, ur. 1882, dowód osob., świad. szkolne, wizytówki, metryka zgonu (AM 1803), Eismont Paweł (LZK)
Elke Maksymilian, ppor., zam. Weiherowo, ul. Sobieskiego 20, koperta, wizytówka, fotografie (AM 291), ppor. mgr. (LZK)
Emilianowicz Stanisław, ppor. lek. (LZK)
Engel Abraham, dr med., kpt., ks. wojsk., rozkaz wyjazdu, 6 pocztówek, wizytówki (AM 337)
Engelkreis Wilhelm, dr med., w mundurze, ur. 8.3.95 we

- Lwowie, wizytówki, dyplom doktorski, zaśw. Szpitala (AM 1522), por. rez. (LZK)
- Engel Nikodem, ppor., ur. 1908, znak tożs., karta szcep., 2 leg., odznacz., wojsk., prawo jazdy, karta na broń, wizytówki, 5 listów i pocztówek (AM 2529)
- Epstein Maurycy, kpt., ks. wojsk., telegram, dowód osob. znak tożs. (AM 516), kpt lek. (LZK)
- Etych Franciszek, ppor. (LZK)
- Faber Józef, pchor. (LZK)
- Fabianowski Antoni, ppor. (LZK)
- Fabianowski Jan, por. rez., 1909, s. Jana i Faustyny (LZK)
- Fabianowski Stefan, ppor., 2 listy, 1 pocztówka, telegram, 2 medaliki, 1 cygaretki z monogramem (AM 3296)
- Fabianski Roman, ppor. kaw. (LZK)
- Fabiszewicz Stanisław, Fabiszewicz — w mundurze, koper-ta, wizytówka, karta szcep. 2480 (AM 611), Bisiewicz (WO str. 9), Fabiszewicz (bez imienia) — ppor. (por.), (LZK)
- Fabrowski Zygmunt Stanisław, Fabrowski — por., ur. 7.4.93, dowód osob., przepustka, list, pocztówka, różaniec z drzewa (własnego wyrobu), (AM 3758), Fabrowski — ur. 27.4.93, por. (ROR. 34 str. 175)
- Fader Mieczysław, funk. P.P., 1896, s. Aleksandra i Felicji (LZK)
- Fajner Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
- Falejewski Bolesław, ppor. art. (LZK)
- Falkiewicz Edward, kpt., ur. 9.6.86, dowód osob., różne wojsk. pisma, 1 list, zaśw. Lecznicy, książka „Przyjaciel i Wróg”, Ki-jów 1935, (AM 1568)
- Falkowski ppor. (LZK)
- Falkowski Paweł, w mundurze, pocztówki (AM 3005)
- Fall Jan, dr. mjr lek. (LZK)
- Familier Leon, kpt. lek., ks. wojsk. (AM 1325), (LZK)
- Farny Aleksander, kpt. 1894, s. Karola i Anny (LZK)
- Farny kpt., listy z nadawcą: Farny Helena, Bie-litz — Nussdorf, ul. Sudecka 780 (AM 1807)
- Fedecki Ryszard, ppor., 2 wizytówki, rosyjski rachunek, pocztówka od PCK, 2 listy, fotografia (AM 1634), nadawca pocztówki: Barbara Fedecka, Warszawa, ul. Markowska 15/2, (WO 1634 str. 21)
- Fedorowicz por. (ppor) (LZK)
- Fedorowicz Stanisław, por., dowód osob., świad. szcep. 564, pocztówka z nadawcą: Irzyna Szymańska, Warszawa, ul. Dzien-nikarska 12, łańcuszek z plakietą (AM 525)
- Fedorowicz Tadeusz, kpt. piech. st. sp. (LZK)
- Feinberg ppor. rez. (LZK)
- Feinberg Nikodem Stefan, ppor., ur. 1899, karta mobil., wi-zytówka, dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2842)
- Feiner Władysław, Fejner — ur. 21.3.900, por., nauczyciel, ks. wojsk., fotografie, karta mobil. (AM 1001), (WO 943 str. 13), ppor. art. (LZK)
- Felbel Rudolf, w mundurze, pocztówka, rosyjski odcinek poczt., krzyżyk (AM 1538), Felpel (WO 1538 str. 43)
- Felczynski Adam, ppor. rez. 1902, s. Adama i Franciszki (LZK)
- Feldt Roman Marcin, ppor., ur. 28.6.16, zam. Lublin, ks. oszcz. PKO (AM 1316)
- Felicki Stanisław, por., karta mobil., leg. urzęd., ks. wojsk., różaniec, list (AM 1192), Elkein (?), (WO 1060 str. 15)
- Fernezy Paweł, por. (LZK)
- Ferstenberg dr. por. (LZK)
- Ferszt Samuel, por. lek., ks. wojsk., karta mobil., 2 zaśw., fo-tografia, złote zęby (AM 691), Fersz — ppor. rez. (LZK)
- Fetlinski Stanisław, szer. KOP., 1905, s. Władysława i Agaty (LZK)
- Fezazonko Symon, w mundurze (AM 2713)
- Fieck Stefan, w mundurze, ur. 30.3.04, zam. Kraków, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, karta szcep., listy, pocztówki, leg. sportowa (AM 3740)
- Ficher kpt. mar. rez. (LZK)
- Fiedorowicz Tadeusz, kpt., list z nadawcą: Janina Fiedorowicz, Wilno, (AM 2291), Wilno, Piłsudskiego 7/11, (WO 2291 str. 37)
- Fiedorowicz Zygmunt, kpt (LZK)
- Figit Ludwik, ppor. piech. (LZK)
- Fihnel Zenon, (LZK)
- Fijałkowski Stanisław por., 1906, s. Wawrzyńca i Petroneli (LZK)
- Fiłewski Antoni, por., ur. 13.1.901, zam. Dubno, leg. i Krzyż Virtuti Militari, leg. urzęd. (nieczytelna), prawo jazdy, karta czł., karta szczeniemia, list-plakietka (AM 3730)
- Filak ppor. (LZK)
- Filip Jan, por. (LZK)
- Filipczyński Witold, list, pocztówka, karta szczeniemia (AM 2645)
- Filipek Jan, Vilipek — 3 pocztówki, karta z adresami (AM 1321), Filipek — bliźszych szczegółów brak (WO 1321 str. 16)
- Filipczak Karol, kpt., Skoczów (LZK)
- Filipiński Jan, ppor., 1911, s. Józefa (LZK)
- Filipiński Kazimierz, w mundurze, karta szczeniemia, leg. ofic. rez., różaniec (AM 2633)
- Filipowicz Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)
- Filipowicz Stanisław, por., dr. med., dowód osob., stała karta jazdy 1-ej klasy, z fotografią, leg. urzęd., metryka ślubu, dyp-lom doktorski, listy, pocztówki, fotografia, medalik, metryka uro-dzenia dzieci (AM 2877)
- Filipowski Józef, por., pocztówka, koperty z nadawcą: Fili-powska, Kraków (AM 2520), (bez imienia), por. (LZK)
- Filirński Jan, w mundurze, pocztówka, list, medalik z łań-cuszkiem (AM 2371), syn Józefa, (WO 2371 str. 39)
- Filonowicz Jan, pchor.,
- Finger Edward, por. (LZK)
- Finger Edwin, inż., oficer mar., prawo jazdy, wizytówka, leg. czł. Zw. Inż., fotografia, 1 złota spinka (AM 2019), Kierownik Wyzd. Techn., Vacuum Oil Company, Warszawa (WO 2019)

Finkelkraut Jerzy Izidor, ppor., lek., leg. ofic. rez., przepustka (AM 2999)

Firczyk Karol, kpt. (LZK)

Firk Karol, w mundurze, prof. gimn., ks. wojsk. (AM 567)

Firk Henryk, por., pocztówka, kwit. fotografie (AM 319), por. lek., 1889, s. Władysława i Marii (LZK)

Fischhof Emil, ppor. (LZK)

Fischer Adolf Zygmunt, mjr., leg. ofic., karta mob., karta szcep. 3449, listy (AM 1840), (LZK)

Fizki Jan, w mundurze, pocztówka, kartki z zapiskami (AM 2482)

Fizki Karol (lub Fizyk), ppor. (LZK)

Fleszar Alfred, mjr., dowód osob., różne zaświadczenia, notatki, karta szcep. 1005 (AM 704)

Fleszler Juda, kpt. lek., dr med., zam. Kielce, ul. Sienkiewicza 73, leg. Zw. Ofic. Rez., wizytówki, leg. urzęd., paszport, listy, leg. legionowa (AM 2309), (bez imienia) kpt. lek. (LZK)

Fliegel Tadeusz, (?), por., wojsk. prawo jazdy (AM 1823), Fligel — ppor., ur. 1907, (WO 1823 str. 26 i 45), por. (LZK)

Flis Adam, (LZK)

Flis Bogusław, 1910 (LZK)

Florczak Tadeusz, mjr. (LZK)

Florkiewicz Zbigniew, 1) znak tożsamości z nazwiskiem i napisem 23.1. Lublin 1905, (WO str. 3), 2) ppor., zam. Lublin, ul. Stawinskowskiej 10, dowód osob., koperta z jego nazwiskiem adresowana do Koziełska, świadek, karta szcep. 26, wizytówka na nazwisko Mikołaj Niewodski, inż. bud. dróg i mostów, Lublin, ul. Skłodowskiej 6/1, (WO str. 3), ur. 1905 (LZK)

Folejewski Bolesław, por., ks. wojsk., pocztówka (AM 1801), kpt. piech. (LZK)

Foltyn Wacław, kpt. (LZK)

Folwarczyński Roman, kpt. (LZK)

Forys Andrzej, w mundurze, adres: Forys Stanisław, Kraków, ul. Bracka 13, 3 pocztówki, medalik (AM 2845)

Fournier Borys, mjr., leg. Virtuti Militari, leg. ofic., karta szcep. 3590, mjr. piech. (LZK)

Franciszczak ppor. (LZK)

Franczek Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)

Frankowski Wacław, por., leg. odznacz., wizytówka, protokół (AM 4028), por. inż. (LZK)

Franciszczak Józef, w mundurze, s. Władysława, 3 listy (AM 2452), Franciszek — (WO 2452 str. 41)

Frazewicz Antoni, cywilny, pocztówka, list, złoty krzyżyk (AM 3185)

Frackowiak Kazimierz, ppor. rez. lot. (LZK)

Frackowiak Stanisław, ppor. lekarz, karta mob., wizytówki, 1 opaska Czerw. Krzyża z franc. pieczęcią (AM 3750), Francowiak — ppor. (LZK)

Frackowiak Stefan, ppor., ur. 20.8.01, leg. ofic. rez., list z nadawcą: Herta Heppner u Feliksa Pohling, Płehne, wojew. Poznańskie (AM 2556), (LZK)

Frackowski por. lot. (LZK)

Frejnkiel Izak, ppor. lek., karta mob. (AM 3941)

Frelkiewicz Józef, ppor., 2 listy, pocztówka z nadawcą: Frelkiewicz, Łódź, ul. A. Hitlera 104 a (AM 1300), (WO 1127 str. 16)

Frenkel Józef, ppor. lek. (LZK)

Frenkel Henryk, por., adwokat, Warszawa, ul. Żłota 7, leg., wizytówka, list, karta szcep. 1324 (AM 1118)

Freudenreich ppor., pocztówka (WO str. 4), Fräidenreich Janusz, ppor. KOP. (LZK)

Freund Maurycy Leopold, inż., ppor., ks. wojsk., listy i pocztówki od żony Teresy Freund, Borysław, 1 telegram (AM 1466)

Freund Wacław, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2118 (AM 2305)

Freyd (Freid lub Frajd) — kpt. lek. (LZK)

Fridzon Jakub, (Frydson) — ppor. (LZK), Fridson — w mundurze, 3 listy z nadawcą: Felicja Fridson, Warszawa, ul. Marszałkowska 73, telegram, 3 pocztówki (AM 2487)

Friedendorff Feliks, (LZK-S)

Frodyma Franciszek, por. (LZK-S)

Frodyma Tadeusz, post. P.P. (LZK)

Frojra Maurycy, ppor. (LZK)

Froja Franciszek, por. (LZK)

Fromowicz ppor. (LZK)

Fromowicz Jan, ppor., prawo jazdy, leg. odznacz. (AM 202)

Fromowicz Jan, nierozpoznany kapitan, 1 wizytówka na nazwisko Fromowicz Jan, inż., Warszawa, ul. Ustronie 2 m. 54 (AM 1048), jak wyżej — wizytówka na nazwisko Fromowicz (WO 966 str. 13)

Frontik Józef Franciszek, Franik — por., ur. 30.5.05, znak tożs. (AM 3544), Fronik — ur. 30.1.05, ppor. (ROR 34 str. 91)

Frosztega Michał „udolf”, ppor., ks. wojsk., 3 wizytówki, 2 pocztówki z nich jedna w jęz. niemieckim, karta czł. Zw. Sport. Lotn., 1 list, 2 fotografie, notatnik z adresami (AM 902), (WO 882 str. 12)

Frosztega Rudolf, (Froktenga) ppor. (LZK)

Frukalkraut ppor., dr. (LZK)

Frydrych Roman, ppor., 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Frydrych Maria, Warszawa, ul. Mickiewicza 30, leg., wizytówki, karta szcep. 2853 (AM 816), ppor. (LZS)

Frym Henryk, (Fruen lub Frym) por. (LZK)

Frymus Mieczysław, (WO 1103 str. 45)

Fryszberg Adam, kpt. (LZK)

Fuchlin Leonard, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., 1 notatnik, medalik (AM 2632)

Fuck Wiktor, inż., kpt., dowód osob., medalik, wizytówki, list (AM 1963), (bez imienia) — kpt. (LZK)

Fuhrmann Jan, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki i listy, wizytówki (AM 3847)

Fuks Józef Mieczysław, (LZK)

Fuks Leon, por. dr. (LZK)

Furkman Jan, (LZK)

Furman Władysław, post. P.P. (LZK)

Furmański Roman, w mundurze, ur. 1900, znak tożs., karta jazdy (AM 2989), ppor. (LZK)

Galecki - Junosza Stanisław, wizytówki, zaśw. Konsulatu w Berlinie o zatrudnieniu w Konsulacie, karta szczenięcia, paszport, fotografie, (AM 2-39, mgr. prawa, (WO 2139 str. 33), ppor., rez., ur. 1913 (LZK)

Galeziński Alojzy, w mundurze, karta szczenięcia (AM 1376).
Galeziński — WO 1376 str. 17

Galka Franciszek, ppor. 1909 (LZK)

Galkowski Roman, kpt. (LZK)

Gallaż Salomon, ppor. (LZK)

Galuska Aleksander, por. (LZK)

Galuska Alojzy, Goluska — por. (AM 1723), Galszka — (WO 1723)

Gandziarski Zbigniew, ppor. (LZK)

Ganowicz Jan, por. 1911 (LZK)

Gantowski Adam, por., 1900 (LZK), Gantowski — w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, 1 list w jez. niemieckim, karta szczenięcia (AM 2151), Gantowski (WO 2151 str. 34)

Gapinski Józef, oficer rez. (LZK)

Garbarski Ludwik Marian, ppor., karta szczenięcia 3001, zameldowanie policyjne, odznaczenie pocztowe, medalik (AM 2651), ur. 1896, s. Jana i Juliany (LZK)

Garbolewski Kazimierz, w mundurze, kartka z adresami, karta szczenięcia (AM 2350), adresy: Paulina Biernat, Warszawa, ul. Wileńska 5/23, Józef Biernat, Białystok, ul. Orlicz - Dreszera 9, (WO 2350 str. 39)

Garbolewski Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Garbowicz Józef, ppor. (LZK)

Garbusiński Stanisław, (LZK)

Gardula Kazimierz, Garduga — dr med., w mundurze, karta szczenięcia, listy (AM 3030), Gardula dr, ur. 10.10.90, por. lek. (ROR. 34 str. 304)

Gardziński Michał, Gardziński — por., dr, 2 zaśw., fotografie (AM 1318), Gardziński — ur. 23.6.06, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 161)

Gargolewski Aleksander, por. (LZK)

Gargula Stanisław, chor. mar., 1890, (LZK), Gargul — pocztówka (AM 36)

Garlicki Władysław, w mundurze, 2 karty szczenięcia 2484 (AM 2031), syn Juliusza, metalowa litera „W” (WO 2031 str. 31)

Garliński Stanisław, por., dowód osob., 2 fotografie (AM 2326), ur. 1897, inż. architekt, (WO 2326 str. 38)

Garowski Mieczysław, ofic. art., znak tożs., medalik z łańcuchem (AM 3012)

Garstka Henryk, nauczyciel, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., listy i pocztówki, karta szczenięcia 263 (AM 1371), ppor. (LZK)

Garstka Kazimierz, mjr, leg. Virtuti Militari, karta szczenięcia 893, wizytówki (AM 2185), wizytówka na nazwisko Zofia Garstkowa, (WO 2185 str. 34), mjr (LZK)

Garwoliński Bronisław, por., 1898, s. Józefa i Władysława (LZK)

Gatkowski Kazimierz, ppor., karta szczenięcia (AM 841) Gatkowski, (WO 840 str. 11)

Gauda Alojzy, (LZK)

Gaul, por. (LZK)

Fusek Józef, inż., oficer, leg. rez., karta szczenięcia 2043 wizytówka (AM 3145), ppor. inż., 1908 (LZK)

Gabarski Jan, Gawarski — kpt., karta szczenięcia 1623 (AM 1919), Gabawski (WO 1919 str. 28), Gabarski rtm. (LZK)

Gabiński Józef, leg. urzęd., karta czł. karta mob., wizytówki (AM 3428)

Gabrys Alojzy, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. państw., pocztówka, 2 listy, karta szczenięcia (AM 442), Gabrych (WO str. 6)

Gaczol Adolf, ppor. 1914 (LZK) 1901 (LZK)

Gadkowski Leopold, por. zand., karta rybolowcza, Gadkowski Feliks, kpt., dyplom odzn. służb., karta rybolowcza, fotografie, kalendarz, kieszonkowy (AM 747), Onski (WO str. 10), Gadomski — kpt., ur. 1896, s. Jana i Weroniki (LZK)

Gadomski Tadeusz, mjr, dr med., Bydgoszcz, ul. Gdańska 57, 2 wizytówki, dwa listy, 2 medaliki, rozmaite papiery (AM 1037), (WO 961 str. 13), (bez imienia), mjr lek. (LZK)

Gadala Stanisław, w mundurze, list, 2 pocztówki, karta szczenięcia 3632, recepta lek. (AM 3078)

Gadziński Mieczysław, por. (LZK)

Gadziński Ksawery, ppor. (LZK)

Galk Kazimierz, w mundurze, leg., list (AM 2358), prac. umysł. PZL w Rzeszowie, (WO 2358)

Gajdzik Władysław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., odznaka marynarki, pismo wieczne, wizytówki (AM 3833)

Gajek ppor. (LZK)

Gajek Leon Stanisław, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3954)

Gajewski ppor., ur. 1909 (LZK)

Gajewski Aleksander, ppor., ur. 29.1.86, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., 2 weksle (AM 2593), por. lek. dent., s. Teofila i Marii (LZK)

Gajewski Jan, ppor. inż. (LZK), inż. w mundurze, prawo jazdy, wizytówki, karta czł. inż., karta szczenięcia 2976, kartka z zapisami (AM 1368)

Gajewski Ludwik, kpt., karta szczenięcia, kartka z adresami, medalik (AM 2581), kpt., ur. 1891 (LZK)

Gajewski Zdzisław Franciszek, Gajewski — por., ur. 2.4.08, leg., pocztówka, list (AM 533), Gajewski — (WO str. 8)

Gajewski Edward Stanisław, w mundurze, fotografia z napisem: Hanina Gajowska, Lwów, ul. Żyżyńska 24 (?), 1 medalik (AM 892), nierozpoznane: przy zwłokach 1 fotografia z adresem Janina Gajowska, Lwów, (WO 874 str. 12)

Gajowski Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Galas Antoni, ppor. (LZK), list, cygarniczka (AM 681)

Galewicz chorąży (LZK)

Gallewicz Roman Czesław, chorąży, leg. osob., medalik z łańcuchem (AM 1540)

Gałka Jerzy Eugeniusz, ppor., ur. 1912, s. Antoniego i Marii p.p. (LZK)

Gałka Józef, ppor. (LZK)

Gałka Teodor, lat 56 (LZK)

Galecki Roman Ludwik Bronisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., 1 pismo Banku, 3 pocztówki, 1 list (AM 3763), (LZK), kierownik Oddziału Banku Związku Spółek Zarobkowych, SA, w Katowicach

Gąska Aleksander, por. art. (LZK), cywilny, wizytówka, karta, fotografia (AM 2788)
 Gąsowski K., w mundurze, rosyjski odcinek pocztowy na 50 ... (?) z nadawcą: Nowak Anna, (AM 2627)
 Gąsowski Kazimierz, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., karta szcze-
 pów, list, opaska Czer. Krzyża, różaniec (AM 3805)
 Gdaniec Jan, oficer (LZ. S-K)
 Gdula Paweł Mieczysław, kpt. (LZK)
 Gedroyc Eugeniusz, Gedroy — w mundurze, 1 pocztówka z nadawcą: Stanisław ... w Sarnach, stempel 6.1.40., 1 list, wizytówka, karta mob. (AM 1099), Gedroyć, (WO 996 str. 14)
 Gelpert Hirs, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Gendzwil Stanisław, w mundurze, pocztówka, telegram (AM 3990)
 Geneja Kazimierz, ppor. lek. (LZK)
 Gensel Mikołaj, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Gerczak Mieczysław, 1899 (LZK), por., dowód osob., karta mob., wizytówka (AM 82)
 Gergowich Zygmunt, ppor. (LZK)
 Gergowich Marian, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Gerk Gustaw Julian, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Gerlicz Julian, ppor. (LZK)
 Gerlicz Stanisław, ppor., pismo 9 p.p., notatnik, odznaka pulkowa, nożyk, medalik (AM 1358)
 Gerliński Zbigniew, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Gerliński Kazimierz, rtm. (LZK)
 Gero Władysław, por. (LZK)
 Gertz Bronisław, kpt. (LZK)
 Gessner Roman, por. 1899, s. Mariana i Karoliny (LZK)
 Getmisz Kaz. — Girej, por. (LZK)
 Gebalski Wiktor, mjr. (LZK)
 Gebarowski Antoni, Gembarowski — syn Władysława, por. karta z adresami (AM 1475), nierozpoznane zwłoki w mundurze, (WO 1475 str. 19)
 Gębski Stanisław, ppor., 2 pocztówki, karta szcze-
 pów, por. lek., 1896, s. Władysława i Bronisławy (LZK)
 Gędzierski Zbigniew, ppor. kaw. (LZ. K-S)
 Giezej Franciszek, ur. 1892 (LZK)
 Gidaszewski Stanisław, ppor., wizytówki (AM 2071), ppor. lot. (LZK)
 Gielarowski Stanisław, w mundurze, pocztówki i listy z nadawcą: Gielarowski Maria, Debice, ul. Batorego 3, (AM 2203), syn Adama, (WO 2203 str. 36), (LZ)
 Gielżyński Jan, Gielżyński (Gietczyński) — ofic. rez., znak toż. (WO str. 20), Gielżyński — ppor. art. (LZK)
 Gierasiuk Borys, rtm., 27. p. ul. (LZ. K-S)
 Gierasiuk Edward, 1903, s. Juliana i Zenobii, sędzia (LZK)
 Gierka Stanisław, mjr., dowód osob., leg. Virtuti Militari (AM 670)
 Gierliński Zdzisław, nauczyciel, por., ur. 12.6.12, leg. urzęd. państw, ks. wojsk., karta szcze-
 pów, 712, 1 pocztówka, (AM 1149), (WO 1029 str. 14), ppor. (LZK)
 Gierszanowski Alfons, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, list (AM

Gauss Edmund, por., karta polowania, dowód osob., 3 wizytówki (AM 1277), (WO 1112 str. 16)
 Gaura Józef Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
 Gaucha Czesław, (LZK)
 Gawdziński Hipolit, przy szczytach pułkownika karta z adresem: Karola Gawdzińska, Warszawa, ul. Instytutowa 1, (WO str. 4), ppłk. st. sp., art., ur. 1881, s. Feliksa i Pauliny (LZK)
 Gawdziński Władysław, kalend. kieszonkowy z adresem: Gawdzińska Karolina, Warszawa, Czerniaków — Miasto Ogrod — „W razie nieszczęścia proszę zawiadomić Gawdzińskiego Władysława, ul. Górczewska 31 m. 6”, karta szcze-
 pów, 891, (AM 1169), Gawdziński Władysław (WO 1169 str. 45), (bez imienia), por. (ppor.) rez. (LZK)
 Gawlik Józef, ppłk., leg. ofic., notatnik, listy, wizytówka, Krzyż Virtuti Militari z leg., pamiątkowa odznaka Piłsudskiego (AM 995), (LZK)
 Gaworski Stanisław, nauczyciel, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. (nieczytelna), karta jazdy, list, pocztówka, fotografie (AM 1895), zam. Mogielnica, (WO 1985 str. 30), ppor. rez., 1903, s. Jana i Heleny (LZK)
 Gawron Marian, w mundurze, 1 list (AM 3707)
 Gawron Stefan, por., ur. 1892, 30 pp. Brześć (LZK)
 Gawroński Lucjan, kpt., pocztówka rosyjska (WO str. 30)
 Gawroński Stefan, kpt. Str. Gran. (LZK)
 Gawryś Feliks, dr med., ppor., części dowodu osob., ks. wojsk., karta szcze-
 pów, 3937 (AM 1554)
 Gayda Alojzy, oficer., ur. 11.12.12 w Tucholi, leg. ofic., koper-
 ta, rysunek węgłem z datą „Koziełsk 16.1.40”, (AM 4), ppor. rez., Poznań (LZK)
 Gazemlewicz Antoni, ppor., 1891 (LZK)
 Gątkiewicz Wacław, Gadkiewicz (bez imienia), ppłk. (LZK), Gątkiewicz Wacław Franciszek Andrzej, ur. 15.4.90, (RO. 32 str. 348)
 Gągoliński Józef, por. (LZK)
 Gągoliński Karol, Biała Podlaska (LZK)
 Gąstecki Józef, Gonsiecki — kpt., leg. ofic., 2 listy (AM 2246), Gąstecki — kpt. (LZK)
 Gąsiewicz Edward, Gąsiewicz — mjr., pocztówka (AM 126)
 Gąsiewicz Henryk, Gonsiewicz — por., 2 pocztówki, karta szcze-
 pów, 2963, plakietka (AM 1510), Gąsiewicz — (WO 1510 str. 43), (LZK)
 Gąsiewicz Marian, mjr. P.P. (LZ.O-K)
 Gastor Leon, kier. szkoły, kpt., wizytówki, dyplom naucz., 2 listy, fotografie, medalik, kwit depozytowy (AM 2290), (LZK)
 Gastorek Ludwik, por., części leg. ofic., karta urlopowa (AM 3570)
 Gastorek Stanisław, ppłk. (plk.), (LZ. S-K)
 Gastorowski Czesław, ppor. 1908, Dąbrowa Górnicza (LZK)
 Gastorowski Lesław Konrad, ppor., dowód osob., wizytówki (AM 4042)
 Gastorowski Stanisław, ppor., świad. Instyt. Chemii, 2 rachunki, telegram, 1 złoty pierścień (sygnet), (AM 1611), ppor. rez. 1906, s. Józefa i Zuzanny (LZK)

1523), plakietka z napisem „Starosta Kraiowy Pomorski“ (WO 1523 str. 43)

Giełtuński Kazimierz, por. (LZK)

Gil Jan, por. art. (LZK)

Gil Stanisław, ppor., 1 zaśw. członk. Zw. Naucz., wizytówka, 2 listy (AM 2417), ppor. 73 p.p., Katowice (WO 2417 str. 41) — (LZK)

Gimpel Ludwik, oficer, dowód osob. (AM 37)

Gimza Józef, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Gitzler Karol, oficer, wizytówka, koperta z adresem Kozielek (AM 33), ppor. art. (LZK)

Giżycki Aleksander, leg. urzęd., kalend. kieszonkowy (AM 2329)

Giżycki Tadeusz, ofic. piech., ur. 6.3.03, w Warszawie, znak tożs., list, 2 medali (AM 959), (WO 919 str. 12), ppor. inż., 13 p.p. (LZK)

Glazier Karol, kpt., 1891, s. Adama i Józefy (LZK)

Glazier Tadeusz, ppor., karta szcep., blok notesowy, medalik. kwity ze stemplem Brześć n/B. 2.11.39, podpis pod nutami: W. Walewski (AM 550), Gregier (WO str. 8)

Glikman Leon, ppor. lek., karta mob., karta szcep. 3954. 2 listy, pocztówka, ks. wojsk. (AM 394), (LZK)

Glinicki Stanisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2873)

Glinicki Kazimierz, ppor., pocztówki, listy, różaniec, karta z adresami (AM 1452), (LZK)

Głuszczński Józef, por. lotn. (LZK)

Głusiński, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Gładysiewicz Emil, 2 guziki mund., 3 koperty — z nich jedna z nadawcą: Maria Gładysiewicz, Domanowo, poczta Brańsk, woj. Białystok. — (AM 262), ppor. (LZK)

Głazowski Zygmunt, w mundurze, 1 zaśw. (AM 4063), ppor. piech. (LZK)

Głęb Władysław, por. lot. (LZK-S)

Głęcki, ppor. dr. (LZK)

Głodzik Jakub, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Głogowski Wacław, mjr, inż., 1 pieczątką, karta szcep. 3534, karta z adresami (AM 1953), zam. Warszawa, ul. Hipotečna 2 m. 24, (WO 1953 str. 29), mjr sap. (LZK)

Głowacki Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Głowacz Piotr, w mundurze, 1 zaśw., łańcuszek do zegarka, plakietka Matki Boskiej, (AM 638)

Głuchowski, ławnik m. Siedlce (LZK)

Głuszek, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Głuszeń Jan, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Gmerek Antoni, dr. kpt. lek. (LZK)

Gniewosz Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Goczałkowski Stanisław Wiktor, 1910, s. Antoniego i Karoliny (LZK)

Godek, ppor. (LZK)

Godeł Dawid, w mundurze, dowód osob., 2 weksle, znak tożs., łańcuszek do zegarka (AM 668)

Godlewski, ppor., karta na broń, leg. szkolna, leg. ofic. (nieczytelna) — (AM 3634)

Godlewski Tadeusz, pchor. piech. (LZK)

Godlewski Zbigniew, ppor. lek. (LZK)

Godlewski Włodzimierz, dr. por., ks. wojsk. 1 Baonu KOP., wizytówki, (AM 502), Godlewski lub Godlewski, (WO str. 7), Godlewski — lek. neurolog (LZK)

Godlewski, por. (LZK)

Godziszewski, lekarz (LZK)

Godziszewski, (Gordubo) — ppor. rez. (LZK)

Godziszewski, mjr piech., ur. 1893, s. Ignacego i Michaliny, PKU Dubno (LZK)

Godziszewski Władysław, Gadyszewski — por., ur. 22.6.96, prof. gimn., ks. wojsk., dowód osob., znak tożs. (AM 165)

Goetting Marian, por., 1909 (LZK)

Goettel Konrad, ppor. żand., ur. 1900, s. Konrada i Emmy (LZK)

Gojewski Antoni, por. rez. (LZK)

Gojewski Bronisław, cywiliński, 1 pocztówka, karta szcep., ry sunek ołówkowy (AM 3486), por. (ppor.) — (LZK)

Gojewski Henryk, ppor. (LZK)

Gojewski Henryk, pchor. lotn. (LZK)

Golabuz Tadeusz, mjr, dowód osob. (AM 124), Golabus (WO str. 4)

Golański Stanisław, mjr, karta szcep., telegram (AM 3418)

Golda Antoni, leg. oznacz. (AM 112)

Goldberg Albert, por. wet. (LZS-K)

Goldlust Ignacy, kpt. (LZK)

Goldman Leon, ppor., ks. wojsk., dowód osob., fotografie (AM 1680), ppor. lek., dr. med. (WO 1680 str. 22), (LZK)

Goldstein Samuel, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. leg. lekarska, wizytówka (AM 2280), leg. lek. - asystenta Szpitala św. Łazarza w Krakowie, (WO 2280 str. 37)

Goldwicht Izaak, dr. med., por., naramiennik bez oznak, list, karta, telegram, wizytówka, 2 fotografie (AM 288) — kpt. lek. (LZK)

Goleźdźnowski Czesław, w mundurze, metryka ślubu, metryka urodzenia (nieczytelna) — (AM 3087), inż. ppor. (LZK)

Goleźdźnowski Feliks, ppor. (LZK)

Goliasz Ryszard, ppor. (LZK)

Golański Edward, podoficer (LZK)

Golański Stanisław, mjr (LZK)

Golański Tadeusz ppk. (LZK)

Golański Tadeusz ppor. (por.) panc. (LZK)

Golański Tadeusz Francisek, mjr (LZK)

Golebiowski Marian, — naramiennik bez oznak, wizytówki na medaliki (AM 398), Golebiowski (WO str. 7)

Golebiowski Mieczysław, ppor. rez. (LZS), Golembiowski — w mundurze, 3 listy, karta z adresami (AM 4125)

Golebski Antoni, dr. med., w mundurze, zam. Tomaszów, ul. Krzyżowa 24 m. 5, dowód osob., wizytówki (AM 1499)

Golkowski Kazimierz, ppik., wizytówki, papierosnica, lista z nazwiskami (AM 4066), (LZK)

Górkowski Tadeusz, kpt. lek. (LZK)
 Górkowski Leopold Kazimierz, ppor., ur. 16/... 1909, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., (AM 3958)
 Górkowski Bolesław, mjr (LZK)
 Górkowski Lotariusz, Golaschini Lothar — w mundurze, 2 listy w jęz. niemieckim (AM 570), Golaschini Lotar (WO str. 8), Górkowski Lotar — por., Skoczów (LZK), ur. 28.3.99, (ROR. 34 str. 46)
 Gomulicki... kpt. rez. (LZK)
 Gomulinski Władysław, kpt. łączn. (LZK)
 Gonick Karol, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., medalik (AM 3195)
 Gondek Zdzisław, kpt., ur. 26.9.08, Lwów, ofic. legit., 1 odznaka pułkowa, ks. oszcz. PKO., pocztówki (AM 1824), zam. Włodzimierz Wól., ul. 11-go Listopada 115, (WO 1824), kpt. art. (LZK)
 Gontarski Stanisław, por., kwatermistrz, leg. urzęd. państw., zaśw. wojskowe (AM 2480), (bez imienia) por. (LZK)
 Gontkowski Adam, por. rez. (LZK)
 Gorak - Osiewicz Ksawery, ppor., części leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, medalik (AM 2265)
 Gorbacz Antoni, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Gorbik Antoni, ppor. (LZK)
 Gorczyca Franciszek, (LZK)
 Gorgula Stanisław, flotylla rzeczna Pińsk (LZK)
 Goriw Jan, ppor., telegram, karta mob. (AM 2447)
 Gorman Bronisław, ppor. piech. (LZK), legit. officerska (AM 62)
 Gortel Stanisław, ppor., 2 pocztówki, karta szcep. 3111 (AM 631)
 Gorycki... mjr, części legit. ofic., karta szcep. 3401, pocztówka (AM 1485)
 Gorywoda Józef, ppor. (LZK-S)
 Gorzechowski Henryk, por., dowód osob., 2 pocztówki (AM 197), (LZK-S)
 Gosiewski Zygmunt, kpt., leg., 2 świad. lek., notatnik (AM 1872), ur. 1897, s. Czesława i Emilii, Instytut Geogr. (LZS)
 Gosławski Jan, nauczyciel Szkoły Powasz. dowód osob., karta szcep. Nr. 3501, pismo Min. Spr. Wojsk. (AM 107)
 Gosławski Jan, w mundurze, 2 listy (AM 4126)
 Gosławski Jan, 2 kartki z zapiskami, 1 list, dowód osob. (nieczytelny) — (AM 3327), por. art., Poznań (LZK)
 Goszczyński Zdzisław, Goszczyński — kpt., leg. ofic., leg. Vir-tuti Militari (AM 4128), kpt. piech. (LZK)
 Gotkiewicz Leon, ppłk. piech., ur. 1885, s. Edwarda i Hele-ny (LZK)
 Gotyński... mjr lek. (LZK)
 Gozdziwski Stanisław, płk. (ppłk.), (LZK)
 Góra... por. (LZK)
 Góra Andrzej, 1909 (LZK)
 Górak Ksawery, ppor. lek. (LZK)
 Góral Bolesław, ppor., znak tożs., 3 pocztówki, koperta (AM 647), ppor. piech. (LZK)

Góralczyk Jan, Koralezyk — mjr, leg. ofic., medalik z łańc. (AM 2104), Góralczyk — mjr (LZK)
 Górecki Antoni, por. piech. (LZK)
 Górecki Tadeusz, Gurecki — w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Gurecka Bronisława, Pińczów, ul. 3-go Maja m. 24. karta szcep. (AM 3885)
 Górecki Zygmunt, por. (LZK)
 Górel Bolesław, por. (LZK)
 Górka... por. (LZK)
 Górka... por. (LZK)
 szcep. 1162, notatnik (AM 2860), s. Józefa, zam. Kopyczyńce, woj. Tarnopolskie, (WO 2860 str. 53)
 Górniak Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Górnicki Feliks, por. (kpt.), 1894, s. Władysława i Marii (LZK), por. dr. karta na bron, wizytówki, 2 obrazki Matki Boskiej, karta szcepienia 1366 (AM 751)
 Górski... plut. pchor. (LZK)
 Górski... por. (ppor.) — (LZK)
 Górski Bronisław, por. piech. (LZK-S)
 Górski Franciszek, w mundurze, ur. 6.6.09, dowód osob., 5 listów, 1 pocztówka (AM 2002), karta z nadawcą: Wanda Gór-ska, Wiesenwalde, poczta Dietersfelde, (WO 2002 str. 30)
 Górski Marian, ppor., ur. 25.4.915, ks. wojsk., karta szcep. 2859, papierosnia (AM 1669)
 Górski Wincenty, por., ks. wojsk., telegram, karta szcep. Nr. 2, Krzyż Virtuti Militari wraz z legit., okulary, ks. oszcz. PKO., kilka pocztówek — jedna z nich z nadawcą: Zofia Gór-ska, War-szawa, ul. Smolna 26, list, karta z nazwiskami poległych na woj-nie, wzgl. rannych kolegów: ppor. Janicki, 17 p. ul., chor. Kie-szek, 15 p. ul., ppor. Daszkiewicz, chor. Czarnecki Marcei, chor. Pluciński 15 p. ul., mjr Majewski, por. Podhorski, 17 p. ul., ppor. Porębski, 15 p. ul., — arkusz z aktem przejęcia grupy przy-wzięciu do niewoli przez bolszewików (AM 623), por. ur. 1899, s. Wincentego i Wandy, 7 p. str. (LZK)
 Goerz Michał, kpt. art. (LZK)
 Goett Edward, mjr dypl. (LZ. S-K)
 Goettinger Tadeusz, por. rez. (LZK)
 Goettinger Tomasz, ppor., pocztówka z nadawcą: Jakowicz, Łódź, ul. Ziemowicza 15, (Jankowicz), 1 karta z nazwiskiem (AM 1282), (WO 1114 str. 16)
 Grabarczyk Kazimierz, oficer, wizytówki, ks. wojsk. (AM 1520)
 Grabau Wacław, ppor., wizytówki, zaświadczenie, fotografie, pocztówki (AM 2204)
 Grabiniński Felician, mjr, 1896, s. Ignacego i Aleksandry, Wil-no (LZK)
 Grabowski Bronisław Leon, ppor., ur. 20.2.08, legit., poczt-ówki, notatnik (AM 1227)
 Grabowski Henryk, por., 1 list (AM 3013)
 Grabowski Henryk, w mundurze, zam. Łódź, ul. Składowa 42, legit. ofic., wizytówki, dowód osob., pocztówka (AM 2126)
 Grabowski Henryk, rtm. (LZK)
 Grabowski Kazimierz, Krabowski — kpt., ofic. legit., 2 pocz-

tówki, wizytówka (AM 1998), Grabowski — wizytówka z nazwiskiem: z Czuchłów Gertruda Grabowska, (WO 1998 str. 30)

Grabowski Kazimierz, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Grabowski Konstanty, ppor. art. (LZK)

Grabowski Ludwik, por. (LZK)

Grabowski Stanisław, mjr, ur. 1899 (LZK)

Grabowski Stanisław, ppor., kalend. kieszonkowy z własnym nazwiskiem, kartka z adresami (AM 2405)

Grabowski Stefan, kpt., legit. ofic., karta mob., wizytówka (AM 1496)

Grabowski Władysław Roch, ppor., ur. 16.8.94, dowód osob., karta mob., dyplom inżyniera, karta na broń (AM 1227), (WO 1085 str. 13), por. rez. (LZK)

Grabowski Zygmunt Jan Władysław, por. płatnik, legit. ofic. (AM 3938)

Grabowski Zygmunt, kpt., 1898, s. Władysława i Antoniny (LZK)

Grabski, ppor. (LZ. S-K)

Grabski Józef, por. rez., ur. 1885 (LZK)

Grabski Józef, officer, legit. ofic. rez., wizytówka, fotografie (AM 2659)

Graduszewski Eugeniusz, w mundurze, pocztówki, listy, karta szeptenia, odcinek pocztowy, fotografie (AM 2912)

Gradiuk Aleksander, w mundurze, 1 pocztówka (AM 2725)

Graf Marcin, sierż. lotn. (LZK)

Gramil Jan, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 3949)

Graniczny Józef, ktp. mar. (LZK)

Grapow Eugeniusz, por. 1897, s. Filipa i Emilii. Łódź (LZK), ur. 29.11.97, ks. wojsk., wizytówka, recepta lek., karta szept 1429, pismo okólnie Twa Ubezpiecz. do niego, baretki, różaniec (AM 263)

Greczyn Stefan Tadeusz, ofic. rez., ur. 15.5.02 Lwów, zam. Cieszyń, inżynier (WO str. 3), ofic. rez., inż. (LZK)

Grendus Franciszek, Grendus — w mundurze, leg. urzęd. (AM 3465), Grendus — ppor. art. 1901 (LZK)

Grębocki Lucjusz, Grębocki Lucjan — w mundurze, karta szept., list z nadawcą: Grębocka Zofia, Nowogródek, ul. Kościelna 56 (AM 2115), Grębocki Lucjusz — ppor. rez. (LZK)

Grinbaum Maurycy, ppor. iarm., (LZK)

Grizer Bolesław, pchor. piech., 1915 (LZK)

Grobelski Stefan, ppor., ur. 1909, znak tożs., fotografie, list (AM 960), (WO 920 str. 12)

Grochocki Franciszek, Grochocki — ppor., rozkaz wyjazdu, leg. szkolna zaświadczenie (AM 3022), Grochocki — ppor. rez. 1908 (LZK), ur. 24.5.08, (ROR. 34 str. 110)

Grodecki Jan, w mundurze, karta z nadawcą: Grodecka Celina, Warszawa, ul. Biała 2 m. 24, telegram otrzymany 23.3.940 (AM 662), ppor., 1910, s. Władysława i Rozalii, Głogów (LZK)

Grodek Jakub, por. (LZK)

Grodnowicz, kpt. mar. (LZK)

Grody Władysław, ppor., karta mob., dowód osob., karta szept. 966 (AM 401)

Grodzicki Roman, por. lot., lekarz (LZ. K-S)

Grodziński Henryk Grzegorz, Grodziński — kpt., leg. ofic., pocztówki (AM 2710), Grodziński — kpt. rez., ur. 1912 (LZK)

Grodziński Adam, por., koperta (WO str. 4)

Grodzki Edmund, dr, ur. 6.10.92, dowód osob., (AM 2998), ur. 1892 (LZK), dyr. Oddziału Lwowskiego Banku Związku Spółek Zarobkowych, S.A. Poznań

Grohmann Karol, ppor. (LZK)

Grojelewski Czesław, w mundurze, list, karta szept. (AM 2085)

Groniecki Ludwik, w mundurze, wizytówka, dr praw, Warszawa, ul. Mokotowska 44, list (AM 2829), ur. 1900 (LZK)

Gross Erwin Jan, dr med., ppor. lek., leg. Szkoły Sanit., karta szeptenia 331, wizytówki, sezyoryk, łańcuszek z krzyżkiem (AM 1004), (WO 944 str. 13), (LZK)

Gross Zygfryd, 1896 (LZK)

Grossman Aleksander, kpt., prawo jazdy, karta szept., fotografie, (AM 1946), ur. 1889, s. Ignacego i Eleonory (LZK)

Groszyński Stanisław, por., leg. urzęd., dowód osob., prawo jazdy, karta na broń, wizytówka (AM 2928)

Grottukz Tadeusz, Warszawa, Akademicka 5, prawo jazdy, leg. szk., mies. karta tramwajowa (AM 118), Grottukcz — (WO str. 4), Grotus — ppor. rez. (LZK), (Grotthus?)

Gródz Władysław, ppor. art. 1901, (LZK)

Grubiński, mjr (LZK)

Gruby, ppor. (LZK)

Grudniewicz Idzi, por., dowód osob., kwit zastawniczy, notatki, medalik z łańc. (AM 1308), Ludniewicz — (WO 1308 str. 16), Grudniewicz — kpt. mar. (LZK)

Grudzien Longin, Grudien — por., ur. 21.11.07, leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, list, karta mob., pocztówki (AM 3569), por. lot. (LZK)

Grudzien Stanisław, Grucień (?), w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta szept. (AM 4060), ppor. 1909, s. Piotra i Franciszki (LZK)

Grudź Władysław, por. (LZK)

Grupow Eugeniusz, ppor., wizytówka na nazwisko Grupow Eugeniusz, Łódź, ul. Gdańska, kartka z zapiskami (AM 4064)

Gruszczyński Kazimierz, kpt. KOP. (LZK), kpt., 1 kartka z datą 12.12.39: — „Gruszczyński Kazimierz. kapitan nie może zgłosić się do pracy, nieczytelna legitymacja (AM 1252), (WO 1101 str. 16)

Gruszyński Łukasz, w mundurze, ks. oszcz. PKO., listy, pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 3582)

Gruener Kazimierz Antoni, kpt., leg. ofic., medalik, karta szept. 3828 (AM 1609), kpt. br. panc. (LZK)

Grunhut, ppor. art. (LZK)

Gryczewicz Witold, Gryczewicz — kpt. wet., rozkaz wyjazdu, części leg. ofic., kwit pocztowy (AM 3288), Gryczewicz — ur. 10.8.95, kpt. wet. (RO. 32 str. 344)

Gryko Władysław, ppor., ur. 1906, Wolkowysk, znak tożs., 2 odcinki pocztowe rosyjskie z nadawcą: Niemczynowicz Antoni Swislocz (AM 3053), ppor. art. 1906, s. Jana i Stefani (LZK)

Gryniewicz Gennadij, Gryniewicz Gennadiusz — ppor., ofic. ks., łańcusek z krzyżykiem (AM 794), Tryniewicz Janusz (WO str. 11), Gryniewicz Gennadij — ur. 19.3.08, ppor. (ROR 34 str. 153)

Gryniewicz - Sudnik Ludwik, (bez Sudnik) — mjr, pismo z 13-ej Dyw. Piech., listy, pocztówki, notatnik (AM 1545), syn Antoniego (WO 1545), mjr st. sp. (LZK)

Grzanka Józef, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., wizytówka, medalik (AM 3140)

Grzegorz Adam Apoloniusz, Grzegorz (?), w mundurze, znak tożs., ur. 18.4.99, dowódca osob. (AM 3976), — ur. 18.4.99, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 211)

Grzelak Jan, kpt. płatnik int., 1892, s. Marcina i Józefa (LZK)

Grzeliński Eugeniusz, ppor., ur. 28.9.05 wojsk. prawo jazdy, leg. ofic., 1 pocztówka (AM 3698)

Grzeszczyński dr, ptk. lek. z Krakowa (relacja kpt. K.W.)

Grzeszkowiak Maksymilian, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówki, karta szcep., list z nadawcą: Gadońska, Poznań, ul. Łukowa 14 (AM 2591)

Grzybowski Andrzej, por. sap., 2 pisma MSWojsk., karta szcep., talizman (AM 3534)

Grzymajło Józef, wachm. zand. (LZK-O)

Grzymałowski Olgierd, por. rez. (LZK-S)

Grzymański kpt. (LZK)

Grzywiński Jan, por., zam. Warszawa, Chmielna 16 m. 11. ks. ofic., 3 pisma MSWojsk., leg. Virtuti Militari, karta szcep. (AM 1969)

Gubała Jan, ppor., ur. 9.6.07, leg. ofic. rez., 3 pocztówki, karta szcep., list z nadawcą: Stefan Gubała, Sosnowiec, Tabela 45 (AM 3248)

Gudawiczowski ppor. (LZK)

Gufahl ppor. komandor (LZK)

Gulkowski Andrzej, A., (imię), kpt., list, pocztówka (AM 4122), ur. 7.2.84, kpt. (ROR. 34 str. 134)

Gupieniec Anatoliusz, ppor. 1914 (LZK)

Gura Andrzej, znak rozpoznawczy (WO str. 45)

Gustowski por. lek. (LZK)

Guszyński (?) w mundurze, leg. szkolna, list, pocztówka (AM 3706)

Gutkiewicz Stanisław, por. lek., s. Woiciecha i Domiceli (LZK)

Gutowski Stefan, ppor., inż., Warszawa, Smolna 24 m. 5, kwity, pocztówki (AM 683), por. art. plot., 1899, s. Wincentego i Heleny (LZK)

Gutsche Jerzy August, Guce — w mundurze, pocztówka, 1 karta z adresami (AM 3208), Guce — por. rez. 1899 (LZK)

Gutman Izak Salomon, ppor., pocztówka, 1 opaska Czerw. Krzyża, łańc. do zegarka (AM 2542)

Guzdek ppor. (LZK)

Guzewski Ryszard, w mundurze, pocztówki na nazwisko Zofia Guzewska, Warszawa (AM 2243), Guzewski — (WO 2243 str. 36), ppor. (LZK)

Guertel Mieczysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Gwizdak Franciszek, ppor. p.p. (LZK)

Gwóźdź Czesław, asp. Str. Gran., leg. urzęd., listy (AM 3003), ppor. (LZK)

Gzowski Wiktor, mjr (LZK)

Habdanek - Korzybski Stanisław, Korzybski — por., leg. ofic., wizytówka, karta mob., 3 leg., karta szcep. (AM 2080) Korzybski - Habdanek — 1 p. szw., wizytówka: Warszawa, Smolna 19 (WO 2080 str. 32), ppor. (LZK)

Habela Habeli — w mundurze miesieczna karta tramw. z fotografią, 1 protokół z Koziełska (AM 1512), Habela chorąży (LZK)

Haczynski Wacław, kpt., leg. i Krzyż Virtuti Militari, fotografia, karta szcep. 2127, medalik z łańc. (AM 2808)

Hajdenberg Józef, Heidenberg — por., karta szcep. (AM 2504), (LZK)

Hajniewicz Kazimierz, ppor., leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, leg. ofic., karta członk. (AM 3157)

Hajzik Antoni, Hajcik — mjr, dowód osob., leg. ofic., 2 pocztówki, list, wizytówki, ks. do modlenia, 2 medaliki (AM 495), Hajzik — (WO str. 7), mjr st. sp. piech. (LZK)

Hakalla Stefan, Hakala — kpt., dr, ks. wojsk. (AM 956), Hakala — (WO 917 str. 12)

Hakiel Michał, Hakieh — kpt., leg. ofic., leg. odznacz., list, pismo handlowe (AM 737), Hakiel — kpt. (LZK), Hakiel ur. 29.9.94, kpt. (RO. 32 str. 58)

Halama Rudolf, pchor. (LZK)

Halidrewich Stanisław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Halicki Bronisław, w mundurze, ur. 1914, znak tożs., krzyż (AM 3450), ppor. (LZK)

Haluka Władysław, kpt. st. st. (LZK K-O)

Halaciński Andrzej, ptk. (LZK)

Halatowski Czesław, kpt. (LZK)

Hamerski Marian Władysław, mjr, 1900, s. Józefa i Sabiny (LZK-S)

Hammer Józef, por., leg. ofic., karta na broń, karta cz. ZOR., Bydgoszcz, 3 fotografie, karta z nazwiskami oficerów (AM 1006), (WO 945 str. 13), (bez imienia), por. (LZK)

Handy Jan, Bernard, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., notatnik (AM 2858), por. rez. (LZK-S-K)

Haniel szep. (?) (LZK)

Hannig Konrad, ppor., ks. wojsk., 3 listy z adresem: Malisz Franciszek, Koziełsk (AM 1750), ur. 1909 (WO 1750 str. 24)

Hansow Zbyszek Wacław, ppor., dyplom Univ. Lubelskiego, dowód osob., 2 monogramy, medalik (AM 1395)

Hanusiewicz Marian, Hanusiewicz — w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą; 1 list (AM 2251), list z nadawcą: Izabella Ganusiewicz, Szczeczin, Nowogródzki, ul. Narbutta (WO 2251)

Hanusz Wacław, por. (LZK)

Harbuz Władysław, por. sap. (LZK)

Harkawy Grzegorz, ppor. (LZK)

Harmacki Włodzimierz, oficer, znak tożs. (AM 703), ppor. art. (LZK)

Harting Michał, ppot., 1 pocztówka (AM 2435), adres nadawcy pocztówki: Smolna 19 m. 5 (WO 2435 str. 41)
 Hartman Kazimierz, por., 1900 (Hartmann), zam. w Łodzi, leg. partyjna, paszport, grzebień (AM 551), (bez imienia) ppot. rez. (LZK)
 Hartmann Wilhelm, kpt., wizytówka: Wilhelm Hartmann-pastor, różne nieczytelne kartki (AM 1382)
 Hascech Franciszek, ppot., rozkaz wyjazdu, karta szczep. (AM 2852), ppot., 1914 (LZK)
 Hasiak Andrzej, Zasiak — por., 1 pismo służbowe, kartka z zapiskami, Hasiak — ur. 7.11.84, por. (ROR. 34 str. 372)
 Haszek ppot. (LZK)
 Hausbrandt Jan, kpt., zam. Warszawa, Reja 5-6, wizytówka, karta szczepienia z Koziełska (AM 27), ur. 18.1.95, (WO str. 5)
 Hawallo (?), ppot., karta szczep., 1 kwit rosyjski (AM 2069), Hewallo — (WO 2069 str. 32)
 Hawranke Konrad Walerian, Hawranke — ppot., zaśw. o czasy s. wojskowej. Berlin - Spandau, 31.1.35, świad. przynal. państw. (AM 2949), Hawranke — ur. 24.10.91, ppot. (ROR. 34 str. 190)
 Hązatkó Henryk Andrzej, por. 11 Dyonu Art., kalend., kartki z leg. wojsk. (WO str. 20 poz. 1347)
 Hebda Roman, ppot. (LZK)
 Hedinger Adam, (LZK)
 Heilszer Maksymilian, kpt., leg. ofic., notatnik, pocztówki, 2 karty cz. Czer. Krzyża (AM 3781), kpt. emer. (LZK)
 Heinsberger Aleksander, w mundurze, wizytówka, srebrna 10-złotówka (AM 947), Al., (imie) — pchor. sap. (LZK)
 Heimowski Marian, oficer, pocztówka, leg. ofic. (nieczytelna) (AM 1287), Heimowski (WO 1109 str. 16)
 Hein Karol, mjr, karta szczep., 1144, pocztówki, list (AM 1633), syn Franciszka (WO 1633 str. 21)
 Hejbert Waldemar, ppot. (por.) (LZK)
 Helibrand Witold, 1908 (LZK)
 Helbing Stefan Józef, legiti., 2 pocztówki, złoty krzyżyk, odznaka (AM 834)
 Hemberger kpr. (LZK)
 Hemerling ppot. sędzia (LZK)
 Hemmerling Emil, Hemerling — cywilny, listy (AM 3015).
 Hemmerling ur. 30.6.04, ppot. (ROR. 34 str. 107)
 Hener Józef, Al., inż., ur. 14.8.97, w Zatorze, karta szczep. 2854, świad. szk., wizytówki, metryka urodz., 1 fotografia, karta trainw., wieczne pióro, plakieta z Matką Boską, karta przynależności, metryka ślubu, papierośnica (AM 1234), Hener isław Alfred — (WO 1089)
 Heninger por. (LZK)
 Herbert Edward, kpt. (LZK)
 Hercenberg Stanisław, Hercenberg — por., lekarz, karta mob. leg. ofic. rez., list, pocztówka (AM 3663), por. dr (LZK)
 Herdegen Witold, kpt. art. (LZ. K-S)
 Herduch Jan Stanisław, ppot., leg. ofic. rez., wizytówka, karta na broń, list (AM 3641)

Hermach Roman, por. (LZK)
 Hermach Wacław, ppot. art. (LZK)
 Hermann Jerzy, w mundurze, karta szczep., pocztówka z nadawcą, notatnik (AM 3893)
 Herman Miron, dr med. (LZK)
 Herman Władysław, ppot. rez., lekarz (?), (LZ. S-K)
 Hermanowicz Franciszek, rtm. emer. (LZK)
 Hernes Karol, ppot. (LZK)
 Hernes Tadeusz, pot., pismo urzędowe, pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 2610)
 Herold Ernest, kpt., pocztówka, list (AM 2300), nadawczy listu Hermina (?), Warszawa, ul. Potocka 45 (WO 2300 str. 37). (LZK)
 Hertz Stanisław, ppot., pocztówki z nadawcą: Jadwiga Hertzowa, Michałowice obok Warszawy (AM 2425), (LZK)
 Herzog Stefan, oficer, kartka z jego adresem w Koziełsku, kartka z adresem: Lena Herzogowa, Grodno, ul. Mickiewicza 14 (AM 254)
 Herzig Włodzimierz Kazimierz, kpt., ur. 11.10.89, karta zwolnienia z wojska, wizytówki, karta mob., leg. ofic., karta na broń (AM 3476)
 Hess Jan, por. (LZK)
 Hess Kazimierz, w mundurze, nauczyciel w Pskowie, leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, znak tożs. na nazwisko Krywoszański Józef, porucznik 1901 (AM 3643)
 Hetmanek Stanisław, pocztówki, list (AM 3026), por. piech. (LZK)
 Heurich Jan Feliks, ppot., ur. 19.7.09, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., prawo jazdy, metryka ślubu, 2 listy (AM 2961)
 Hewal Michał, ppot. (LZK)
 Hipsch Włodzimierz, Hipsz — w mundurze, karta szczep., list (AM 3854), Hipsch — ppot., 1897, s. Feliksa i Heleny (LZK)
 Hirsch Antoni Marcin, ppot., ks. wojsk., 2 listy, fotografie (AM 535)
 Hirschtitt Izrael, w mundurze, aptekarz, pismo Urzędu Pow. Karków, list, pocztówka, fotografie (AM 2137), Hirschtitt (?) (WO 2137)
 Hirs Marcin, ppot. lek. dent., lat 33 (LZK)
 Hirsberg Stefan, Hirsberg — dr, ppot., ur. 7.12.94, Łódź, ul. Marszałkowska 81/16, karta mob., karta szczep. 346, ks. ośc. PKO., karta cz. Czer. Krzyża, lista z nazwiskami, 2 karty z zapiskami, wizytówka, listy, pocztówki (AM 934), (WO 901 str. 12), 1894 (LZK)
 Hiskołki Jan, ppot. rez. piech. (LZK)
 Hodołowicz Semeon, ppot. art. (LZK)
 Hofmann Ferdynand, por., leg. ofic. rez., list, 4 karty pocztowe, spinki (AM 2767)
 Hoffman Lucjan, ppot. 1913, s. Bronisława i Natalii (LZK)
 Hoffmann Wilhelm Lucjan, Lubstów, gm. Sempolno, pow. Kolo, — pismo Baonu Panc. Poznań, 5 pocztówek, karta na broń (AM 418)
 Holuka Stefan, ppot. art. (LZK)

Hołub Bronisław, mjr piech. (LZK)
Homola Zygmunt, ppor. (LZK)
Honkisz Edward, chorąży (LZK)
Honzatko Fryderyk, kpt. kaw. (LZK)
Hopenzstadt Szymon, Hopenzstadt — ppor., dyplom, ks. oszcz. PKO, wieczne pióro, list (AM 2546), Hopenzstadt — ppor. rez. (LZK), dr, ur. 20.9.99, ppor. san. (ROR. 34 str. 224)
Hoppe Edward, w mundurze, 2 wizytówki, różaniec, 2 odznaki (AM 3025), ppor. rez. (LZK)
Horak Jan, kpt. rez. (LZK)
Horak Stefan, ofic. rez. 1892 (LZK), kpt., 2 legit., (AM 491)
Horbowy Zygmunt Marian, Horbrzowy — por., zam. Grodno, ul. Piaskowa 15 b m. 4, leg. ofic., leg. ZOR., wizytówka, 2 listy (AM 1299), Horbowy (WO 1126 str. 16), ppor. art. (LZK)
Horodyski Adolf, (LZK)
Horszkievicz Kazimierz, kpt. (LZK)
Hotowski (?) por., karta szczepek, notatnik, kartka do kierownika pociągu (AM 2566)
Hrapkowicz Albin, kpt., wizytówka, leg. ofic., karta na broń (AM 3779)
Hrubý Zbigniew, ppor., leg. ofic., 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, karta szczepek, Hrubý (AM 2624), Hrubý, ppor. 43 p.p. (WO 2624 str. 48), Hrubý — ppor. art. (LZK)
Hrnt Bolesław, ppor., ks. wojsk., karta szczepek. 2899 (AM 1232), (WO 1088 str. 15), (LZK)
Hryniewicz Gerardiusz, ppor. (LZK)
Hryniewicz Ludomir, ppor. rez. kaw. (LZK)
Hryniewicz Władysław, pchor. piech. (LZK)
Hryniewiecki Lucjan, ppor. (LZK)
Hryniewiecki Ludomir, w mundurze, 3 legit. (AM 1507), Hryniewiecki (LZK)
Hryńków Jarosław, Grinkow — ppor., 2 listy (AM 3611), Hryńków, ur. 24.02, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 68)
Hubakowski Zygmunt, ppor. art. (LZK)
Huczewski ppor. piech. (LZK)
Hudec Wacław, kpt., leg., zawiadomienie o nadaniu odznaczenia, 4 pocztówki, okulary, list z nadawcą: Hudecowa W., Warszawska Żoliborz, Haukego 12, (AM 814)
Hudec Władysław, kpt., 1899, s. Józefa i Heleny, 23 p.p. (LZK)
Humanicki Feliks, por. (LZK)
Hurczyn Michał, mjr, (LZ. K-S)
Hurman - Herman Miron, Hurmann Hermann — ppor., dr med., ur. 1895, znak tożs., karta. mob., wizytówki, karta szczepek. 3975, odznaka pułkowa, mały słonik (AM 1071), ur. 17.10.95, dr, ppor. san. (ROR 34 str. 224)
Hussakowski Władysław, ppor. piech. (LZ. K-S)
Hutek Józef, kpt., karta na broń (AM 28), ur. 1882 (LZK)
Huttman Szymon Stanisław, por., ks. wojsk., 2 listy, pismo łacińskie, por. (LZK)
Huebner Stefan, ppor., leg. urzęd., państw., zaświadczenie. wizytówki, karta szczepek. 1486 (AM 1124), (WO 1013 str. 14)
Huetter kpt. (LZK)

Hycyk Wacław, w mundurze, wizytówka na nazwisko Kaczmarek Stanisław, ppor., koperta, 2 fotografie (AM 3454)
Idaszewski Jan, ur. 1911 (LZK)
Idyjan Szymon, por. rez. 1908 (LZK)
Igielski Roman, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Igielski Tadeusz, ppor. leg. Twa Ubezpiecz., list wizytówka (AM 793)
Ilkowski Piotr, kpt. koperta, wizytówka, karta szczepek, kalendarz kieszonkowy (AM 139), kpt. art. 1894, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)
Ilnow Mikolaj, ppor., 1 kwit rosyjski (AM 2455)
Imirski asp. P.P. (LZK)
Inwentarz Henryk, Inwentasz Henryk Haim — ofic. książ. (AM 1172), ppor. lek. (LZK), Inwentarz Henryk vel Chaim — ur. 15.12.96, ppor. san. (ROR 34 str. 229)
Irlicht Bronisław, por., dowód osob., przepustka, karta na broń, wizytówki, pocztówka, karta czl. Touring Club'u (AM 3879), por. (ppor.) rez. (LZK)
Irzyński Aleksander, por., leg. ofic., pocztówka (AM 2143), Irzyński (WO 2143 str. 34)
Irzyński Lech, kpt. piech. (LZK)
Iwanenko Roman, przod. P.P. (LZK)
Iwanuska Bazyli, por. (LZK)
Iwaszkiewicz Wacław, w mundurze, pocztówki, notatnik (AM 467), pułk. piech. (LZK)
Iwicki ppor. rez. piech. (LZK)
Iworowski Władysław, por. (LZK)
Jabłoński Adam, plut. rez. (LZK)
Jabłoński Feliks, por., ur. 1896, leg. urzęd., państw., ks. wojsk., 2 pocztówki, karta meld., karta szczepek, krzyżyk (AM 1063), (WO 973 str. 13), por. art. (LZK)
Jabłoński Jan, ppor. inż., dowód osob., 2 pisma wojsk., ks. uposaż., medalik (AM 726), (LZS)
Jabłoński Jerzy Wiktor, por. 1890 (LZK)
Jabłoński Mikolaj, kpt. (LZK)
Jabłoński Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
Jabłoński Władysław, kpt., leg. ofic., 1 pocztówka (AM 2777), (LZK)
Jacack Stanisław, Jacak — ppor. (AM 3913), Jacack — ur. 1.1.04, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 115)
Jachman Feliks, w mundurze, pocztówki, wizytówki, karta szczepek, odznaka pułkowa (AM 2907)
Jackiewicz ppor. piech. (LZK)
Jacko Karol, kpt. (LZK)
Jackowski Julian, por., 2 pocztówki, karta szczepek, metryka ślubu (AM 3571), Juliusz — por. (LZK)
Jackowski Kazimierz, mjr dypl. (LZK)
Jackowski Władysław, w mundurze, notatnik (AM 2558), kpr. pchor. (LZK)
Jaczowski Władysław, pchor. (LZK)

Jakusko Jan, kpt. br. panc., karta na broń, wizytówki (AM 3178), ur. 1906 (LZK)

Jatowy Zdzisław, ppur. rez. (LZK K-S)

Jamiołkowski Konstanty, mjr lek. (LZK), ppłk. lek. leg. ofic., znak tożs., wizytówka, fotografie, baretki, odznaka Legionowa 1914 - 22, pocztówka, papierosnica (AM 488)

Jamro Mieczysław, ppur., ur. 7.7.06, dowód osob., pocztówka, listy (AM 3693)

Janasz ksiądz - kap. (LZK K-O)

Janca Izidor, ppur. lek., ur. 22.5.04, dowód osob., recepta in blanco, 1 zaświadczenie ze Szpitala Woj., prawo jazdy, lista z nazwiskami (AM 3584), ppur. lek. ze Starogardu (LZS)

Janczakowski Władysław, ppur., list pocztówka (AM 2983)

Janczakowski Włodzimierz, por. rez. (LZK)

Janczak Józef, naucz., ppur., leg., pocztówka z nadawcą: Zofia, Nowogród, ul. 3-go Maja 4, 2 listy, rysunek ołówkowy: kuchnia polowa — Wielkanoc 1940 — Kozielsk, 1 telegram do Kozielska, Jancuszek (AM 819), ppur. 1907 (LZK)

Janczak Józef, 2 pocztówki, pocztówka adresowana do: Moraczewska, Nowogródek ul. 1-go Maja 44, nadawca Janczak Józef Kozielsk (AM 1850)

Janczewski Kazimierz, dr med., w mundurze, dyplom doktorski, część dowodu osob. (AM 3839), ur. 1906 (LZK)

Janczykowski Mirosław, w mundurze, list, 3 pocztówki, lista z nazwiskami (AM 888), (WO 871 str 12)

Janda Wacław, por. (LZK)

Jandy Franciszek, ppur., ur. 19.9.900, leg. ofic. rez., leg. Strazy Pożarnej, 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, 2 medaletki (AM 3343)

Janicki Jan, kpt., karta tożs., pocztówki (AM 471), kpt. 1897, syn Franciszka i Anny, Inst. Geogr. (LZK)

Janicki Marian, por., karta na broń, wizytówki, kwit depoz., kwit kasowy, kwit zastawnicy, 2 kartki z zapiskami (AM 3213), por. (LZK)

Janiczak Stanisław, pvt. (pchor.) (LZK)

Janik Alfred, dr med., por. zam. Łódź, ul. Sienkiewicza 63, wizytówki, karta szcep. (AM 4070), (bez imienia) — por. dr (LZK)

Janik Antoni, w mundurze, ur. 1902, znak tożs., list, kalendarz. (AM 722)

Janik Antoni, ppur., ur. 1892, dowód osob., różnicanie (AM 720)

Janik Jan, mjr, 1895, s. Michała i Krystyny (LZK)

Janik Jan, ppur. (LZK)

Janiszewski kpt. (LZK)

Janiszewski Mieczysław, por., zaświadczenie, leg. (AM 818)

Jankiewicz Zygmunt, 1909 (LZK)

Jankiewicz Zygmunt, ppur. lotn., 1909, s. Zygmunta i Wandy (LZK)

Jankiewicz ppur., rozkaz wyjazdu, zaświadczenie (AM 2954)

Jankiewicz Marian, w mundurze, ur. 6.4.900, leg. ofic. rez., fotografie (AM 3720), ppur. (LZK)

Jankiewicz Zygmunt, 1909 (LZK)

Jankowiak Franciszek, ogniomistrz (LZK)

Jankowski kpt. (LZK)

Jadczyk Władysław, plut. (LZK)

Jagiebo Henryk, kpt., leg. ofic., karta szcep., wizytówki, kalendarz kieszonkowy (AM 2906), kpt. (radio), 1887 (?), s. Miłolaia i Marii (LZK)

Jagielowicz Kazimierz, 1900 (LZK)

Jagodziński Władysław, kpt. 1897 (LZK)

Jagosz Alojzy, ppur. (LZK)

Jagoczewski Tadeusz, por. lek. (LZK)

Jahotkowski Antoni, por. (LZK)

Jahotkowski Józef, por. (LZK)

Jakimowski Wacław, w mundurze, ur. 2.9.02, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urz., leg. Zw. Inż., karta szcep., pocztówki (AM 4056)

Jakowicz (?) w mundurze, leg. członk. (AM 2857)

Jakóbiec Jan, por., zam. Konk. Małachowskich 41, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO., znak tożs. (AM 3391), ppur. (LZK)

Jakóbowski Henryk, ppur., ur. 1.11.10, dowód osob., leg. odznacz., karta szcep., zaświadczenie (AM 3131)

Jakubiak Bolesław, mjr, 1 pocztówka, 2 pierścionki metalowe, talizman (AM 1245), (WO 1096 str. 15), mjr, 1891, s. Wacława i Rozalii (LZK)

Jakubiak Eugeniusz, (LZK)

Jakubiec Adam, w mundurze, listy, fotografie, medalik (AM 2994)

Jakubiec Jan, kpt. (LZK)

Jakubiec Józef, w mundurze, pocztówka (AM 3649)

Jakubiec Stanisław, ppur., leg. kolejowa, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Jerzy Wieczorek, notatnik (WO str. 3)

Jakubik Eugeniusz, w mundurze, metryka ślubu, leg., karta szcep., pocztówka, część dowodu osob. (AM 3859)

Jakubowicz Dobiesław, ppur., zaświadczenie, wizytówki, leg. nieczytelna, fotografie, dzienniczek (AM 836)

Jakubowicz Stanisław, por. (WO str. 3)

Jakubowski Antoni, ppur. (LZK)

Jakubowski Bronisław, kpt., świad. lek. Szpitala Woj., karta szcep.: fotografie, odznaka pułkowa, medalik z łańc., modlitewnik (AM 2904), kpt. (LZK)

Jakubowski Feliks, (LZK)

Jakubowski Henryk, aptekarz, ppur., karta mob., pocztówki, telegram, list, medalik z łańc. (AM 3819)

Jakubowski Jerzy, inż., w mundurze, leg. urzęd. państw., karta szcep. 3229, listy, wizytówki, różnicanie (AM 1144), (WO 1026 str 14)

Jakubowski Józef, dr, w mundurze, naucz. gimn. w Bogumiń, leg. urzęd., karta wstępu (AM 3254)

Jakubowski Józef, ppur. 1916 (LZK)

Jakubowski Józef, Pol. Państw. (LZK)

Jakubowski Stefan, ppur., leg. urzęd. państw., metryka ślubu, listy i pocztówki, medalik z łańc., blok notesowy (AM 1185), (WO 1054 str. 15)

Jakubowski Stefan, ppur. 7 p., 1902, s. Edwarda i Wiktorii, (LZK)

Jankowski Franciszek, ppor., 1910, s. Juliana i Katarzyna (LZK)

Jankowski Jan, por. art. plot. 1901 (LZK)

Jankowski Jan, por., 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Jankowska Maria, Wilno, Antokołska 12 m. 3, 2 kartki kasowe, list, tanc. z medallikiem (AM 1151), Janowski Jan — nadawczyni pocztówki: Janowska (WO 1030 str. 14)

Jankowski Jan, por. rez. (LZK)

Jankowski Józef, por. (LZK)

Jankowski Mieczysław, ppor., ur. 7.10.15, Piaski, leg. ofic. rez., znak tożs. (AM 2617), por. 55 pp. (WO 2617 str. 48)

Jankowski Mieczysław, ppor., 1 list, karta szczep., kalend. kiesz., krzyżyk z łańc. (AM 2483)

Jankowski Mieczysław, mjr lek., ur. 1.6.84, zam. Warszawa, Marymoncka 2, ks. oszcz. PKO., cwikier (AM 1463), mjr lek., 1885, s. Karola i Karoliny (LZK)

Jankowski Piotr, por. rez. (LZK)

Jankowski Sławomir, mjr, część leg., zwłoki z pozostałym strzałem (AM 1038), (WO 962 str. 13), mjr, 1896, s. Janusza i Zofii (LZS)

Jankowski Stefan, kpt., ur. 2.9.98 w Josień, Grajewo, Nowo-koszarowa 23, ks. oszcz. PKO., ks. oszcz. na nazwisko Jankowska Salomea, Poznań, okulary (AM 812)

Jankowski Tadeusz, kier. Państw. Biblioteki w Grodnie, w mundurze, list, leg. Kierownika Bibl., różaniec (AM 582)

Jankowski Tadeusz, ppor., karta z nadawcą: Jankowski Wacław, stacja Gombień, pow. Gostynin (AM 832), Rancowski — (WO str. 11)

Jankowski Tadeusz, ppor. 1905 (LZK)

Jankowski Walenty, w mundurze, dr med., karta szczep., karta z franc. Czerw. Krzyża Woj., pocztówki, list, medalik, różaniec (AM 3647)

Jankowski Wiktor, por., karta zwolnienia ze Szpitala, leg. ofic. rez., wizytówki, pocztówki (AM 3310)

Jankowski Wiktor, sierżant (LZK)

Jankowski Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Jankowski Zygmunt, rtm. (LZK)

Janocha Stanisław, kpt. 1895, s. Wojciecha i Józefa (LZK), kpt., karta szczep. (AM 1813)

Janowicz Józef, kpt., dzienniczek, pocztówka, 1 chusteczka, maty nożyk (AM 1021), (WO 951 str. 13)

Janowicz Władysław, (WO 943 str. 45)

Janowski Bohdan, por. 1897 (LZ S-K)

Janowski Franciszek, ppor. rez. piech. (LZ S-K)

Janoson Edward, inż., ppor., ur. 1907, znak tożs. prawo jazdy, karta szczep., pocztówki, wizytówki (AM 2879), zam. Oszmiana, ul. Sadowa 89, (WO 2879 str. 54), ppor. 1907 (LZK)

Janusz Jan, por., ur. 23.1.94, w Czechowicach, zam. Katowice, ul. Kamienna, ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 2993), (bez imienia) por. (LZK)

Januszewski, kpt. lek. (LZK)

Januszewski Janusz, ppor. (LZK)

Januszewski Mieczysław, rtm. (LZK)

Jara Stanisław, ppor. pilot (LZK)

Jaremkiewicz Julian, pchor. piech. (LZK), w mundurze, listy, telegram, 1 karta (AM 4082)

Jarnas Ignacy, ppor. art. (LZK)

Jarocinski, ppor. (LZK)

Jarocinski Edward, plk. lek., ur. 9.11.79, ofic. ks., karta szczep. 1228, leg. odznacz., prawo jazdy, ołtarzyk Matki Boskiej (AM 1578), (bez imienia), plk. lek. (LZK)

Jarocinski Mirosław, kpt. 1904, s. Stanisława, Modlin (LZK)

Jarocinski Zbigniew, ppor. rez. art. 1906, s. Edwarda i Zofii (LZK)

Jarocki Stefan, ppor. (LZK), ppor., 1 pismo, notatnik, list, medalik (AM 3737)

Jaroma Henryk, por. rez. (LZK)

Jaron Józef, ppor. rez. 1900 (LZK)

Jaroneczyk Henryk, por. (LZ K-S)

Jaros Henryk, leg. ofic. rez. nieczytelna (AM 3196)

Jarosinski Antoni, por. (LZK)

Jarosz Aleksander, ppor. (LZK)

Jarosz Józef, kpt., Karwina (LZK)

Jarosz Sylwester, kpt., leg. ofic. listy (AM 3953)

Jarozewicz Stanisław, pchor. art. (LZK)

Jarozewski Józef, 2 wizytówki na nazwisko: Jaroszyński Józef, notatnik z adresami, medalik z łańc. (AM 1692)

Jarząbkowski Marian, Jozolebowski Marcin (?), kpt., listy, pocztówki (AM 3527), Jarząbkowski Marian — kpt., 1900, s. Józefa i Wiktorii (LZK)

Jarzemski, komisarz P.P. (LZK)

Jasiński Edward, por. (LZK)

Jasiński Lucjan, plk., 2 pocztówki, srebrna papierosnica (AM 1243), (WO 1094 str. 15), plk. (LZK)

Jasionowski Tadeusz, ppor., karta mob., leg. urzęd., leg. ofic., prawo jazdy, karta szczep., karta na broń (AM 3714)

Jasiukiewicz Jan, por., wojsk., prawo jazdy, wybiłka fotograficzna z nazwiskiem (AM 3309)

Jasiukiewicz Władysław, Jasiukowicz — w mundurze, wice-przes Sąd Okr. w Łucku, listy, pocztówki (AM 2120), Jasiukiewicz — Wiceprezes Sądu Okr. (LZK)

Jaskierski Józef, ppor., nauczyciel, zam. Dąbrowice, ppor. Sarny, leg. urzęd., telegram, pocztówki, list (AM 3242), ppor. (LZS)

Jaskolewicz Antoni, w mundurze, 1903, znak tożs., leg. urzęd. (AM 2729) Jaskiewicz — ur. 1913, (WO 2729 str. 50)

Jastrzęb Wacław, ppor., list, pocztówka (AM 3692)

Jastrzębski, plk. (LZK)

Jastrzębski Bolesław, ppor. kaw. (LZK) Jastrzębski — ppor., ks. wojsk., list, pocztówka, odznaka pułkowa 21 p. ul. (AM 576), Jastrzębski (WO str. 9)

Jastrzębski Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)

Jastrzębski Władysław, w mundurze, pocztówka, karta szczep., huciszek (AM 2454)

Jaszcz Marian Zenon, w mundurze, ur. 1907, wyciąg z reje-

stru, pocztówki, list (AM 2880) ur. 9.3.07, (WO 2880 str 54), por. (LZK)

Jaszczykowski Leon, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Jaszer Marian, 1907 (LZK)

Jaskiewicz Antoni, por. (LZK)

Jaskiewicz Mikołaj, por. (LZK)

Jaskiewicz Władysław, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Janusz Jaskiewicz, Warszawa, ul. Orzechowska 4 m. 3, list (AM 3423)

Jaskiewicz Władysław, kpt., 1896, s. Franciszka i Michalina (LZK)

Jaskiewicz Władysław, kpt. 1900, MSWojsk. (LZK)

Jawniak Augustyn, por. rez. (LZ. K-S)

Jaworowicz Zygmunt, por. (LZK)

Jaworowski Zygmunt, por. rez. (LZK)

Jaworski Felicjan, (?), s. Ludwika, por., ur. 20.10.05, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3161)

Jaworski Marian, w mundurze, 6 Baon Panc., 3 karty, list (AM 757), kpt. br. panc. (LZK)

Jaworski Stanisław, por., listy i pocztówki z nadawcą: Wanda Jaworska, Warszawa, ul. Długa 9/19, fotografie, karta szczep. (AM 3712)

Jaworski Stanisław, por. (por.) rez., sędzia (LZK)

Jawziński Józef, por., leg. urzęd., karta szczep., lańc. do zegarka (AM 3654)

Jedlewski Roman, 1911 (LZK)

Jeglinski Wincenty, por., dyplom filozofii, pocztówka z nadawcą Jeglińska Waleria, Katowice, karta szczep., leg. urzęd. (AM 4057)

Jekatow Leon, por. rez. art. (LZK)

Jeleń Kazimierz, mjr, karta mob., 2 fotografie, karta szczep. 3530 (AM 803)

Jeleński Franciszek, kpt., s. Feliksa i Franciszki (LZK), Jeleński, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 2264), Jeleński, — 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Leonarda Jeleńska, Warszawa Rakowiecka 45/36 i list z dnia 15.1.40. (WO 2264 str. 36)

Jelonek Józef, kalend. kiesz., część dowodu osob., lista z nazwiskami (AM 1402), (LZK)

Jelowiecki Stanisław, por., pocztówki, notatnik, karta szczep. (AM 2368), Jelowicki — nadawca pocztówki: Anna Jelowicka, Sycyna, poczta Zwolen (WO 2368 str. 39)

Jernas Ignacy, por., leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka (AM 3322), por. rez. (LZK)

Jerzykiewicz Tadeusz, por. rez. (LZ. K-S)

Jerzykowski Jerzy, por., zawiadomienie o ugodzie, ks. wojsk. (nieczytelna), incuszek, baretki, wizytówka, obrazek Matki Boskiej (AM 504), Jerzowski wzgl. Jedrzelewski (WO str. 7), Jerzykowski — ur. 28.1.93, por. (ROR 34 str. 138)

Jess Edward, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Jess Halina, Kalisz, idzikowskiego 3 (AM 2270), mjr (LZK)

Jeszek Tadeusz, kpt., karta szczep., wizytówki, różaniec (AM 2715), kpt. (LZS)

Jeziński Janusz, prawnik, w mundurze, 2 wizytówki, karta szczep., metryka ślubu, fotografia (AM 3416)

Jeziński Piotr, ppłk. art. (LZK)

Jeziński Władysław, kpt. list (niemiecki), karta szczep. 4065 (AM 1565), list z Dubna (WO 1565 str. 44)

Jezioro Czesław, w mundurze, list, leg. szk. nieczytelna (AM 992), por. rez., 1913, s. Sebastiana, 23 pp., Włodzimierz (LZK)

Jezak Antoni, por. rez. int. (LZ. K-S)

Jezowski Karol, mjr dypł. (LZK)

Jedraszko Roman, mjr sap., 1895, s. Wojciecha i Agnieszki (LZK)

Jedrych Edward, por. lek., leg. ofic. (AM 3635), por. dr med. (LZK)

Jedryszek Zygmunt, kpt. (LZK)

Jinec Piotr, por. art. 1899 (LZK)

Jingler kpt. rez. mar. (LZK)

Joch Antoni, por. (LZK), por., fotografie z nazwiskami wypisnymi nieczytelne, medalik z lańc. (AM 3680)

Jodkowski Edmund, kpt. mar., Flotyła Pińsk (LZK)

Joniec Juliusz, Joniec — w mundurze, pocztówki, listy, 1 szkic (AM 3709), Joniec — por. 1911 (LZK)

Josefsberg por. (LZ. S-K)

Joszt Bronisław, mjr. (LZK)

Józefowicz Stefan, por. łączn., 1901, s. Edmunda i Zofii (LZK)

Jóźwiak Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)

Jóźwiak Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Jóźwikiewicz Eugeniusz, kpt. mar., zam. Pińsk, ul. 84 p. str. 74, list własny z 10.9.39, karta szczep. 1778, notatnik, kwit. depoz. (AM 2244), list własny z prośbą do tych, którzy go znają, o powiadomienie rodziny (WO 2244 str. 36), kpt. mar. (LZK)

Juchnicki Gustaw Zbigniew, zam. Częstochowa, w mundurze, przepustka, różne kartki (AM 969), (WO 928 str. 12)

Juchniewicz Stanisław, por., 1892 (LZK)

Juda Teofil, kpr. (LZK)

Jukowicz Stanisław, por., 18.2.14, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, wizytówki, list (AM 2413), por. pil. (LZK)

Jung Tadeusz, por., ur. 28.1.17, (WO 86 str. 19), ur. 1913 (LZK)

Juno por. (LZK)

Jur - Gorzechowski por. kaw. (LZK)

Juran Jan, por. art. 1906 (LZK)

Juras Stanisław, Jurasz — kpt., karta szczep. 1069, fotografia kobieca, kwit. depoz. (AM 2278), Juras — (WO 2278 str. 37), ur. 1903 (LZK)

Juraszek Wacław, por. (LZK)

Jurczyński kpt. (LZK)

Jurewicz Aleksander, por. art. 1911 (LZK)

Juric Piotr, w mundurze, wizytówki, zaśw. lek. list, kwit. z Wzięcia we Lwowie (AM 1200), Jurlicz — (WO 1064 str. 15)

Jurkiewicz Jan, por. art. 1907 (LZK)

Jurkowski Kazimierz, ppłk. (LZK)

Jurowski Konrad, kpt., dr med. (LZK)
 Jurzyński Wacław, ppor., ur. 1906, dowód osob. (AM 3359),
 ur. 1906 (LZK)
 Juszczak Kazimierz, ppor., ks. wojsk. (AM 1098), (WO 995
 str 14)
 Juskiewicz Henryk, por. rez. art. (LZK)
 Juskiewicz Karol, naucz. w Kleszczowicach, dowód osob., na-
 ramiennik bez oznak (AM 416)
 Juskiewicz Władysław, por., pismo MSWojsk., paszport (AM
 2850)
 Kabalec ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Kabarowski Włodzimierz, ppor., pocztówka, karta szcep (AM
 3179)
 Kabiesz Ferdynand, ppor., ur. 30.4.99, w Chorzowie, zam. ul.
 Konopnicka 22 a, notatnik, leg., wizytówka, różne pisma (AM
 506), ppor. 1899 (LZK)
 Kabziński Jan, kpt. (LZ. K-S)
 Kacer Jan, ppor., ks. wojsk., leg., odznacz., karta na broń, wi-
 zytówka (AM 1508), leg. odzn. pamiątk. 28 p. strz. Kaniowskich,
 (WO 1508)
 Kaczan Walerian, w mundurze, karta szcep. 3064 (AM 1170),
 (WO 1043 str. 5), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Kaczer Mendel, ppor. (LZ. K-S)
 Kaczmar Jan, ppor. (LZ. K-S)
 Kaczmarczyk Stefan, kadet (LZK)
 Kaczmarek Jan, por. rez. (LZ. K-S)
 Kaczmarek Józef, sierżant (LZK)
 Kaczmarek Roman, w mundurze, leg., urzęd., metryka słu-
 bu, (nieczytelna), pocztówka, list, dowód osob., rysunek ołow-
 kowy (AM 2030)
 Kaczmarek Stanisław, ppor. lotn., dowód osob., karta na broń,
 wizytówki (AM 120), ppor. lotn. (LZK)
 Kaczorowski Julian, ppor. piech. 1912 (LZK)
 Kaczorowski Stanisław, ur. 6.3.13, znak tożs., karta szcep.,
 krzyżyk, plakietka (AM 1738)
 Kaczynski ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Kaczynski Arkadiusz, por., 3 Dyw. (LZK)
 Kaczynski Antoni, w mundurze, karta szcep. (AM 2495)
 Kaczynski Wiktor, mjr, leg. ofic., pocztówki, karta szcep.
 1206, obrazek święty, krzyżyk drewniany, modlitewnik (AM
 1550), na naramiennikach znak „SB” (WO 1550), ppłk., 1899,
 s. Antoniego i Wandy (LZK)
 Kafłinski Stanisław, st. wachmistrz (LZK)
 Kaftal Witold Roman, karta — w mundurze, części leg.,
 karta czł. Zw. Wiośl. (AM 2386), ppor. rez., 1905, 21 pp. (LZS)
 Kaganeccki Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)
 Kąjetanowicz Antoni, ppłk., pocztówki, karta szcep., (AM
 3501), ppłk. (LZK)
 Kalemba por. (ppor.), (LZK)
 Kaleciński w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą:
 Miedźwiedzi, Łódź, ul. Przejazd 27 (AM 3138)

Kalicinski Wiktor, dr med., mjr, leg. ofic., 1 pismo Szp. Woj.
 Nr 504, wizytówka, karta szcep. 2931, blok notesowy, kalend.
 kiesz., kartka z nazwiskiem Dra (AM 1716), wizytówka z napi-
 sem: „W razie śmierci zawiadomić żonę moją Kalicinską, War-
 szawa, Matejki 6 m. 1. — 7. września 1939”, (WO 1716 str. 23),
 mjr lek. (LZK)
 Kalinowski Michał, pchor. art. (LZK)
 Kalinowski Henryk, kpt., s. Mikołaja i Florentyny (LZK)
 Kalinowski Michał, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Kaliński Leon, ppor. (LZK)
 Kaluszan Antoni, por. (LZK)
 Kalpas Ryszard, por., część leg. ofic. (AM 2157), saper (LZK)
 Kalwary Samuel, Kalwaryj — w mundurze, zam. Warszawa,
 Targowa 78, przepustka (AM 955), Kalwary (bez imienia), por.
 (LZK)
 Kalafatiuk Władysław, Kalafatnik — w mundurze, dowód
 osob., (AM 725), Kalafatiuk Władysław — ur. 9.9.04 (ROR. 34
 str. 89)
 Kalafatiuk Tomasz, por. (LZK)
 Kaluba Romuald, ppor. (LZK)
 Kaluza Roman, ppor., 1905, s. Wincentego i Katarzyny
 (LZK-S)
 Kamiński (LZK)
 Kamiński Pinkus, 1906 (LZK)
 Kamiński Jan, Kazimierz, ppor., architekt, karta na broń,
 zezwolenie noszenia odznaki Szkoły Pchor., dowód osob., karta
 1064), (WO 974 str. 13)
 Kamiński Stanisław, komandor por., plik wizytówek, okulary,
 fotografie (AM 460), ur. 1892, s. Franciszka i Heleny (LZK)
 Kamiński Tadeusz, ur. 1.6.06, w Ciechanowie, dowód osob.,
 karta szcep. 3571, notatnik, „Rozmówki polsko-francuskie”,
 wizytówka na nazwisko Bartnik Eugeniusz (AM 240), por. rez.
 (LZK)
 Kamiński pchor., (LZK)
 Kamiński Feliks, por. apt., 1885, s. Jana i Antoniny (LZK-S)
 Kamiński Jakób, ppor. aud. (LZK)
 Kamiński Jan, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta szcep., no-
 tatnik (AM 1970)
 Kamiński Jan, ppor. (LZK)
 Kamiński Jerzy, dr med., ppor., ur. 9.1.10, ks. wojsk., leg.
 lek., karta szcep., list, świnka szczęcia (AM 1472)
 Kamiński Jerzy, por. rez., ur. 1910, s. Ludwika i Józefa
 (LZK)
 Kamiński Józef, ppor. ur. 1907, karta na broń, świad. lek.,
 list (AM 2233)
 Kamiński Marcin, kpt., leg. ofic., dowód osob., leg. odznacz.,
 karta tramw., wizytówka, fotografie, listy, 2 kalendarze (AM
 1779)
 Kamiński Tadeusz Stefan, ppłk., leg. ofic., 2 karty czł., wizy-
 tówka, zaświadczenie (AM 3507), płk., 1880, s. Leopolda i Emi-
 lii, Kolonijia (LZK)
 Kamps August, ppor. (LZK)

Karge Tadeusz, kpt., 2 pocztówki, list (AM 3522), kpt. mar. (LZK)
 Karliński Michał, chor. art. (LZK)
 Karnowski, ppor. inż. (LZK)
 Karnkowski Stanisław, por. art., 1911, s. Józefa i Janiny, 9. dyw. art. (LZK), ppor., leg. ZOR., pocztówka, 1 odznaka pułkowa, kalendarz. (AM 2021), pocztówka z nadawcą: Karbowska, Warszawa, Chabubńskiego 10 m. 12 (WO 2021 str. 31)
 Karolawicz Borysław, por. (LZK)
 Karolawicz Witold, mjr uzb. (LZK)
 Karowski Stanisław, karta szcep. 1958, kartka z nazwiskiem, spinki (AM 693), Karoski (?), (WO str. 10)
 Karp Aleksander, ppor. art. rez. (LZK), ewilny, karta szcep. 1127 (AM 1858)
 Karpina Jan, ppor. piech. (LZK-S)
 Karpinski Karol, w mundurze, list, odcinek pocztowy, pocztówka z nadawcą: Wanda Karpinska, Kostopol, Wołyn, ul. Cicha 41 (AM 3241), ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Karpinski Marian, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Karpinski Tadeusz, kpt. rez. (LZK)
 Karpinski Władysław, kpt. (LZK)
 Karpinski Władysław, st. post. P.P. (LZK)
 Karński Janusz Mściław, 1904 (LZK)
 Karst Ludwik, kpt., 3 listy, koperta (AM 645), kpt. pilot., lat 42 (LZK)
 Karwański Roch, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta szcep. (AM 3007)
 Karwowski Tadeusz Józef, ppor., 1897, s. Feliksa i Bronisławy (LZK-S)
 Kasinski Marian, ppor., ur. 23.12.99, karta mob., leg., metryka ślubu, leg. odznacz., pocztówka, świad. Szk. Pchor., pismo urzędowe Semin. Naucz. (3443)
 Kasprzak Franciszek, w mundurze, zaświadczenie, karta szcep., leg. urzęd. (AM 2887), Kasprzak — fotografie z napisem: „zawiadomić żonę Wandę Kasprzak, Wierzbik, ul. Iłtycka 36 (WO 2887 str. 54)
 Kasprzak Józef, ppor., leg. urzęd., baretka (AM 2095)
 Kasprzykiewicz Wilhelm, ppłk. dypl., (LZK), ppłk., list, wzytówka (AM 25)
 Kasprzykowski Władysław Jan, ofic. rez., naucz., ur. 26.9.99 w Podgórzu, dowód osob., zaświadczenie Inspektoratu w Wilnie, karta szcep., okulary (WO 1479 str. 20)
 Kasube Jerzy, dwie karty szczenienia: 1) Kazoba Jerzy, 2) Doroszcza Józef, kwit depozytowy, listy, w mundurze (AM 2241), na karcie szcep. Kasuba Jerzego podane: syn Zygmunta, na jednym liście podpis: „Twoja Kazia“ (WO 2241 str. 36), Kasuba Jerzy — por. zawodowy piech., (LZK), ur. 22.2.07 (RO. 32 str. 136)
 Kaszuba Marian, pchor. piech. (LZK)
 Kaszynski Arkadiusz, Ardy (imię), w mundurze, znak toż., pocztówka (AM 3363), Arkadiusz Zbigniew — ur. 27.3.07, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 81)

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Kaniewicz Stanisław, ppor. aud. (LZK)
 Kaniewski Dominik, w mundurze, ur. 4.8.03, zam. Warszawa, Szeroki Dunaj 9 m. 36, ks. oszcz. PKO, 2 listy, 2 wizytówki, ks. do modlenia (AM 625)
 Kaniewski Edward, listy, karta szcep., fotografie, karta na broń (AM 1729), ur. 1904 (LZK)
 Kanter, kpt. lek. (LZK)
 Kantor Michał Miron, mjr lek., Łódź, ks. wojsk., karta mob., karta szcep. 3852, list, 2 pocztówki, okulary, wieczne pióro (AM 1530)
 Kapciuk Witold Florian, Kabcuk — kpt., leg. ofic. (AM 2260), Kapciuk — ur. 4.5.88, kpt. (RO. 32 str. 189)
 Kapelanski Tadeusz, ppor., świad. muzyki, pismo Pol. Zw. Zagran., metryka urodzenia, świad. szk., 3 lept., karta szcep. 2007, list, spinki, cygarniczka (AM 3066), ofic. rez. 1910, s. Franciszka i Stanisławy (LZS)
 Kapka, ppor. (LZK)
 Kapiński Leon, w mundurze, karta szcep. na nazwisko Kwiatkowski Marian, s. Macieja, listy, koperta z adresem: Kapiński Leon, Kozielski (AM 2535), (LZK)
 Kapiński Henryk, Leopold, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Kapuściński Miron, 1905, por., Będzin, P.K.U. (LZK)
 Kapuściński Marian, por. lot. (LZK)
 Kapuściński Zbigniew, Kapuziński — dr. por., ur. 23.12.04 (AM 931), Kapuściński — ppor. (LZK), ur. 17.12.04, dr. ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 162)
 Karabowicz Czesław, 1908 (LZK)
 Karabowicz Tadeusz, kpt. br. panc. (LZK)
 Karasiewicz Czesław, ppor., 1898, s. Maksymiliana i Bronisławy (LZK)
 Karas Eugeniusz, ppor. (LZK)
 Karbonowski Józef, oficer Z.H.P. (LZK)
 Karbowiczek Marian, w mundurze, list, karta szcep., kwit poczt., (AM 3810)
 Karbus Władysław, ppor., leg. ofic., 3 medaliki (AM 3251)
 Karcher August, mjr dypl. piech., 1900, s. Edmunda i Rozalii (LZK)
 Karz, por. lek. (LZK-S)
 Karz Józef, rtm., 1902, Łanicut, 10 p. kaw. (LZK)
 Karzewski Aleksander, por. (LZK)
 Karzewski Władysław, ppor., ur. 21.12.98, w Sokalu, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., karta szcep. (AM 2214), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Karzewski Zdzisław, (LZK)
 Kardas Marian, ppor., Bydgoszcz, ul. Hitlera 67 (68), 4 listy, pocztówka, list z Holsenderskiego Czerw. Krzyża, 2 odznaki lotnicze (AM 728), ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Kardas Marian Dyonizy, ur. 10.3.11, w Bydgoszczy, oficer, ks. wojsk. (AM 621), Kardas lub Kardasz (WO str. 9)
 Kardaszewicz Stanisław, mjr, 1889, s. Kazimierza i Rozalii (LZK)
 Kardasz Jerzy, policjant (LZK)
 Karecki Łukasz, ppor., 10 listów, 4 pocztówki, telegram, karta szcep. 1312 (AM 889), (WO 872 str. 12)

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Katz Karol, inż., kpt., karta członk., 4 pocztówki, 3 wizytówki, telegram (AM 864), (WO 854 str. 12)

Katzer Jan, por. (LZK)

Kaube Franciszek, por. (LZK), ppor., leg. ofic. (AM 2323), kartka z napisem: „10.8.34 po promocji w Poznaniu“, fotografia z napisem: „Lato 1938 Krzyżko“, (WO 2323 str. 38)

Kawa por. piech. (LZK)

Kawalec Stefan Józef, Kowalec — ur. 17.10.06, ppor., ka. wojak, 3 wojsk zaśw., list, 2 koperty, dzienniczek (AM 762), Kowalec lub Kawalec — (WO str. 11), Kawalec — ur. 17.10.06, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 196)

Kawalkowski Bronisław, kpt. gr. fort. (LZK)

Kawaszewicz Czesław, ppor., 2 pocztówki (AM 3789)

Kawecki Teodor, ppor. lotn. (LZK), dyrektor, w mundurze, leg. (AM 2820), dyr. Biura Warsz. Okr. Wojew. L.O.P.P. (WO 2820 str. 52)

Kawecki Zbigniew, rtm. (LZK)

Kawecki Zdzisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Kawka Józef, naucz., oficer, ur. 8.2.900, zam. Halinów, poczt. monogram, K.D. 2, ka. oszcz. PKO., pocztówka, fotografia, 8.2.890, 2 medaliki (WO 2227)

Kawko Józef Jan, ppor. 1907 (LZK)

Kayzer Jan, ppor., kartka z leg. ofic. rez., zaśw., 2 fotografie, karta szcep., wizytówka z adresem: Gniezno, ul. Warszawska 3 m. 3 (AM 2188), powiatowy Inspektor Zakł. Ubezpiecz. Wzaj. w Gnieźnie, ul. Warszawska 3/3 (WO 2188 str. 34)

Kazatel Julian Henryk, por., 1914, s. Jana, 51 p.p. (LZK)

Kazimierzczak st. sierżant (LZK)

Kazimierzczuk Czesław, kpt. (LZK)

Kazimierski Leon, ppor. ur. 25.5.09, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., pocztówki, fotografie, różaniec, stała karta jazdy (AM 3586)

Kazimierski Edmund, por., ur. 4.12.81, leg. ofic. rez., 2 wody osob., leg. odznacz., (AM 3427)

Kaczkowski Wiktor, w mundurze, fotografie, medalik, kwit. depoz. (AM 2286), nieczytelna leg. urzęd. państw. (WO 2286 str. 37)

Kacki Henryk, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., leg. Banku Gosp. Kraj. (AM 2950)

Kątski ppor. (LZK)

Keczur Piotr, ppor., ur. 1896 (LZK)

Keller Adam (LZK)

Keller Witold Brunon, kpt., 1898 (LZK)

Kemberg chor. (LZK)

Kenig Józef, zam. Wilno, ul. Wileńska 25, wizytówka, 2 pocztówki, list (AM 1134), (WO 1020 str. 14)

Kernberg Karol, chorąży, w mundurze, wizytówka na nazwisko: chor. Ziarski - Kernberg Karol, kalend. kiesz., 2 odznaki, 2 medaliki, 1 pierścionek (złoto datem z żelazo 1914) — (AM 3829), chorąży, 1896 (LZK)

Kędowski mjr dr (LZK)

Kędziora Kazimierz, Kędziora — ppor., list, kwit. rysunek

Kępiński Witold, mjr, dr med., Warszawa, Senatorska 24, ur. 4.5.84, karta mob., znak toż., rachunki, wizytówka, karta polowania, list, karta na broń, karta szcep., okulary (AM 696), Kpiński (?), (WO str. 10), mjr, 1884, s. Michała i Marii (LZS)

Kępski Marian, Keski — połowa znaku toż., karta szcep. 1558, medalik z łacińskim (AM 1290), Keński — (WO 1119 str. 16), Kępski por. (LZK)

Kęścił Władysław, ppor. 1896, s. Wincentego i Pauliny (LZK)

Kęścił Włodzimierz, por. (LZK)

Kibler Stanisław, por. (LZK), w mundurze, karta szcep. 2283, pocztówki, list, łaciński z krzyżykiem (AM 1527)

Kiczak Wilhelm, mjr (LZK)

Kicka Jan, mjr (LZK)

Kieciński Tadeusz, w mundurze, Warszawa, Ziota 32 m. 29, karta szcep. 605, zapalniczka (AM 805), Kieciński Tadeusz Ludwik, ur. 25.3.97, por. st. sp. (ROR. 34 str. 330)

Kiebasinski Antoni, ppor. (LZK)

Kiebasinski Jan, (LZK)

Kiebasinski Stanisław, ppor. (por.) (LZK)

Kiełbaska Franciszek, ppor. (LZK)

Kiełbiński Adam, plk., karta szcep., list, pocztówki, baretki. Kiełbiński — (AM 2092), Kiełbiński, (WO 2092 str. 32), plk. dr (LZK)

Kiełczewski Ksawery, ppor. (LZK)

Kiersnowski Zbigniew Stanisław, ppor. 1910, s. Mariana i Heleny (LZK)

Kierski Witold, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2763 (AM 2490)

Kiersński Jerzy, w mundurze, wizytówka, leg., list, telegram, leg. Izby Handlowej, Białystok (AM 2296), nadawca listu: Lidia Kiersnicka, Białystok, ul. Fabryczna 28/2, (WO 2296 str. 37), por. ur. 1897 (LZK)

Kiełczyński Tadeusz, w mundurze, karta szcep. (AM 3934), ppor. (LZK), Kiełczyński, ur. 11.10.92, ppor. san. (ROR. 34 str. 228)

Kieszkowski Janusz, (LZK)

Kiełwicz Czesław, por. (LZK)

Kijak Natan, dr med. (bez imienia), 2 wizytówki, 2 listy, pocztówka, portfel (AM 572), dr med. (LZK), Natan — ur. 27.12.95, dr ppor. san. (ROR. 34 str. 225)

Kijanko Marian, st. wachmistrz (LZK)

Kijaszo Sergiusz, pchor. (LZK)

Kijowski Józef, mjr (LZK)

Kilarski Edward, por. (LZK)

Kilarski Edward, por. (LZK), w mundurze, ur. 24.9.02, ka. oszcz. PKO., leg. czł. Klubu Automob., 4 listy — z nich 1 z nadawcą: Nowogródek, Wojszowska 22, lusterko z grzebykiem, notatnik (AM 2121), (LZK)

Kiliński Marian, mjr lek., 1 pismo MSWewn., dyplom doktorski, wizytówki, notatnik, 2 koperty, pocztówka (AM 3508), (LZK)

Kinałski Stanisław, w mundurze, 2 listy, pocztówka, znak toż., medalik z łaciń. (AM 568), kpt. rez. (LZK)

Kinderman Alojzy, ppor., leg. wojsk., wizytówki, karta szcze-
 2 odznaki (AM 508)

Kindt Gustaw Rudolf Jan, (LZK), ppor., ur. 21.2.11 w Ra-
 domiu, prawo jazdy, dowód osob., ks. czd. Touring Club'u, rzeź-
 biona fajka, karta mob., karta szcze- 3886, pocztówki z nadaw-
 cą: Zofia Kindt, Warszawa, ul. Falata 2 m. 53 (AM 443)

Kirste Kazimierz Józef, Kirschte — ppor., leg. ofic., karta
 szczeplenia 2670, 4 pocztówki, fotografie (AM 2036), Kirste vel
 Kirschte — nadawca pocztówek: Joanna Kirste, Żyrardów (WO
 2036 str. 31), Kirste — por., ur. 1911, s. Alfreda i Joanny (LZK)
 Kirszanek Władysław, kpt., leg. ofic., karta szcze- 3043, list,
 rysunek okłowy (AM 2195), (LZK)

Kisiel Jan, pchor. panc. (LZK)

Kiser Jan Czesław, Czesław — por., 3 listy, pocztówka, mapka
 z Kozielskiem (rysunek własny) (AM 1773), ppor. kaw., ur.
 1903, (LZS), Jan Czesław, ur. 23.2.03 por. (ROR. 34 str. 122)

Kisiel — mjr kaw. (LZK)

Kisiel Stanisław, Kisiel — por., leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., kar-
 ta szcze- list, różaniec (AM 3338), Kisiel — por. dr (LZK)

Kisielewicz Julian, pchor. plut. (LZK)

Kisimanowski Jerzy, w mundurze, karta szcze- 4 pocztówki,
 odznaka (AM 3509)

Kistelski Bolesław, por., pocztówka (AM 153), (bez imienia),
 por. (LZK)

Kiszka Jan, por., ka. wojsk., pismo urzędowe, pocztówki, fo-
 tografie (AM 1830), umowa najmu między Janem i Heleną Kisz-
 ka, a Pawłem Snierna w Cieszynie (WO 1830 str. 26), por.
 (LZK)

Kiszyński Stanisław, mjr dypl. int. (LZK-S)

Kitlas Wincenty, kpt., w ubraniu cywilnym, leg. ofic., ka.
 oszcz. PKO, dowód osob., leg. urz. szwad. lek. (AM 3112),
 kpt. mar. rez. 1887, s. Jana i Anny (LZK)

Kitzel Wilhelm, mjr, 2 pocztówki (AM 3456)

Kiwata Kazimierz, ppłk. (LZK)

Klaczynski Bolesław, por. piech. (LZK)

Klaczynski Michał, por., pocztówki, list, (AM 2365), syn Wła-
 dysława, nadawca pocztówek: Halina Jasńska, Białystok, ul.
 Kraszewskiego (WO 2365 str. 39), por. (LZK)

Klapacz Czesław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Klarnier Józef, dr med. (LZK)

Klarnier Witold, por. (LZK), por., Warszawa, ur. 1902, znak
 tożs., notatnik, listy, 1 odznaka pułkowa (AM1112), (WO 1004
 str. 14)

Klawe Zbigniew, oficer (LZK)

Klebuszewicz Julian, w mundurze, 6 pocztówek, karta z za-
 pistami, (AM 3736)

Klein Edward, por. (LZK)

Klein Franciszek, ppłk. (LZK)

Klein Jan, ppłk., 5 listów, pocztówka, fotografia, okulary (AM
 998), (WO 942 str. 13)

Kleinert Mieczysław, por., 1899 (LZK)

Klejn — mjr kaw. (LZK)

Klemp Franciszek, por. (LZK)

Klenowski Stanisław, st. przod. P.P. (LZK)

Klepcki Adolf, oficer 1909 (LZK)

Klepcki Stanisław, plut. (LZK-S)

Klepcki Zdzisław, ppor. 1912, 52 p.p. (LZK)

Klepacz Antoni, kpt. (LZK-O)

Klepacz Czesław, kpt. (LZK)

Klimecz Sławomir, ppor. (LZK-S)

Klimczyk Antoni, ppor., ur. 1907, znak tożs., mies. karta jas-
 dy (AM 2127)

Klimowicz Sergiusz, por., zam. w Żelwie Leśnicku, prawo jas-
 dy, znak tożs., 3 pocztówki, 6 fotografii (AM 207)

Klinge Marian, 1905 (LZK), ppor. lek., znak tożs., ur. 19.12.06,
 medalik (AM 3746)

Klinger — mjr kaw. (LZK)

Kliniski — mjr kaw. (LZK)

Kliniski — mjr kaw. (LZK)

Klin Stanisław, por. (LZK-S)

Klose Bernard, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta na broń, wi-
 zytówki, leg. odznacz., leg. (AM 2909), Kłos (WO 2909 str. 55)

Kłucz Władysław mjr, karta szcze- 3298, karta na broń (AM
 1041), Franciszek — mjr, (LZK), Władysław, ur. 27.7.97, (RO.
 32 str. 60)

Kłuczyński Wawrzyniec Bohdan, ppor., ur. 1912, ks. wojsk.,
 list, dyplom doktorski — prawnik (AM 562)

Kłuk Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)

Kłuz Władysław, pchor. art. (LZK)

Kłuz Bronisław, w mundurze, leg. urz. szwad., karta szcze- 1410.
 2 listy pocztówki (AM 2748)

Kłaczynski Bolesław, por. rez. (LZK)

Kłobukowski — mjr kaw. (LZK)

Kłopotowski Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK), w mundurze, karta
 szcze- 1 list (AM 1924), ofic. rez., pocztówka, ks. wojsk. (WO
 2409 str. 45)

Kłopotowski Stefan, w mundurze, karta szcze- 1 leg. urz.
 odznacz., medalik z lańc. (AM 2410), ppor. art. (LZK)

Kłosiński Jan Franciszek, ppor., ur. 2.6.09 w Warszawie,
 dypl. rolnik, dowód osob., karta szcze- 2886, zaświadczenie, me-
 dalik z lańc. (AM 2682), 1909, s. Jana i Stefani, 23 p.p. (LZK)

Kłosiński Kazimierz, Kłosiński — ppor., inż. ks. upos., list,
 leg. urz. szwad., Zarządu m. Włocławek, wizytówka, odznaka 2 p. leg.
 (AM 744), Kłoniowicz (WO str. 10)

Kłuido Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Kłonek Antoni, przod. P.P. (LZK)

Kłonek Mieczysław Stanisław, ppor., ur. 3.1.911, leg. osob.,
 leg. urz. szwad., karta szcze- 2005 (WO str. 19)

Kłonek Tadeusz, Kłonek — por., ks. upos., (3 leg. urz., medalik, od-
 znaczanie wojenne, fotografie (AM 643), Kłonek — (WO str. 9),
 Kłonek — ppor., 1901, s. Władysława i Marii (LZK)

Kłonek Czesław, ppor. (LZK)

Kłonek Kazimierz, mjr (LZK-S)

Knauff Aleksander, w mundurze, 5 pocztówek, karta szcze-
 3746, 1 odznaka pułkowa (AM 1263), (WO 1105 str. 16)

Knobloch Ludwik, kpt. st. sp. (LZK)

Knoopp Cezary, por. (ppor.), (LZK), por., leg. urz. szwad., państw.,

luźne notatki, rysunek ołówkowy (głowa mężczyzny), kartka z adresem: Krystyna Knopp, Warszawa, ul. Podskarbińska 8, (AM 984), (WO 935 str. 13)

Knothe Adam, por. (LZK)

Knothe por. (LZK)

Knychański Marian Wiktor, w mundurze, wizytówka: Knychański Marian Wiktor (AM 1712), ppor. pil. (LZK), ur. 3.10.07 (ROR 34 str. 161)

Koba Izidor, Kobaczewski por., leg. ofic., 2 karty na broń, karta polowania, pocztówki (AM 3935)

Kobos Eugeniusz, ppor. lek., świad. szk., dyplom lekarski, metryka ślubu, karta mob., list, fotografie, odznaka pułkowa (AM 2849), dr med., 1914, s. Henryka i Marianny, Wojsk. Szpital (LZK)

Kobusiewicz Aleksander, por., ks. upos., 4 pocztówki, fotografie, kalendarz (AM 606), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Kobyliński kpt. (balony) (LZK)

Kobyłecki Jerzy, ppor., ks. ofic., dzienniczek, wizytówki, medalik z łańc., karta szcep. 2551 (AM 1198), Kobyłecki — (WO 1063 str. 15)

Kobyliński Jan, ppor., ur. 1898, karta mob., wizytówka, 2 karty mob., medalik z łańc. (AM 3321), por. (ppor.) (LZK)

Kobyliński Józef, inż. ppor., ur. 22.3.07, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., karta na broń, wizytówki, rozkaz wyjazdu, medalik (AM 2896)

Kochalski Michał, por., leg. urz. państw., fotografie, pocztówka (AM 1317), Kochalski — (WO 1317 str. 16)

Kobza Kazimierz, Koba (?) por., mies. karta jazdy, leg. urz. państw., ks. ofic. (AM 1215), (WO 1075 str. 15), Kobza ur. 19.3.98, por. (ROR 34 str. 140)

Kocela Franciszek, por., leg. czł. ZOR, zaśw. z 3 p.p., odci. nek pocztowy, odznaka Zw. Naucz. (AM 3583)

Kociewicz Tadeusz, ppor. wet. (LZK)

Kochański por. szwol. (LZS-K)

Kochleffel Rudolf, kpt. lek., list, prawo jazdy, 2 pisma (AM 1710), (LZK)

Kociatkiewicz Kazimierz, w mundurze, leg. urz. państw., list, pocztówki, 2 pisma handlowe (AM 3203), kpt. KOP., 1900, s. Kazimierza i Agnieszki, Jasło (LZK)

Kociński Paweł, dr mjr leg. ofic., 2 pocztówki, list, wizytówka (AM 3464), mjr lek. 1886, s. Michala i Tekli (LZK)

Kocorowski Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Koczaj Adam, (WO 864 str. 12)

Kodmowski, Stanisław, Marian, ppor., ks. ofic., leg. urz. państw., karta szcep. 1260, list z Kozielska do jego żony (AM 1079), (WO 984 str. 14), ppor. rez., 1899, 37 p.p. (LZK)

Kodmowski Stanisław Wojciech, w mundurze, leg. Krzyża Woj., 2 srebrne papierosnice z dedykacją, medalik z łańc. (AM 1248), Kodmowski — (WO 1099 str. 15)

Kodzański (WO 1099 str. 15)

Kodzański Stanisław, (?) cywilny, pocztówka, list, plakietka (AM 3429)

Koerner Edward, Kocner — sędzia w Katowicach, ppor., leg. urz. dowód osob., leg. ZOR. (AM 2038), Koerner Edward

Antoni — pismo Starostwa Grodzkiego w Katowicach (WO 2038 str. 31), Koerner Edward Antoni Franciszek — ur. 5.2.01, ppor. (ROR 34 str. 63)

Kofluk Jan, ppor., ur. 25.5.85, dowód osob., karta mob., karta szcep., wizytówki (AM 2967)

Kogut Adam, kpt., (Bryg. Panc.), znak tożs., grzebyk (AM 809), (bez imienia) — kpt. (LZK)

Kohmann Zygmunt, 1882, s. Józefa i Tekli (LZK)

Kohótek Józef, por. zawodowy (LZK)

Kojder Józef, mjr (LZK)

Kolczyński Mieczysław, por., karta czł., dowód osob., karta szcep., list, leg. PCK. (AM 2587)

Kolesinski Paweł, w mundurze, ur. 28.1.902, Białystok, dowód osob., 2 listy (AM 2733)

Kolesinski Leon, w mundurze, leg. urz. państw., list, plakietka, część metryki urodz. (AM 1558), plakietka pamiątkowa złożenia służbowania młodz. akad. w 1936 r. w Częstochowie (WO 1558 str. 44), ppor. piech. (LZK)

Kolsko Tadeusz, mjr lek. (LZK)

Kohlmann Waldemar, ppor. piech. (LZK), Kohlmann — ppor., karta szcep. 334 (AM 1416)

Koluszko Marian, kpt. (LZK)

Kolakowski Władysław, por. (LZS-K)

Kolodziej Julian, por. (LZK)

Kolodziejczak Wacław, ur. 18.5.97, dowód osob., metryka urodz. w jez. niem., 3 obligacje, metryka ślubu, blok notesowy, list hipoteczny (AM 224), kpt. (LZK)

Kolodziejczyk, podoficer rez. 3 p. lot., Warszawa (LZK)

Kolodziejczyk Stanisław, w mundurze, leg. urz. państw., prawo jazdy, listy, wolna karta kolej. 2-ej klasy (AM 1739), por. lot. (LZK)

Kolowski Michał, ppor., znak tożs., Baranowice, 1903 (AM 1236), Kolowski — (WO 1091 str. 15), Kolowski — ppor. art. (LZK)

Kolowski, ppor. (LZK)

Koluzan Antoni, kpt. (LZK)

Kolyszko Paweł, mjr (LZK)

Komac Stanisław, w mundurze, s. Antoniego, notatnik z ad-resami (AM 4086)

Komar Jan, Pol. Państw. (LZK)

Komar Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Komar Stanisław, Korczak Komar Stanisław — por., dowód osob., leg. urz. państw., wizytówka, karta szcep., fotografie, medalik, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3547)

Komarowski Jan, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Komorowicz Eugeniusz, rtm., mies. karta na pływalię, karta na broń, rozkaz wyjazdu, karta szcep. 3583, 2 fotografie (AM 829), (bez imienia) rtm., st. sp. (LZK)

Komorowski Tadeusz, Komorowski — kpt., karta na polowanie, karta czł. Ligi Kolon., odznaka strzelecka (AM 2166), Komorowski — (WO 2166)

Komplikowicz Bronisław, por. (Koluplikowicz lub Komlikowicz) (LZK), Komplikowicz — ur. 4.10.94, por. art. (ROR. 34 str. 138)

Komuniecki Michał, Komuniecki — inż., w mundurze, leg. urzęd., znak tożs. (AM 1563), zam. Warszawa, ul. Odyńca 15 a, tel. 4-20-69 ofic. br. panc. (WO 1563 str. 44)

Konarzowski Czesław, Konarzowski — cywilny, metryka ślubu, metryka urodz., karta szcep. (AM 2108), Konarzowski — (LZK)

Konarzowski Dariusz Wojciech, dowód osob., stała karta jazdy, 3 weksle, 5 listów — z których jeden pisany przez niego w Koziełku (AM 403)

Konarzowski Tadeusz, por., pocztówki, 2 listy, karta szcep. 2497, medalik z łańc. (AM 1725), ur. 1909 (LZS)

Konarski Jan, por. art. (LZK)

Kondziński Włodzimierz, por. art. (LZK)

Konecki Bolesław, por. (LZK)

Koniczka notatnik z adresem: Helena Koniczka, Lissa (Poznań), Rynek Kościelny 2 (AM 122)

Koniczka Edmund, kpt., dowód osob., list, odznaka wojsk panc., medalik, prawo jazdy (AM 739), Koniczka — ur. 1909 (LZK), Koniczka, ur. 11.10.09 (RO. 32 str. 131)

Koniczny Wojciech, por., leg. ofic., prawo jazdy, karta szcep. 748, karta, różaniec, 2 pocztówki, niemiecki paszport wojskowy (AM 2017), s. Szczepana, zam. Gnieszno, ul. Kaliniego 15/5, por. art. (WO str. 19/20)

Koniuszewski Józef, ur. 11.4.07, zam. Kraków, ul. gen. Bema 4, ks. oszcz. PKO., listy (AM 1093), Kraków, ul. Fenna 4 (WO 991 str. 14), por. 1907 (LZK)

Konkowski Antoni, por. dowód osob., przepustka, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 1065), (WO 975 str. 13)

Konopacki Stanisław kpt., ur. 17.1.85 w Wieluniu, zam. Warszawa, Alje Jerzozol 9, dowód osob., pocztówka, ks. oszcz. PKO., 2 pisma MSWojsk., ks. Kasy Oszcz., 3 wizytówki, naramiennik bez oznak (AM 312)

Konopka piech. — PKU., (Lwów (LZK)

Konopka Józef Marian, Józef — mjr, inż., wizytówka, karta szcepienia, 1 pismo (AM 4116), mjr piech. 1884, s. Tadeusza i Jadwigi (LZK)

Konopka Stanisław, por., leg. ofic. rez., karta czł., pocztówka (AM 2538), por. ur. 1901, s. Mateusza i Antoniny (LZK)

Konopka Zdzisław Marian, kpt., leg. ofic., leg. urzęd. (AM 3528)

Konopiński Alfons, por. lek., dr, 1905, s. Bronisława i Marii (LZK)

Konopicki Jan, kpt. art., szczegółów brak (WO str. 9), (LZK)

Konstanty Antoni, rtm. (LZK)

Kontrym Bolesław, por. rez. (LZK)

Konczak Sylwester, por., leg. urz. państw., kwit, karta z notatką ołówkową: »W razie mojej śmierci zawiadomić Kończaka Józefa, Lipa, poczta Sokolec, pow. Chodzież« (AM 536), por., ur. 1903 (LZK)

Kopacz Bohdan, pchor. piech. (LZK)

Kopczyński Stefan, por., przepustka, dowód osob., karta szcep. (AM 3914)

Kopaliński Franciszek, por. (LZK)

Kopaliński Wacław, por. (LZK)

Kopceński Władysław, por. (LZK)

Kopecki Tadeusz, por. rez. 1903, s. Michała i Bronisławy (LZK)

Kopeć Józef w mundurze, paszport, karta meldunkowa, rachunek (AM 3455)

Kopelinski Franciszek, prawo noszenia ubrania cywilnego, leg., pocztówka, karta szcep. 1999, znak tożs. (AM 2155), Kopyński (WO 2155 str. 34)

Koperski Tadeusz, por., 2 metryki urodz. jego synów, większa ilość fotografii, wizytówka, łańc. z medalikiem, ks. do modlenia (AM 457)

Kopff Leon, de Kopff Leon, Wiktor, Aleksander — kpt. lekarz, leg. ofic. rez., kolej. karta jazdy, wizytówka, pocztówki (AM 4079)

Kopis Leonard, por., pocztówki (AM 1521), (LZK)

Kopiniak Zdzisław Tadeusz, dr, arystent Umw., w mundurze, leg., urzęd. państw., karta szcep. 1504, wizytówka, pismo Min. Oświaty (AM 1210), (WO 1071 str. 15), por. rez. (LZK)

Kopras Jan, w mundurze, leg. ofic. (AM 3860), (bez imienia) — kpt. gosp. (LZK), ur. 22.12.92, kpt. (RO. 32 str. 372)

Korbanowski Józef, por. (LZK)

Korcz Stefan, Korcz kpt., odcinki pocztowe, listy, karta podatkowa Urzędu Skarb. Poznań (AM 2456), kpt. obs., (LZK)

Korczak Marian, ppłk. kaw., 1898, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Korczak Władysław, por., 1910, s. Konstantego i Bronisławy, 43 p.p. (LZK)

Kordasiewicz Bronisław, por., pocztówka, 2 listy (AM 1954)

Kordasiewicz Józef, Kordasiewicz — kpt., część leg., karta szcep., list (AM 1814), Kordasiewicz — ur. 3.5.94 (ROR. 34 str. 19)

Kordowski Wacław Wiktor, por. ur. 10.3.07, leg. ofic. rez., 2 kartki z zapiskami, fotografie, różaniec, medalik z łańc. (AM 3164)

Kordymowski Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Korkiewicz Jan, ppłk. (LZS-K)

Kornat Edward Józef, por. KOP. (LZK)

Korobowicz Tadeusz, ppłk. (LZK)

Korobowicz Kazimierz, por. (LZK)

Korobowicz Konstanty, mjr dr (LZK), pocztówka z nadawcą: Zbigniew Karakianus, Wilno, Tiltogaw 53. naramiennik bez oznak, ks. do modlenia (AM 269), dr Krolkiewicz — (WO 269 str. 19)

Korona Franciszek, koperty, wizytówki, (AM 157)

Korotun Włodzimierz, (LZK)

Korowajczyk Leonard, por., wizytówki, pocztówki, karta na broń karta czł. Aeroklubu (AM 3892), por. (LZK)

Korpala Alojzy, (bez imienia), kpt., pismo z r. 1927, ks. oszcz. PKO. na nazwisko Staszewicz Henryk, karta szcep. 3144,

legit., list, różaniec (AM 1644), ks. oszcz. PKO, na nazwisko Henryk Stankiewicz (WO 1644 str. 21), Alojzy — kpt. (LZK)

Kortmas (lub Kortnias), por. (LZK)

Korzeński Franciszek, (Korzelki) — w mundurze, pocztówki i list, różaniec (AM 1564), Korzeński — (WO 1564 str. 44), ppor. art. (LZK)

Korzeniowski Izidor, ppor., ur. 4.2.01, znak tożs., 2 listy, telegram, metryka urodz. (AM 1653), ppor. rez., 1901, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Korzeniowski Zbigniew, w mundurze, paszport, list, notatnik (LZK)

Korzeniowski Zdzisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Korzenny Włodzimierz, w mundurze (AM 3969), ppor. art. (LZK)

Korzon Edmund, ppor. rez. zand. (LZK)

Kosiłowicz Władysław, ppor. 1907, s. Józefa i Zofii, 2 p. strz. podh. (LZK)

Kosiński Karol, lekarz (LZK)

Koschinski Kazimierz, w mundurze, karta szcep., pocztówki (AM 3095), możliwe — Kosiński (?)

Kosiński Tomasz, por., ur. 1903 Kamionka Strum., znak tożs., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, medalik (AM 3084), ppor. art. (LZK)

Kosłowicz ppor. lek. (LZK)

Kosmahl Leopold Gustaw (?), ppor., ur. 16.12.03, karta mob., karta szcep., dowód osob., wizytówki, karta csl. ZOR., notatnik, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3468)

Kosmala Wacław, ppor. (LZK)

Kosmański Tadeusz, ppor. san. farm. (LZK)

Kosmański Zdzisław, por., ur. 17.4.07, zam. Młodziecno, leg. ofic., znak tożs., ks. oszcz. PKO, 2 świad. szk., 1 odznaka 86 p.p. (AM 2105), por. (LZK)

Kosowski Władysław, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, karta szcepienia (AM 3252)

Koszecki Józef, Kosiecki — kpt., ofic. legit., rozkaz wyjazdu, karta szcep. (AM 2130), Koszecki — (WO 2130), (LZK)

Kossobudzki Bolesław, Kossobudzki B . . . Jaw, kpt., s. Jana, 2 listy (AM 2462), Kossobudzki — pplik. art. (LZK)

Kossowski Jan, Nikołaj, Kosowski — kpt., ur. 6.12.88, ks. ofic., leg. Virtuti Militari (AM 1388), Kossowski — ur. 6.12.86 (WO 1388 str. 17), ur. 6.12.88, rtm. (ROR. 34 str. 118)

Kostecki - Rogala Stefan, por. rez. art. (LZK)

Kostecki Zbigniew, por. mgr. farm. (LZK)

Kosterski Zygmunt, por. mgr. farm. (LZK)

Kosterski Bolesław, por. lek. (LZK)

Kosterski Mieczysław, por., dr med. (LZK)

Kostkiewicz Bolesław, K Bolesław, s. Zygmunt, 1 fotografia z dedykacją: "Twoja za Tobą tęskniąca żona — 13.2.40, Lwów", karta szcepienia, list, koperta (AM 781), Kostkiewicz — (WO str. 11)

Kostkiewicz Wincenty, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Kostkiewicz Zygmunt, pplik., dowód osob., karta szcep., krzyż Virtuti Militari, krzyż z lańc. (złoto) — (AM 780), por (WO

str. 11), pplik. ur. 1893, s. Michała i Antoniny (LZK), ur. 1.4.93 (RO. 32 str. 31)

Kostrzewski Stanisław, ppor., dowód osob., świad. szcep. 1418, cwikier, rozmaite zapiski (AM 540)

Kostrzewski Stefan, por., wizytówki (AM 2503)

Kostyra vel Kostyrzewski Bolesław, ppor. (LZK)

Kościukiewicz Walenty, ppor. lek. (LZK), dr, w mundurze, leg z fotografią (AM 2555)

Kosciolek Zdzisław, ppor. (LZK)

Kosiński Stefan, ofic. rez., ur. 24.9 . . . (?), s. Franciszka i Rozalii z Prosińskich, zam. Warszawa, ul. Miodowa 7, zaśw. obywatelstwa wydane przez Starostwo Grodzkie Śródm. Warsz. (WO str. 3)

Kotecki Bronisław, por. zawodowy (LZK)

Kotecki Marian, por., leg. urzęd., listy, pocztówki, fotografie (AM 1126), (WO 1014 str. 14), (LZK)

Kotecki Władysław, por. zawodowy (LZK)

Koflinski Józef, (LZK)

Kowacz Zbigniew, officer, znak tożs., (AM 584), Kowaczyn — (WO str. 9), Kowacz — ppor. piech. (LZK)

Kowal Aleksander, kpt., s. Grzegorza, karta szcep., karta z zapiskami, odznaka pułkowa, 2 medaliki (AM 3167), rtm. (LZK)

Kowalczak por. (LZK)

Kowalczyk Walerian, w mundurze, list (AM 716), lub Kowalczyk (WO str. 10)

Kowalczyk Adam, kpt., legit. odznacz., karta polowania (AM 3849), kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Kowalczyk Bronisław, pchor. san. KOP., 1897, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Kowalczyk Jan, naucz., w mundurze, ur. 15.3.04 w Bądyniu, zam. Labiszyn, ks. oszcz. PKO, metryka ślubu, odznaka (AM 2474)

Kowalczyk Mieczysław, w mundurze, 4 pocztówki z nadawcą: Jadwiga Kowalczyk, Prądnik Czerwony, ul. Legionów 10 — obok Krakowa, list (AM 531)

Kowalczyk Stanisław, ppor., ur. 1910, znak tożs., 2 wizytówki, 4 pocztówki (AM 3765), ppor. (LZK)

Kowalczyk Tadeusz Ferdynand, officer, ur. 1908, s. Józefa i Stanisławy (LZK)

Kowalczyk Walerian, ppor. art. (LZK)

Kowalewski Marian, mjr., ur. 1895, ros. zaśw. z data Kozielek 29.9.39, karta szcep. 2930, rzeźbiona cygarniczka, Kozielek (AM 1027, (WO 954 str. 13)

Kowalewski Michał, dowód osob. (AM 144), ppor., 1908, s. Bohdana i Emilii (LZK)

Kowalewski Stefan, w mundurze, odcinki pocztowe, karta szcepienia 1085 (AM 1287), (WO 1124 str. 16)

Kowalewski Stefan, ppor. lotn. (LZK)

Kowalewski Witold, mjr., pocztówki (AM 2170), Kowalski (WO 2170 str. 34), Kowalewski — mjr. (LZK)

Kowalewski Władysław, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki z adresem:

Kowalewski Władysław, Kozielecki, (AM 1361), kpt., 18 p.a.l. (LZK-S)

Kowalik Czesław, ppor., prof. chemii, leg. ofic., przepustka, wizytówka, kalend. kiesz. (AM 690), (LZK)

Kowalik Eugeniusz, por., 1 wyblakta fotografia z dedykacją: „Mojemu kochanemu Eugeniuszowi — nie zapomnij o mnie“, notatnik (AM 1903), dedykacja na fotografii: „Kochanemu Genkowi — aby nie zapomniał, — Małaństwo. Wilno dnia 27.3.39“ (WO 1903 str. 28)

Kowalkowski Adam Mieczysław, pocztówka z nadawcą: Bohdan Kowalkowski, Warszawa, ul. Piusa XI Nr 23 m. 5 (AM 134)

Kowalkowski Bronisław, kpt., leg. ofic., leg. Virtuti Militari, prawo jazdy wystawione w Baranowiczach, karta szcep. 3458, pocztówki kwit. depoz. (AM 2235)

Kowalski Aleksander Marek, w mundurze, metryka ślubu, karta szcep. 2079, list (AM 2129), por. rez., 1902, s. Józefa i Leokadii (LZK)

Kowalski Bolesław, por. art. (LZK)

Kowalski Ignacy, ppor. rez. żand. (LZK)

Kowalski Józef, por. (ppor.) (LZK)

Kowalski Karol, por. (LZK), ppor. (WO 930 str. 13)

Kowalski Jan, (?) naucz., ppor., leg. urzęd., pocztówka, list (AM 4078)

Kowalski Mieczysław, naucz., leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO., gazeta rosyjska w jęz. polskim z 6. marca 1940 (AM 2180), por. piech. (LZK)

Kowalski Mieczysław Stanisław, por., ur. 25.5.85, 2 leg. ofic., pocztówka zaśw., leg. Srebrnego Krzyża Zasługi (AM 3111) (ROR. 34 str. 384)

Kowalski Miroslaw, ppor., leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, karta meld., łańc. z medalikiem (AM 3478)

Kowalski Stanisław, por. piech. (LZK)

Kowalski Stefan, ppor. art. (LZK)

Kowalski Stefan, por. rez. (LZK)

Kowalski Tomasz por., 1907, s. Feliksa i Wiktorii (LZK)

Kowalski Wiktor, ppor., wizytówki, karta szcep. 1328, 3 listy, plakietka (AM 1747), aspirant Str. Gran. (WO 1747 str. 24)

Kowalski Wiktor, cywilny, koperta, pocztówka (AM 1935)

Kowalski Władysław, kpt. (LZK)

Kowalski Zygmunt, kpt., pocztówki, listy (AM 2181)

Kownacki Józef, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Kowszyc Arkadiusz, Kowszyc — kpt., pocztówka, (AM 127), Kowalik (WO str. 4), Kowszyc Arkadiusz, kpt. (LZK), Kowszyc — ur. 9.2.91 (RO. 32 str. 82)

Kozakiewicz Józef, Aleksander, ks. ofic., znak tożs. (AM 541)

Kozakiewicz Tadeusz, kpt. 1895, s. Klemensa i Salomei (LZK)

Kozakiewicz Zdzisław, por. rez. inż. (LZK)

Kozanecki Tadeusz, kpt., ur. 27.9.08 w Kaliszu, ofic. leg. ks. oszcz. PKO., różne pisma urzędowe (AM 1810), Kozaniecki — ur. 27.9.900, zam. Włodzimierz Wól., SPPA, (WO 1810 str. 25), Kozanecki — kpt. (LZK)

Koziej Franciszek, pchor. 1897, s. Jana i Barbary (LZK)

Koziej Franciszek, por., ur. 14.5.900, dowód osob., leg. urzęd., 2 leg. skautowskie, leg. odznacz., różaniec (AM 3888)

Koziej Jan, ppor. rez. (por.) (LZK); szwadron ul. (WO str. 19)

Koziej Stanisław, kpt. br. panc., wojsk. prawo jazdy, dowód osob., leg. ofic., monogram, plakietka (AM 2319)

Koziej - Poklewski Władysław, (Włodzimierz), (LZK-S)

Kozierowski Antoni, w mundurze, zam. Warszawa, ul. Wspólna 8, karta na broń, pocztówka, lustro metalowe (AM 2811)

Kozierowski Jerzy ppor. rez., 1913, s. Mariana i Natalii (LZK)

Kozietulski por. (LZK-O-S)

Kozisłowski Jerzy, ppor. (LZK)

Kozioł Franciszek, por. (LZK)

Koziołek Leopold, ppor., znak tożs., karta pocztowa, plakietka z Matką Boską (AM 447), Kosiulek (WO str. 6)

Koziorowski Jerzy, ppor., karta szcep., karta z zapiskami (AM 2332), ppor. (LZK)

Koziorowski Michał, Koziorowski — pocztówka, dowód osob. (nieczytelny), 1 fotografia (AM 206), Koziorowski, ppor. ur. 7.7.06 w Kłodawie (WO str. 19)

Kozłowski Adam Marian, ppor., ur. 17.11.910, dowód osob., ks. ofic., list (AM 601) Kostowski (WO str. 9)

Kozłowski Aleksander, ppor. (LZK), w mundurze, karta szcep. (AM 3459)

Kozłowski Antoni, w mundurze, pocztówka, list (AM 2211), ppor. art. (LZK)

Kozłowski Bronisław, ppor., 3 pocztówki z nich 1 z nadawcą: Julia Kozłowska, Wilno, ze stemplem: Kaltanera (AM 929), (WO 898 str. 12)

Kozłowski Feliks, ppor. (LZK)

Kozłowski Flawiusz, ppor. (LZK)

Kozłowski Jan, ppor., dr (LZK)

Kozłowski Mariusz, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Kozłowski Michał, ppor., 1906, s. Michała i Marii (LZK)

Kozłowski Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Kozłowski Stefan, wizytówka (AM 60), kpt. (LZS)

Kozłowski Teodor, ppor. (LZK), w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta szcep., 3 listy (AM 2840)

Kozłowski Wincenty, ppor. art. (LZK)

Kozłowski Witold, por. (LZK)

Kozłowski Zdzisław, por. lek. (LZK)

Kozowicz Tadeusz, w mundurze, ur. 28.10.08, dowód osob., pocztówka, karta szcep., medalik złoty z łańc., (AM 3153)

Kozubski Władysław, mjr (LZK)

Kozłowski Bolesław, w mundurze, świad. lek. z Kozielecki, 2 fotografie, karta szcep., odznaka pułkowa, pocztówka, medalik (AM 3281)

Kozłowski Bolesław, w mundurze, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. ofic., karta szcep. (AM 3284)

Kozłowski Stefan, kpt., (WO str. 3)

Kozma Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK), Kozna — ppor. ur. 11.12.06, syn Jadvigi, ks. ofic., medalik (AM 1077), Kuźma ur. 11.12.08

(WO 982 str. 14). Koźma — ur. 11.12.06, ppor. (ROR 34 str. 195)

Koźmiński ppor. (LZK)

Koenig Józef, por. art. rez. (LZK)

Krobowski Ludwik, por., listy, pocztówki z nadawcą: K. Krawowska, Warszawa — Bielany, ul. T. Zana 27, kalend. kiesz., medalik z łoję (AM 2471)

Krachelski Piotr, ppor. (LZK)

Krachowski Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Kraczkiewicz Kazimierz, mjr., ur. 14.10.94 w Tarnogrodzie, zam., Legionowo, ks. oszcz., i wyciąg z konta (WO str. 3)

Kraczuk Władysław, oficer (LZK)

Kraczyński Wiesław, kpt. lek. (LZK)

Kraheński Kazimierz, mjr., 1890, s. Henryka i Tekli (LZK)

Kraheński Piotr, Krachelski — w mundurze, listy i pocztówki, karta szcep. 318, (AM 1078), (WO 983 str. 14), Krahelski — ur. 12.6.94, ppor. (ROR 34 str. 187)

Kraheński Roman, kpt. (LZK)

Krański Stanisław, kpt. br. panc. (LZK)

Krajewski por. (LZK)

Krajewski Bolesław, por., karta szcep., obrazek święty (AM 3103), por. piech. (LZK)

Krajewski Edmund, por., karta mob., wizytówki, spinki mankietowe, legit. odznacz. (AM 1088), (WO 987 str. 14), por. lek. 1899, s. Feliksa i Marii (LZK)

Krajewski Eugeniusz, ppor., dr (LZK), dr med., ur. 9.2.98, dowód osob., paszport, wizytówka, karta szcep. 1720, zaśw. (AM 1733) zaświadczenie złożenia w depozyt walizy w Hotelu George'a we Lwowie (WO 1733 str. 23)

Krajewski Jan Karol, por., karta szcep. 3347, leg. czł. (AM 2107), por. 1895, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Krajewski Jarosław, legit., odznacz., fotografia, wizytówka (AM 4051)

Krajewski Roman, kpt., ur. 29.10.87, Warszawa, pl. Inwalidów, leg. ofic., obliczenie pensyjne, list, ks. oszcz. PKO, dwie ks. oszcz. PKO, na imię Zofia Krajewska (AM 801), kpt. (LZK)

Krajewski Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Krajewski Zygmunt, w mundurze, ur. 1909, znak tożs. (AM 3539), (LZK)

Krakowiak ppor. (LZK)

Krakowski Mieczysław, ppor., świad. szk., tygodniowa karta jazdy (AM 3042)

Kramarz Władysław, ppor. lot. (LZK)

Kras Stanisław, kpt., zam. Tarnów, ul. Nowy Świat 35, Krzyż Virtuti Militari z legit., legit. ofic., pismo MSWojsk., karta szcep. 1152 (AM 811), kpt. (LZK)

Kraszewski Stanisław, kpt. art., lat 37, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK)

Kraśniak kpt. piech. (LZK)

Kraśniak Henryk, kpt. (LZK)

Kraus Piotr Bolesław, ur. 23.11.910, ppor., legit. ofic. rez. (AM 2531)

Krause Franciszek, ppor., pocztówki i listy, 1 pocztówka z ad-

resem: Kazimierz Krause, Poznań, Jarochowskiego 16 m. 8, kilka karykatur z niewoli (AM 2377), ur. 19.2.18 . . . (?) w Poznaniu (WO 2377)

Krautwald Ernest, kpt. art., 1901, s. Ernesta i Zofii (LZK)

Krawczyk Józef, por. (LZK)

Krawczyk Jan, dr por., wizytówka, list, 2 legit. (AM 3236)

Krawecki Józef, por., legit. odznacz., list, zapalniczka z nogramem FK., 2 damskie łańcuszki na szyję, koleczyki (AM 931), (WO 899 str. 12)

Krawiec Tadeusz, ppor. rez. piech. (LZK)

Krag Ignacy, ppor. (LZK)

Krechowski Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Kreczmar Jerzy, Czreischmar — zam. Kraków, ul. Olszyny 8, dowód osob., wizytówka (WO str. 45) możliwe — Kreczmar, lub Kreczner

Krepacki Adolf, ofic. rez. (LZK)

Kretkowski Stanisław, por., 2 wizytówki z nazwiskiem: Kretkowski Stanisław i Kretkowski Ignacy, pocztówka, różaniec, 2 spinki mankietowe, 2 medaliki (AM 1372), Kretowski (WO 1372 str. 17) oraz Kretkowski, oficer, ur. 4.7.900 (WO 1372 str. 20)

Kretowicz Jarosław, mjr. rez. (LZK)

Kreć Edward, ppor., pismo Min. Roln., karta szcep., karta mob., list (AM 2658), Kreky (WO 2658 str. 49), Kremky Edward, ur. 13.1.74, ppor. (ROR 34 str. 261-?)

Krećkowski Stanisław, ppor., Lwów, ur. 1914, znak tożs., świad. szk., karta szcep. 2803, list, modlitewnik, medalik (AM 3032)

Krepliński Wacław, w mundurze leg. urzęd., dowód osob., wizytówka, karta szcep., list (AM 2376), Kreglicki — (WO 2376 str. 39)

Krijk Józef, mjr. legit. ofic., karta szcep. (AM 3436) - ?

Krobowski Konstanty, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2909, leg. dla urzęd. nieczytelna, 3 medaliki, list, pocztówka (AM 1418)

Krochmalcki Jan, por. (LZK), w mundurze, zam. Łódź, Aleja Unii 18 m. 32, notatnik, medalik (AM 2870)

Krogulski Henryk, (LZK) Henryk Stanisław — ur. 15.7.05 w Rajbroicie, dowód osob., ks. ofic., ks. do modlenia, pocztówka, świad., cywilny guzik (AM 313), ur. w Rajgrodzie (WO str. 7)

Krogulski Stanisław, por., dr (LZK)

Krogulski Stanisław, ppłk. dypl. kaw. (LZK)

Krokowski por. (LZK)

Krokowski Tadeusz, w mundurze, dr med., dyplom doktorski, leg. urzęd., listy, wizytówki, fotografie, złoty pierścion, medalik (AM 3366)

Kromer Tadeusz Jan, ppor., pismo urzędowe Min. Obr. Narod., medalik (AM 1503), ppor. art. (LZK)

Kronenberg Artur, Kronenburg — Warszawa, ul. Grzybowska 32, (AM 293), Kronenberg (bez imienia) — mjr. st. sp. (LZK)

Kronwald Erazm, kpt. (LZK)

Kronz Rudolf, ppor., legit. ofic., pocztówki (AM 2682), Kronic (WO 2682 str. 49)

Krowicki Stanisław, ppor., ks. wojsk., leg. prasowa, list, 2 pocztówki (AM 1447)

Król Bronisław, ppor. art. (LZK)
Król Fryderyk, ur. 6.3.95, adres: Strumień — śląsk Cieszyński, ks. oszcz. PKO, ks. wojsk., list do Czerw. Krzyża w Berlinie z nadawcą: A. Król w Schwarzwasser (AM 1017), kartka z adresem: Zofia Koszyńska, ul. Lipnowska 13, Włocławek — Leslau 3, (WO 950 str. 13), kpt. (LZK)
Król Józef, por., pocztówka, kartka z adresem (AM 2426)
Król Karol, Kroll — naucz., ppor., ur. 16.10.08, leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO, karta szczep., ks. wojsk., list (AM 1735), Król — (WO 1735 str. 23), por. (LZK)

Król Rudolf, kpt. (LZK)
Królowski kpt. uzb. (LZK)
Królowski Jan, por. (LZK)
Królowski Stanisław, mjr. (LZK-S)
Kruczkowski Edward, por., inż. (LZK)
Krudowski Jan, por., leg. ofic., leg. odznacz., leg. urzęd., okulary, zasw. o chorobie, pismo wojskowe (AM 3638)
Krudowski Stefan, mjr, dr, pismo Szp. Woj. 504, dyplom naukowy, leg. ofic., wieczne pióro, 1 spinaka mankietowa, wizytówki, okulary, 1 odznaka pułkowa (AM 1086), (WO 985 str. 14), mjr lek. (LZK)

Kruk Stefan, w mundurze, ur. 18.7.05, znak tożs., telegram, fotografia (AM 743), por. lek. 1905 (LZK)
Kruk Wacław, por. 1906 (LZK)
Kruk Władysław, kpt., syn Dymitra (LZK)
Krukowiecki Edmund, ppor., 1902, s. Andrzej i Józefy, Modlin (LZK), ppor., leg. urzęd., telegram, notatnik, 2 medaliki list pocztówka (AM 574)

Krukowski Edmund, kpt. (LZK)
Krukowski Henryk, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówki z nadawcą: Krukowska, Poznań, ul. Waiowa 15, 1 przekaz pocztowy, 1 słonik (AM 3841)
Krukowski Władysław, ppor., wizytówka, list, fotografia, karta meldunkowa, pocztówka (AM 3773), por. 1911, s. Ignacego i Marii (LZK)

Krupa Aleksander, lat 25 (LZK)
Krupa Franciszek, ppor., 8 ks. oszcz. PKO, leg. ZOR., karta mob. (AM 2087), instruktor rolny, zam. Tarnopol, ul. Stanisława 14 (WO 2087 str. 32), ppor. 1902 (LZK)
Krupa Robert, 1902 (LZK)

Krupiński Michał, ppor. 1902 (LZK)
Krupkowski Zdzisław, ppor. (LZK)
Krupowski Zdzisław, lekarz (LZK)
Krusche Jan, kpt., adwokat, Warszawa, Jerozolimska 49 m. 7, lub Warszawa, ul. Piłsa XI Nr 36, listy, pocztówki, wizytówki, świad. szczep. 1803, (AM 444), Krusze — por. (LZK)
Krusiewicz Jan, ppor. 1907 (LZK)
Kruszewski Bohdan, ppor. 1910, s. Józefa i Janiny, 8 p.p. (LZK)

Kruszewski Stanisław, rtm. 1896 (LZK)
Krus Antoni, Kruz — ppor., leg. urzęd., leg. ofic. rez., pla-

kieta (AM 2212), Kruz (Kruc) — ryngraf z Matką Boską i napisem: „Mirkowi, Matka Chrzestna — 18.4.1938”. (WO 2212 str. 35), Kruz — por. (LZK), ur. 26.5.900, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 55)
Krychelski Adam Ludwik, kpt., ks. wojsk., wizytówki (AM 1889), Krychelski — kpt. (LZK)

Krychowski Henryk, por., zam. Grodno, odcinek pocztowy, kartka z nazwiskiem, karta szczep. (AM 3466), ppor. 1883 (LZK)

Krycki Romuald, ppor. (LZK)
Kryniecki Ludomir, lat 33 (LZK)
Krysztolik Marian Józef, w mundurze, zam. Wilno, leg. ofic., wizytówka, kalend. kiesz. (AM 3827)

Kraczkowski Marian, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., wizytówki (AM 2678)

Krzaniowski Walerian, ppor., Kraków, Kujawska 20 m. 4, kwit premii Nr. 30709 do polisy ubezp., łańc. z medalikiem (AM 527), (LZK)

Krzczonik Zenon, ppor. (LZK-S)
Krzemiński Kazimierz, por. (LZK)
Krzemiński por. (LZK)

Krzemiński Aleksander, ks. wojsk., 2 zaświadczenia, karta członk. Z.O.R. (AM 1639)

Krzemiński Józef, w mundurze, ks. oszcz. PKO., karta szczep. (AM 3453)

Krzeszniński ppor., list w jez. niem. do Kmdta Obozu, datowany 4.2.40 (AM 439), Warszawa, ul. Bracka 14 m. 2 (WO str. 6)

Krzywiński Zygmunt, plk. sąd. (LZK)
Krzyczkowski Karol, ppor. 1895 (LZK)
Krzyczonik Zenobiusz, ppor. (LZK)

Krzymski Witold, ppor., ofic. leg., ks. do modlenia, natatnik, pocztówki, karta szczep., list, różaniec, cygarniczka „Kozielek 20.11.39” (AM 1392)

Krzyżkowski Eugeniusz Ludwik, kpt., 3 wizytówki, karta szczep. 3225, kalend. kieszonkowy, ks. do modlenia, pęk kluczy (AM 938), (WO 903 str. 12)

Krzyżkowski Tadeusz, por., urzędnik techn., dowód osob., ks. st. wojsk., naramienniki bez oznak (AM 389)

Krzyżstolik Stanisław, w mundurze, 1 list, łańcuszek do zegarka (AM 3532), — (bez imienia), chorąży (LZK)

Krzywobłocki Leon, ppor. 1908 (LZK)
Krywanowski Józef, przy zwłokach Hess Kazimierza znalazłono między innymi znak tożs. na nazwisko Krywanowski Józef, por. 1901 (AM 3643) — por. 1909 (LZK)

Krzywanowski Kazimierz, por. (LZK)
Krzyżanowski Roman, ppłk., zam. Warszawa, ul. Jagiellońska 31 m. 5, dwa pisma MSW-owsk., pismo Kmdta Miasta Warszawy (AM 773), ppłk. (bez imienia), (LZK)

Krzyżanowski Roman, ppor. 1882, s. Rudolfa i Ludwika (LZK)
Krzyżanowski Stanisław, — (bez imienia) ppor., ur. 10.9.05, dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., karta szczep., metryka urodz. (AM 3598), Stanisław, ur. 10.9.05 (ROR. 34 str. 154)

Książek Józef, inż., por., leg. ofic., karta na broń, karta

szczęp., 1858, pocztówki (AM 2236)
Ksieniewicz Wacław, Ksieniewicz — mjr, dr med., zam To-
 run, ul. Mickiewicza 7-12, wizytówki, karta czł. Czerw. Krzyża.
 2 pocztówki (AM 1445), mjr lek. (LZK)
Kuba Izidor, por. (LZK)
Kubak Franciszek, w mundurze, Kier. Szkoły, wyblakły obraz
 z nazwiskiem, list, różaniec (AM 1212), Kubiak — szczytki w
 mundurze — (WO 1074 str. 15), Kubak (bez imienia), ppor.
 (LZK)
Kubala Alojzy, kpt. (LZK)
Kubala Franciszek, Andrzej, kpt., 3 pisma służbowe, list (AM
 2266), zam. Biała Krakowska, (WO 2266 str. 37), kpr. (LZK)
Kubala Józef, w mundurze, list (AM 1408), Kubala Józef (?),
 Jan, ur. 21.9.96, (ROR. 34 str. 69)
Kubala Aleksander, kpt. (LZK)
Kubasiewicz Aleksy, ppor. (LZK)
Kubasik Eugeniusz, por. saper, ur. 17.3.10, legit. ofic., znak
 tożs. (AM 1207), ur. 27.3.10, (WO 1068), por. (LZK)
Kubiak Józef, ppor., ur. 18.6.07, w Warszawie, ks. st. sl., no-
 tatnik, różne wizytówki, pocztówka, fotografie (AM 1257),
 (WO 1104 str. 16), ppor. (LZK)
Kubian ppor. (LZK)
Kubicki Kazimierz, por., karta członek., 2 listy (AM 573), por.
 (LZK)
Kubicki Zbigniew, por., wojsk. prawo jazdy, fotografie, wi-
 zytówka, odcinek poczt., medalik (AM 1768), — lub Dubicki, ur.
 17.10.07, w Tłumaczu, (WO 1768 str. 24)
Kubik Lucjan, w mundurze, 2 listy (AM 1500)
Kubok ppor. (LZK)
Kubylkowski Michał, ppor. lek. (LZK)
Kuc Stasiuk Józef, w mundurze, zam. Repki pow. Sokółów
 Podlaski, notatnik (AM 1326)
Kuca Henryk, oficer, ur. 1908, znak tożs. (AM 1153), (WO
 1031 str. 14)
Kucel Stefan, dr adwokat, oficer, wizytówki, pocztówki, pa-
 pierośnica (AM 4095) kpt. (LZK)
Kucharski kpt. (LZK)
Kucharski (?) ppor., pocztówka, karta szczę-
 p., kwit poczt. (AM 2337) karta piana w Kozielsku w dniu 24.4.40
 (WO 2337 str. 38)
Kucharski Józef, kpt., ur. 4.7.94, znak tożs. (AM 2046)
Kucharski Józef, ppor. (LZK)
Kucharski Marian, kpt., legit. służb., dowód osob., fotografia,
 wizytówka (AM 824)
Kucharski Władysław, kpt. (LZK)
Kucharzow Stanisław, oficer, leg. ZOR., kilka wizytówek z
 jego nazwiskiem (WO str. 3), ppor. 1908 (LZK)
Kudel Stanisław, plk. żand. (LZK)
Kucza Wacław Józef, list, wizytówka, notatnik (AM 162)
 urzędnik, (bez imienia), (LZK)
Kuczak Wilhelm, w mundurze, różne pocztówki, karta szczę-
 p. (AM 1836)

Kuczyński Jan, por. (LZK)
Kuczyński Józef, por. si. st., lat 33, s. Jana (LZK)
Kuczyński Józef, por. ur. 1909 (LZK)
Kuczyński Mieczysław, ppor., 2 listy, pocztówka (AM 1502)
Kuczyński Stefan, por., karta urlopowa z 29.9.39, z 77 pp.,
 karta z adresem: Danuta Kuczyńska, Warszawa, Krucza 8,
 karta z różnymi adresami, medalik z łańcuszkiem (AM 2747)
Kudelski Jan, pchor. rez. (LZK)
Kudelski Józef, ppor. (LZK)
Kufel Tadeusz, pchor. (LZK)
Kujawa Jan, chor. KOP. (LZK)
Kukielka Józef, por., 2 pocztówki, 2 listy (AM 441), ppor. —
 był w Szepietówce (LZS)
Kukowski Tadeusz, ppor., chemik, ur. 3.5.09 w Radomiu, do-
 wód osob., pocztówka, list, wizytówki, cygarniczka (AM 2652),
 (LZK)
Kukpa Franciszek, ppor., pocztówka, odznaka pułkowa (AM
 3151)
Kukucz Paweł, ppor. (LZK)
Kukulski ppor., dowód osob., fotografia w dobrym
 stanie (AM 128)
Kukulski Eugeniusz, ppłk. art. (LZK)
Kulczycki Włodzimierz, ppor., ur. 8.5.13, legit. ofic. rez. (AM
 3134)
Kulczycki Zygmunt, w mundurze, wizytówki, legit. adwokac-
 ka (dr iur.) (AM 1976), mgr. prawa (WO 1976)
Kuleczyński Kazimierz, ppor., 2 zaświadczenia komendanta
 korpusu (AM 858), (WO 851 str. 11)
Kulesza Franciszek, por., ur. 25.2.10, wojsk. prawo jazdy
 zaśw. o awansie (AM 3326)
Kulesza Jan, por. (LZK)
Kulesza Władysław, plk., dowód osob., różaniec (AM 295)
 plk. kaw. (LZK)
Kuliga Wojciech, por. (LZK)
Kulik chor. (LZK)
Kulikowski Eugeniusz, ppor. rez. (LZS-K)
Kulkowski Jan, ppor. (LZK)
Kulikowski Michał, ppor., s. Pawła, fotografie, spis narzędzi
 lekarskich i leków z Kozielska (AM 2615), ppor. (LZK)
Kulisa Leon, ppor., część dowodu osob., pocztówka, karta
 szczep. 1714, 2 listy, krzyżek (AM 932), (WO 900 str. 12)
Kulpiński Wacław, ppor. (por.) rez., (LZK)
Kulwiec Jan, por. (LZK)
Kula wachm. (LZK)
Kulakowski Jan, por., legit. ofic. rez., leg. inwal., 3 listy, 2
 pocztówki, papierośnica (AM 2530)
Kulakowski Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)
Kumaniecki kpt. (LZK)
Kumaniecki architekt (LZK)
Kuminek Henryk Bruno, dziennikarz, w mundurze, ur. 5.12.11
 w Olkuszu, zamieszkały w Bydgoszczy, legit. dziennikarska, do-
 wód osob., paszport, legit. odznacz., wizytówki, 2 listy, odznaka
 (AM 3313), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Kunciewicz Eugeniusz, por., ur. 6.1.908, pismo urzędowe Kasy Chorych, zaświadczenie, list, fotografia (AM 1128), (WO 1016 str. 14)

Kunda Edmund, w mundurze, nauczyciel w Grodnie, leg. urzęd. (AM 3786), ppot. art. (LZK)

Kupka Franciszek, por. (ppot.), (LZK)

Kupś Ludwik Wiktor, por., u. 24.8.03, ka. st. sl., dowód osob., bardzo dobre fotografie, 2 listy, kwit Kasy Oszcz., wizytówki (AM 1940), ppot. piech., 1904, s. Mieczysława i Marii (LZK)

Kurkiewicz Mieczysław, cywilny, inż., karta członk., pocztówki, koperta (AM 2861), por. rez., lat 59 (LZK)

Kurkowski Stefan Leon, kpt., ur. 8.4.900 w Łukowcu, karta szczep., leg. klubowa, list: „Kochany Stefanie. . . .” w języku niem. (AM 1478), kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Kurletto Marian, Kurletto — kpt., koperta (AM 141), Kurletto Adam (WO str. 4), Kurletto Marian, kpt. Kurnatowski por. kaw. (LZK)

Kurnatowski Jan, ppot. art. (LZK)

Kurnatowski Tadeusz, mjr (LZK)

Kurowski Feliks, kpt., leg. ofic., wojsk. prawo jazdy, odznaka pułkowa, medalik (AM 3855)

Kurowski Mieczysław, por., wizytówka, koperta, fotografia, portfel z monogramem, świad. szczep. 3325 (AM 449)

Kurowski Władysław, por. (LZK)

Kurpuk Władysław Dyonizy, mjr lek., część karty mob. pocztówka, okulary, część pocztówki (AM 1579), mjr lek. dr (LZK)

Kurylo Tadeusz, por., wizytówki, leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, fotografie (AM 2282), por. 4 p. lotn., zam. Toruń (WO 2282 str. 37), por. plot. (LZK)

Kurz Henryk, (LZK)

Kurzeja Tadeusz, ppot. rez. (LZK)

Kusyk Feliks, ppot., znak tożs., list, notatnik, księga Mojżesza, mała podkowa (AM 1052), (WO 968 str. 13), ppot. art. (LZK)

Kusz Adolf, w mundurze, karta szczep. 2495, prawo jazdy, medalik z łańc., krzyżyk (AM 2237)

Kuszel Kazimierz, ppot. (LZK)

Kuszelowski Stanisław, ur. 10.9.94 w Jaworowie, mjr, ks. oszcz. P.K.O., (AM 125), (bez imienia), mjr (LZK)

Kuszyński list z adresem: Kozielsk. Dom Wypoczynkowy „Maksim Gorki”, koperta z nadawcą: E. Kuszyńska (miejsc. nieczytelna), ul. Piłsudskiego 36 (AM 38), (WO 38 str. 19)

Kusmieriek Tomasz, — Kusierek — mjr (WO 932 str. 13), Kusmieriek ur. 30.8.92, mjr (RO 32 str. 182)

Kutyba Józef, ppłk., ur. 9.2.99 w Krakowie, leg. Zw. Narc., leg. Virtuti Militari, leg. ofic., wizytówki (AM 481), Kutyna ppłk. (LZK), Kutyba, ur. 9.2.99 (RO 32 str. 39)

Kuziel kpt. (LZK)

Kuzio Rudolf, Kuciw — kpt. mar. woj., dowód osob., 3 listy, 5 zaśw., list z obozu jeńców do Rządu Bułgarskiego o zezwolenie

na przyjazd (AM 876), (bez imienia) kpt. st. sp. (LZK), Kuzio ur. 30.10.96, kpt. mar. woj. (RO 32 str. 399)

Kuźma ppot. (LZK)

Kuźmiar Zygmunt, officer, leg. ofic., karta szczep., fotografie (AM 2098), Kuźniar, (WO 2098 str. 32)

Kuźmiarski Zbysław, ppot. rez. (LZS-K)

Kuźmicki Franciszek, (LZK)

Kuźmicki (?) w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 3974)

Kuźmiński Arkadiusz, student, ur. 29.1.07, zam. w Warszawie, ul. Akademicka 5, ks. oszcz. P.K.O., karta szczep., pocztówka z nadawcą Pińsk, ul. Kolejna 12, — Kolega Nacjarda (AM 239)

Kuźnar Jan, — Kuźnar — w mundurze, dr. znak tożs., ur. 1893, Poznań, 2 listy, pocztówka z nadawcą: Kuźmar Stanisław, Jasienica Kościelna, Małopolska, pismo z Min. Skarbu (AM 3967), Kuźnar — ur. 20.5.93, dr (RO 34 str. 260)

Kuźnicki Zygmunt, por. ur. 6.4.05, leg. ofic. rez., znak tożs. (AM 4029)

Kuźniewicz Aleksander, pchor. (LZS-K)

Kuźdowicz Julian, ppot., ks. oszcz. P.K.O. 115986/H, pocztówka (AM 3117), ppot. (LZK)

Kuchnel Oskar Rudolf, kpt., ofic. legit., różne kartki z zapisami (AM 1627)

Kwapień Stanisław, — Kwapin — w mundurze, pocztówki, listy, kwit (AM 3575), (bez imienia), ppot. (LZK)

Kwapiszewski Andrzej, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, list (AM 2647), por. piech. (LZK)

Kwasowski Bronisław, — Stanisław, mjr, dowód osob., 2 pocztówki, list, telegram, 2 wizytówki, 10 złotych w gotówce, ka. lend. kiesz. (AM 465), Bronisław — mjr dypl. 1899, s. Piotra i Berty (LZK), Bronisław, ur. 26.4.99, dypl. (RO 32 str. 67)

Kwaśniak Henryk, kpt. SPP — (LZK)

Kwiatkowski Antoni Konstanty, inż. por., karta mobil., dowód osob., dyplom inż. (AM 3474), por. art. 1899, s. Ludwika i Heleny (LZK)

Kwiatkowski Edward, kpt., ofic. leg., lista z nazwiskami, karta szczep. 2058, krzyż Virtuti Militari (AM 1931)

Kwiatkowski Jan, ppot. rez. (LZK)

Kwiatkowski Marian, ppot., karta szczep., list (AM 1727), s. Macieja (WO 1727 str. 23)

Kwiatkowski Marian, w mundurze, karta szczep. na nazwisko Kwiatkowski Marian s. Macieja, listy, koperta z adresem: Kapłinski Leon, Kozielsk (AM 2535)

Kwiatkowski Sylwester, ppot. rez. (LZK)

Kwiatkowski Wincenty, por. żand. (LZK)

Kwiatkowski Zbigniew, Jan, ppot., student, ur. 9.5.12, ks. st. sl., podanie, leg. szkolna, notatnik, plimczek, łańc. z medalikiem, mała święta figurka (AM 440)

Kwiatkowski Zdzisław, por. P.P. (LZK)

Kwiatkowski Zygmunt, ppot., leg. ofic. rez., list, różaniec, leg. PCK. (AM 3260)

Kwiatkowski Zygmunt, sierż. piech. (LZK)

Kwiatnowicz w mundurze, odznaka pułkowa, listy, rachunek (AM 3433)

Kwieciński Jan, por., ur. 9.6.07, karta mobil., leg. urzęd., leg. ofic., notatki, 3 fotografie, metryka ślubu (AM 2248), metryka ślubu z Heleną w jez. łac. (WO 2248 str. 36)

Kwieciński Jerzy, mjr dypl. art. (LZK)

Kwieciński Mieczysław, kpt., ur. 12.12.10 w Kaliczu, świad. Ssk. Pchor., karta na broni, różne papiery osob., fotografie, papiernicza, odznaka, notatnik (AM 1441), ur. w Haliczu (WO 1441 str. 18)

Kwieciński Mieczysław, pchor. (LZK)

Kwieciński Tadeusz, ppor. rez. 1910, s. Zygmunta i Zofii (LZK)

Kyszek ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Laburok Jerzy, w mundurze, koperta, pocztówka, karta szcep. 3065 (AM 1555)

Lach Antoni Stanisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., list, karta na broni, fotografie, leg. ofic., karta szcep., pismo urzęd., karta z zapiskami (AM 3483)

Lachowicz dr med. (LZK)

Lachowski Adam, ppor. rez. 1910 (LZK), Liachowski Adam — s. Stanisława w mundurze, koperta, telegram, karta z nazwiskiem (AM 2539)

Lachowski Bolesław, s. Antoniego, w mundurze, karta szcep., list ze stemplem New York, Brooklyn, karta z zapiskami (AM 3733)

Lacki Antoni, ppor. art. (LZK)

Lacki Bolesław, por. (LZK), por. ur. 2.7.10 w Janina pow. Kielce, św. dojr., metryka urodz., leg. ofic., list, fotografia, szczyryk, cygarniczka, kawalek sukna z monogramem „LB“ (AM 789)

Lacki Stanisław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Lacki Tadeusz, ppor. 1909 (LZK)

Lacki Zdzisław, por. lat 40 (LZK)

Lakota Roman, cywilny, 3 listy, odznaka, medalik (AM 3173), ur. 1896, s. Andrzeja i Katarzyny (LZK)

Lalka Wacław, por. lek., leg. ofic., karta szcep. (AM 3183), por. lek. (LZK)

Lambrowski Eugeniusz, ppor. (LZK)

Lambucki Gundysław Stanisław, ppor. rez. 1901, s. Ambrozego i Franciszki (LZK)

Lamecki Artur, kpt. KOP., ur. 1903, s. Jana (LZK)

Lanczański Wacław, — Lanczański oficer rez., karta szcep., fotografie, leg. (WO 1197 str. 19), Lanczański Wacław Romuald, ur. 16.8.08 (ROR. 34 str. 94)

Landau Bernard, (LZK)

Landau Mojsesz, w mundurze, wizytówka, karta szcep. list, karta z zapiskami (AM 2580)

Landesberg Jakób, w mundurze, dyplom lekarski, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka z nadawcą: Landesberg Maria, Kutno, recepty in blanco (AM 3739)

Landesberg Ludwik Jan, ppor., 2 wizytówki, 2 kartki (AM 2459), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Lange Roman, ppor., ze Lwowa (relacja Dra J. D.)

Lange Wiadysław, Langie — w mundurze, 2 oddinki poczt., wizytówki (AM 3360), Lange — ppor. art. 1910 (LZK)

Lasak Józef, por. rez. 1891, s. Tomasa i Karoliny (LZK)

Laser Zygmunt, ppor. (LZK)

Laskowski Antoni, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Laskowski Izidor, por. mar. (LZK)

Laskowski Lesław, oficer, znak toż., 24.10.12, leg. list, notatki, 2 fotografie (AM 1030), (WO 956 str. 13), ppor. art., ur. 1911 (LZK)

Lason Lucjusz Henryk, por., ur. 14.1.04, leg. ofic. rez., znak toż., karta szcep., pismo sądowe (AM 3942), por., ur. 1903 (LZK), ur. 14.1.04 (ROR. 34 str. 109)

Lasota Witold, ppor., 1903, s. Wiadysława i Rozalii (LZK)

Laszecki Adam, ppor., karta szcep., medalik, rysunek olówkowy z nazwiskiem na odwrocie (AM 2516), ur. 1911 (LZK)

Laszecki Czesław, ppor. (LZK)

Latynski Eugeniusz, por. rez. (LZK)

Laudański Wiktor, w mundurze, znak toż., leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, (AM 2361), ur. 1906 (WO 2361 str. 39), por. art. (LZK)

Lauffer Adolf, w mundurze, pocztówki, telegram z Tarnopola (AM 2475)

Laurynowicz Seweryn, ppor. (LZK)

Lauterbach Artur, por., przepustka, karta mobil., list (AM 3933), por. 1899, s. Dawida i Amelii, 26 p. art. (LZK)

Lawicki Jerzy, ppor., zam. Katowice, ul. J. Ligonia 8 m. 9 leg. oznacz., metryka ślubu, wizytówki, pismo urzędowe (AM 4024)

Lawnicki Ryszard, ppor. 1906 (LZK)

Lawzel Józef, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Lax Leonard, ppor. rez. (LZK-S)

Lazarewicz Romuald, w mundurze, część listu, medalik (AM 2618)

Lebiecki Wiktor, ppor. art. (LZK)

Lebiedz Stanisław, Lebiedz — w mundurze, listy, pocztówki, karta meldunkowa, fotografie, wizytówki (z drzewa) — (AM 2703), Lobiedz (WO 2703 str. 50), Lebiedz por. rez. 1911 s. Jana (LZK)

Lech, rtm. (LZK)

Lech Leonard, kpt., ur. 11.9.86, metryka urodz., leg. ofic., karta polowania (AM 4012), ur. 8.9.86 (ROR. 34 str. 328)

Lech Stefan, ppor., dowód osob., prawo jazdy, karta mobil., stała karta jazdy, papiernicza, lista z 27 nazwiskami oficerów z Obozu Putiwelsk (now. Sumsk): Obóz Jeńców Putiwelsk — rejon Putiwelsk, powiat Sumsk: 1) ppl. Rychalski Stefan, Warszawa, Nowolipie 33 — 34, Sulejów, Puławskiego 75, 2) mjr rzack Marian, Grodno, Orzeszkowej 15 - 3, 3) mjr Sikorski, 4) kpt. Goszczyński Zdzisław, Wilno, Mickiewicza 220, 5) kpt. Gajewski Ludwik, Grodno, Bośniaka 26, 6) kpt. Nieniewski Marian, Warszawa, Al. Niepodległ. 132 - 136, 7) kpt. Fjodor

kiesz., pismo sądowe w sprawie alimentów (AM 2225), por. 9 p. strz. kon. im. gen. K. Pułaskiego, pisemne pełnomocnictwo Józefa Leszczyńskiego w sprawie alimentów (WO 2225 str. 35), por. 1900, s. Leonarda i Pauliny (LZK)
Lesniak Tadeusz, Lesnik — mjr. listy, pocztówki, karta szcep. 735, baretki za ranę (AM 2152), Lesniak — ur. 9.8.96 (RO 32 str. 63)
Lesnik Bolesław, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., listy, pocztówki, medalik, fotografie (AM 3691)
Letnianski Włodzimierz, dr inr., por., leg. Z.O.R., 3 wizytówki (AM 944), (WO 907 str. 12)
Leukos-Kowalski Stefan Jan, ppłk., leg. i krzyż Virtuti Militari, leg. ofic., karta szcep. (AM 1709, ppłk. piech. (LZK)
Lewakowski Jerzy Wiktor, ppłk., telegram, 3 pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 4011), ppłk. geogr. (LZK.S)
Lewandowska Janina, ppór. pil. (LZK), ur. 1910 z domu Dowbor - Musnicka, por. lotn. WP. (rel. Dr. M.W.)
Lewandowski Aleksander Henryk, kpt., 12. p.p., leg. ofic., wizytówka, pocztówka (AM 924), (WO 895 str. 12)
Lewandowski Henryk, ppór., stud. med., leg. ofic., dowód imatrik. Uniw. Warszawskiego, list (AM 1758)
Lewandowski Henryk, znak tożs., ur. 1913 w Tarnowie (WO str. 45)
Lewandowski Stanisław, ppór., zam. Warszawa, Długa 21 m. 17, dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., karta na broń, karta szcep., wizytówka (AM 2521)
Lewartowski Jerzy, kpt., Warszawa Ludna 9/a. m. 11, wizytówki, dowód osob., leg. odznacz., 2 pisma służbowe, 2 pocztówki, rysunek ołówkowy z Kozielecka, rożaniec, notatnik (AM 2247) bilety wizytowe, Loda Lewartowska, Warszawa, Ludna 9/a m. 11 (WO 2247 str. 36), kpt. rez. (LZK)
Lewenter Markus Hirsch, Lewenter — por., dyplom uniwersytecki, dowód osob., 1 zaświadczenie (AM 3415), Lewenter, ur. 12.7.06 (ROR. 34 str. 88)
Lewicki Adam, dr med., kpt., pocztówka, wizytówka, fotografie, list. (AM 2118), kpt. lek. (LZK)
Lewicki Aleksander, ppór., ks. st. sk., wizytówka, pocztówka, list hipoteczny, dowód osob., karta mobil., okulary, notatnik, francuszek (AM 679), ppór. br. panc., inż. (LZK)
Lewicki Franciszek, por. rez., 1908 (LZK)
Lewicki Stanisław, por. lot. (LZK)
Lewicki Wiktor, ppór., wizytówka, karta na broń, wojsk. prawo jazdy, leg. PCK, kwit bankowy (AM 3353)
Lewicki Władysław, ppór. rez. (LZK)
Lewinson Józef, ppór. lek. (bez imienia) — (LZK), ppór. lek., ur. 20.1.03, dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., karta zwolnienia, karta szcep. (AM 2586)
Lewinson Szymon, lekarz, ur. 9/10.1895 w Warszawie, leg. ofic. rez., karta mobil. (AM 2473), dr, ur. 9.4.95 (ROR. 34 str. 305)
Lewinski Szymon, Liwiński — płatnik Sztabu, leg. ofic., 2 kwity, karta szcep. 2928 (AM 1342), Iwiński — płatnik szta-

rowicz Tadeusz, Wilno, Arsenalska 6, 8) kpt. Majer Eugeniusz, Szczuczyn Nowogrodzki, Pilsudskiego 104, 9) kpt. Antoniewicz, 10) kpt. Nowak, 11) kpt. Zebrowski, 12) kpt. Woltenberg, 13) kpt. Stawicki, 14) kpt. Mantel Stanisław (por.), 15) kpt. Grzycki, Aleksander, Warszawa, Kujanosa 3, 16) ppór. Mitek Wacław, Mikianec 1 m. 2. (Lubochanie), pol Spady - porcha To-maszew Maz., 17) ppór. Lech Stefan, 18) ppór. Iwicki Kazimierz, Basrowie PS. a. Rawa Mazow., 19) ppór. kiewicz Józef, Wilno, Wilh. Bahnlasche 9 a, 20) ppór. Budkiewicz Wincenty, 21) ppór. Grodz Władysław, 22) ppór. Jakubowski Henryk, Włochy Pituliska 12. 23) ppór. Tyrk, 24) ppór. Albrecht, 25) ppór. Tugoda, 26) ppór. Poczewski Karol Władysław. 27) ppór. Landanski Wiktor, Ksawerynow — (AM 308)
Leciejewski Henryk, ppór., list (AM 1581), ppór. lot. (LZK)
Leciejewski Tomasz, por. rez., lat 25 (LZK)
Lehrhaft Dawid, Schrihaft (?) kpt. lek., 2 pisma służbowe, 2 fotografie (AM 3291), Lehrhaft, kpt. lek., 1893, s. Samuela i Gustawy (LZK)
Leifer Adolf, ppór. art., inż. chemik (LZK)
Leinweber P. (?) Poznań, ul. Matyk 53, por., karta wstępu do Parku Wilsona w Poznaniu (AM 3986)
Leitgeber Wacław, w mundurze, inż., karta szcep. 1030, leg. odn. (AM 3553), por. lot. (LZK)
Leinweber Stanisław, w mundurze, ur. 24.4.12, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, leg. szkolna, blok notesowy, kalend. kiesz. (AM 2563), Leinweber (WO 2563 str. 46), Leinweber — 1912 (LZK)
Leman kpt. (LZK)
Lemiszewski Jan, ppór., ur. 18.6.09, leg. ofic. rez., karta mobil., listy, pocztówki, odznaka (AM 2487)
Leniewski Samotyja Eugeniusz, inż. roln. (LZK)
Leniewski Stanisław, ppór. rez., inż. (LZK)
Leokiewicz Kazimierz, por., zaśw. adwokackie, kwit, 3 fotografie (AM 208)
Lepiarski Marian, por., leg. urzęd., karta szcep. (AM 2997), por. 1900, s. Michala i Kunegundy (LZK)
Lerch Jerzy, por., części leg. ofic., karta szcep., ros. odci-nek porcz. (AM 3282), por. art. 8.7.06 (LZK)
Lerner - Steinberg Borys, ppór., list (AM 1585), Lerner Steinberg, por. (WO 1885 str. 44), ppór. piech. (LZK)
Lesinski Piotr, kpt., leg. ofic., 2 fotografie, 2 listy, medalik gotówka 5 złotych w srebrze (AM 483)
Lesinski Wacław, przod. P.P. (LZK)
Lesisz Edward, por. sap. (LZK)
Lesisz Feliks Franciszek, por. lek. 1901 (LZK)
Lesiak Stefan, 1904 (LZK)
Lesior lub Lesser, por. sap. (LZK)
Leszczak Józef, mjr (kpt.) — (LZK)
Leszczyński Stanisław Kazimierz, ppór., referendarz Kuratorium w Lublinie, leg. urzęd., pocztówka, baretki (AM 2443)
Leszczyński Zdzisław, por., prawo jazdy, karta szcep., fotografie, monogram, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3627), por. kaw., 1893, s. Marcina i Jadwigi (LZK)
Leszczyński Zygmunt, por., wizytówki, karta na broń, kalend.

bowy (WO 1342 str. 17), Lewiński — ur. 28.10.92, kpt. int. (RO. 32 str. 318)

Lewkowicz Czesław, w mundurze, karta szcep. 1708, fotografia, złoty krzyżek z łanc., napis: „Krotusiowi — Nulka”, zaświadczenie o inwalidztwie, spowodowanym w służbie (AM 761) — (LZK)

Lewkowicz Czesław, kpt., ks. st. sl., leg. odznaki art. różn. listy, na jednym z nich nadawca: Janina Dembińska, Gostyń. ul. Ducha 36 (AM 1759)

Lewoniec Stanisław, Lewoniec (?) por., rachunek, nakaz podatkowy, pismo Urzędu Skarbowego, list (AM 2779), Lewonia — por. art. (LZK), Lewoniec — ur. 15.5.92 (ROR. 34 str. 239)

Leydo Władysław, ppor., lek., leg. ofic. rez., wizytówki (AM 3950)

Leytner Kazimierz, kpt., karta na broń, koperta (AM 591), nazwiska nie udało się odcyfrować (WO str. 9)

Librowicz Ignacy, ks. st. sl., leg., wyciąg metryki ślubu, kilka wizytówek, cwikier (AM 745), por. piech. (LZK)

Libicki Janusz Wojciech, Libicki — por., leg. ofic. rez., ks. ośc. PKO., 2 listy, leg. urzęd. (AM 3545), Libicki — por. rez., 1902, s. Stanisława i Franciszki (LZK)

Lichon Julian, ppor. 31 pułku, leg. ofic., notatnik, naramienniki bez oznak (AM 332)

Liebe Henryk, ppor. sgd. (LZK)

Ligaszewski Wiktor, por. (LZK)

Ligęzowski Tadeusz, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Liliental Antoni, ppor. (LZK), ppor., 2 dowody osob., karta wolnej jazdy, fotografia, leg. ofic., list, pocztówka (AM 1774)

Lindenszt Sruł Julian vel Majer, kpt. lek., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy (AM 2791), kpt. lek. (LZK)

Lindner Jan, w mundurze, list do: Lindner Wacław, Skarżysko, ul. Brzozowa 1, pocztówka, medalik, notatnik (AM 2959)

Linowski Włodzimierz, ppor., leg. urzęd., fotografie, pocztówka, (AM 1988), leg. urzęd., wystawiona w Krakowie (WO 1988 str. 30), por., 1904, s. Stanisława i Joanny, 2 p.p. Kielec (LZK)

Lipes Mordchel, w mundurze, telegram, 1 zaśw. z nazwiskiem dr. Lipes Mordchel (AM 3894), por. lek., chirurg z Warszawy (LZK)

Lipina Jerzy, por. rez. 1910 (LZK)

Lipinski Feliks, czł. leg. MSWojsk., pocztówka (AM 3887)

Lipinski Jerzy, ppor., karta szcep., odznaka pułkowa (AM 3027), ppor. lot. 1917, s. Jana i Zofii (LZK)

Lipinski Józef, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Maria Lipińska, Piastowo k/Warszawy, ul. Słowackiego 11 m. 5, medalik z łanc. (AM 3920), por. sap., 1891, s. Karola i Joanny (LZK)

Lipka Jan Tadeusz, kpt., wizytówka, list zastawniczy, leg. sport., rozkaz wyjazdu, fotografie (AM 2776), Lipka - Natęca Jan Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)

Lipko Kazimierz, por. (LZK)

Lipowski Józef, w mundurze, odcinek poczt. (AM 3800)

Lipowski Edward Franciszek, ppor., urzędnik, ur. 10.10.05,

Warszawa, zam. Warszawa, Al. Wojska Pol. 29/55, leg. urzęd., ks. ośc. PKO., list pisany 3.4.40 w Kosielaku (AM 2885)

Lippa Czesław Henryk, Lipa — kpt., dowód osob., 5 pocztówek, list, karta szcep. 4061 (AM 826), Lipa — kpt. 1890 — Warszawa (LZK)

Lipoman Czesław, ppor., wizytówki, różn. listy, naramienniki bez oznak (AM 316), Lipman — (WO str. 7)

Lipki kpt. (LZK)

Lipski Tadeusz, ppor., 1909, s. Edmunda i Eugenii (LZK)

Lirecki Stanisław, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., wizytówki, kwit (AM 3497)

Lisecki Adam, Lisecki — podanie: jeniec woj. Lisecki Adam, Korpus Nr. 1 - 3. Kompania — 16. grudnia 1939 — do Komendanta Obozu — przez Komblek (kmdta bloku) — obóz Skit. — Proszę o przydzielenie mi na chronien (AM 283), Lisecki — (LZK)

Lisecki Anatol, w mundurze, pocztówka, telegram, karta szcep., część dowodu osob. (AM 2582), karta poczt. od Zofii Rodosławica, Warszawa, ul. Pomnikowa 8 (WO 2582 str. 47), — 1906, s. Sergiusza i Aleksandry (LZK)

Liske Godfried, ppor., (LZK)

Liskiewicz Leon, por., 1 zdjęcie roentg., karta szcep., 2 wizytówki, na nazwisko żony — Alina (AM 2131), por. 35 p.p. (WO 2131 str. 33)

Liskiewicz Marian, (LZK)

Lisowski ppor. (LZK)

Lisowski Bogusław, w mundurze, dowód osob., pocztówka (AM 1605)

Lisowski Henryk, mjr. karta szcep., pismo handlowe, karta z nazwiskami (AM 3444), ppłk. 1894, s. Władysława i Michalina (LZK)

Lisowski Konstanty, w mundurze, leg. ofic., karta szcep., pocztówka, list, medalik (AM 3430), ppłk., aud. (LZK)

Lisowski Ludwik Kazimierz, por., ur. 1902, ks. st. sl., list (AM 968), (WO 918 str. 12), por. 1902, s. Józefa i Felicji (LZK.8)

Lisowski Tadeusz, ppor. dent., ks. st. sl., karta szcep. 3919 (AM 1314), ppor. lek. dent. (LZK)

Lisowski Marian, por., znak tożs., dowód osob., okulary, kwit. (AM 627)

Litwinienc Józef, por. rez. (LZK)

Liwski Zygmunt, ppor. 1907, s. Jana i Aleksandry, 6 Reon Pion. (LZK)

Loranc Franciszek, ppor. (LZK)

Lorenz Jerzy, Lorenc — w mundurze, karta szcep., pół pocztówki, medalik (AM 3818), Lorenc — ppor. kaw. (LZK), Lorenc Jerzy Wojciech, ur. 10.6.04 (ROR. 34 str. 130)

Lorech Piotr, ppor., dowód osob., prawo jazdy, leg. odznacz., zaśw. Zw. Aptek. (AM 3697), (bez imienia), por. (LZK)

Lotysa Jerzy Zdzisław, ppor. rez., 78 p.p. (LZK)

Lubecki Ludwik, ppor., ks. st. sl., leg. urz. państw., fotografia, list, (AM 1147), Ubecki — (WO 1027 str. 14)

Libert Władysław, ppor., ur. 1.6.08, zam. Warszawa, ul. Hołska 49, ks. st. sl., dowód osob., karta szcep. 3208, wizytówki,

3 urzędowe pisma, medalik (AM 1073), (WO 979 str. 13), por.
1903, s. Józefa i Aleksandry (LZK)
Lubich Stefan, kpt., wizytówki, medalik (AM 815), kpt. art.
1895, s. Wilhelma i Marii (LZK)
Lubinkowski Bronisław Józef, kpt. snar., karta szcze-
p., wizytówki, karta z leg. ofic. (AM 2261), kpt. mar. st. s. 1905 (LZK)
Ludnik sier. K.O.P. (LZK)
Ludwiczak Edward, ppor., 2 listy (AM 1551)
Luski ppor., (LZK)
Lukas Adam, kpt. st. sp. (LZK)
Luka Stanisław, dr. w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., list z War-
szawy (AM 3059)
Luko Edward, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Lupinski Mieczysław, ppor., ur. 26.1.94, dowód osob., leg. ofic.
rez., karta szcze-
p., w mundurze, karta szcze-
p. 532, karta
meldunkowa, 2 pocztówki (AM 1978), syn Jana, pośw. wymeldo-
wania z Chorzowa (WO 1978 str. 220)
Lutman Józef, kpr. (LZK)
Lutman Mieczysław, starosta z Białej Podlaskiej (LZK)
Lutoborski Adam, por., leg. czł. Klubu Automob., pocztówki,
2 odznaki pułkowe, fotografie (AM 2668), por. 26 p.p. (WO 2668
str. 49), por. rez. 1897, s. Edwarda i Stanisławy (LZK)
Lutosławski Henryk, ofic. rez. (LZK)
Lutosławski Leon, kpt. (LZK)
Lutynski Eugeniusz, Ludzinski — w mundurze, karta szcze-
p., 2 pocztówki, list, medalik, fotografie (AM 3511), ppor. Lutyn-
ski — (LZK)
Luksemburg ppor., lek. dent. (LZK)
Lutensburg Henryk, por., wizytówki, metryka ślubu, metry-
ka urodz. na nazwisko Hersenberg Henia (AM 3550)

Łabędzki por. dr. (LZK)
Łączkowski kpt. rez. (LZK)
Łagoda Stanisław, Łagody — ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd.
(nieczytelna) (AM 2190), Ładoga ppor. rez. (LZK), Ładoga, ur.
6.2.08 (ROR. 34 str. 104)
Łagun Wincenty, ppor. (LZK)
Łakota Roman, por. rez. 1896, s. Andrzej i Katarzyny (LZK)
Łaniewski Władysław, por. kaw. (LZK)
Łanicucki Włodzimierz, por. (LZK)
Łapa Wincenty, dr. por. lek., z Poznania (LZK)
Łapczyński Gracjan Wacław, rtm., listy, karta szcze-
p. 586,
wizytówka (AM 2721)
Łapin Jan, kpt. (LZK)
Łapinski Stanisław, wizytówka na nazwisko Łapiński Sta-
nisław, nauczyciel śpiewu, fotografie (AM 741)
Łapiński Władysław, por., leg. ofic. (AM 2414), por. (LZK)
Łasak Józef, Łasak — por., leg. ofic. rez., list, leg. urzęd.
karta z zapiskami, pismo służbowe 7 Baonu Sap. (AM 2359),
Łasak — dr. zam. Łódź, ul. Piotrkowska 273 (WO 2359 str. 39)
Łaszczyk Feliks, Łaszczyk (?) ppor., dowód osob., ks. oszcz. PKO,

ks. st. s., karta mobil., wizytówka, karta szcze-
p. (AM 366),
Łaszczyk Jerzy Stanisław, por., wizytówka, dowód osob., ks.
oszcz. PKO. na nazwisko żony — Romualda, listy, negatywy,
pocztówki (AM 3689)
Łaszczyk Czesław, kpr. br. panc. (LZK)
Łatacz Antoni, dr. kpt., pismo urzędowe, łanc. do zegarka (AM
1817), ur. 1893 we wsi Bobrówka, pow. Białystok (WO 1817
str. 26)
Ławrinowicz Seweryn, w mundurze, ur. 29.11.10 w Moskwie,
zam. Radomsko, ul. Wąrowska 125, leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob.,
ks. oszcz. PKO., list, wizytówki, odznaka pułkowa, medalik (AM
2655), ppor. (LZS)
Ławrzek Józef, Ławrzek (?) ppor., znak tożs. (AM 4050),
Ławrzek, ur. 25.11.06 (ROR. 34 str. 74)
Łazarewicz Romuald, ppor. (LZK)
Łazowski Piotr, kpt. ur. 5.8.96, zam. Chelm, ul. Pierackiego
16, ofic. legiti., ks. oszcz. PKO., karta szcze-
p. 3400, 2 listy (AM
1051), ur. 5.8.96, (WO 967 str. 13), ur. 5.7.95 kpt. (RO. 32 str.
46), kpt. piech. (LZK)
Łącki Bolesław, ppor. art. (LZK)
Łącki Janusz Antoni, ur. 2.12.02 w Radestów poczta Bor-
kowie, rolnik, karta na broń, notatnik, list (AM 182), por. rez.
(LZK)
Łącki Stanisław, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, karta szcze-
p., kalendarz, kiesz. (AM 2641), nadawca pocztówki: Jadwiga Kuba-
siewicz, Warszawa, ul. 6-go Sierpnia 11 m. 30 (WO 2641 str.
48), ppor. (LZK)
Łączkowski Stanisław, leg. Virtuti Militari, list, pocztówka,
fotografia (AM 920), (WO 892 str. 12), ppor. rez. art. (LZK)
Łębkowski Józef, por., ks. st., karta mobil., część leg.
urzęd., medalik, wizytówka (AM 1427), por. 1899, s. Tomasza
i Marii (LZK)
Łębkowski Stefan, Łępkowski — por., świad. ukończ. Szk.
Pchor., karta szcze-
p., 1 recepta (AM 2675), Łębkowski (WO
2675 str. 49), Łębkowski por. art. (LZK)
Łempicki Julian, por., leg. urzęd., ks. ofic., karta na broń,
różne wizytówki, okulary, 1 pismo, 2 listy, (AM 1975), Lem-
bi — ks. oszcz. PKO., pismo urzędowe (WO 1975 str. 45), Lem-
bi — zam. Sieradz, ul. Ogrodowa 2, metalowy monogram
piki — „LJ”, ks. oszcz. K.K.O. Sieradz i kwit tej Kasy (WO 1975 str.
29), Łepicki — por. rez. piech., 1882, s. Romualda i Jadwigi,
(LZK), Łempicki — ur. 2.1.82 (ROR. 34 str. 255)
Łęgowski Józef, mjr., karta szcze-
p., Lengowski, 1 list (AM
3503), Łęgowski — mjr. pil. (LZK)
Łęgowski Wacław, kpt. (LZK)
Łobocki Józef, Sobocki — ppłk., karta szcze-
p. (AM 4044), Ło-
bocki ur. 6.8.81 (ROR. 34 str. 251)
Łobza Jerzy Kazimierz, ppor., część leg. urzęd., pocztówka
(AM 1164), (WO 1037 str. 14)
Łodykowski Augustyn, Łotykowski — oficer, dowód osob., leg.
ofic., świad. lek. wyst. na jego nazwisko (WO str. 3), Łodykow-
ski — ur. 27.7.03 (ROR. 34 str. 78)

Łojek Józef, ppor., ur. 1.3.12., leg. ofic. rez., papierosnica (AM 3796), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Łojek Leopold, dr med., w mundurze, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Eugenia Łojek, Warszawa, ul. Nowy Świat 28 m. 20, dyplom doktora (AM 3298), dr mjr, lek. 1897, s. Adama i Franciszki (LZK)

Łopatto Edward, Łopato — kpt., zam. Warszawa, Podhalan- ska 13, część leg. ofic., 1 pismo Urzędu Skarb., karta szcze- p, list (AM 1996), Łopatto — kpt., 1896, s. Janusza i Zofii (LZK)

Łopuszański Kazimierz, w mundurze, pocztówki, listy (AM 3785), por. kaw. (LZS)

Łopuszko Edward, Łopusko — cywilny, pocztówki, — wśród nich 1 z nadawcą: Witold Łopusko, Wilno, Antakalnio 4, i inna z nadawcą: Anna Łopusko, Wilno, Syczkińska 10 (AM 244), Łopuszko — ppor. (LZK)

Łopuszyński Piotr, budowniczy, w mundurze, prawo jazdy, wizytówki, fotografie, leg. oznacz (AM 1737)

Łotocki Jerzy, Łotocki — w mundurze, pocztówka: Adela Lo- docka, Lwów, karta szcze- p, fotografie (AM 1122), (WO 1011 str. 14), Łotocki — ppor. rez. (LZK), Łotocki — ur. 17.2.07 — PKU Lwów — Miasto (ROR 34 str. 196)

Łotocki Konstanty, mjr, 1890, s. Emilia i Anastazji (LZK)

Łotocki Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Łotocki Zygmunt Marian, Łotocki — (?), ppor., ur. 16.1.04 we Włodawie, kilka dyplomów filozofii, pocztówka (AM 1865), Łotocki — ur. 15.1.04, (WO 1865 str. 27), Łotocki — ppor. (por.) rez. (LZK)

Łotuska Antoni, kpt. art. KOP, 1900, s. Tytusa i Ludwika (LZK)

Łowicki Stanisław, w mundurze, inż., 2 wizytówki, karta szcze- p, pocztówki, rosyjski kwit, 2 medaliki z łańc., plakietka (AM 3629), ppor., 1907, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK)

Łowicki Władysław, ppor. inż. rolnik, 1909, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK)

Łoza Michał, 1912 (LZK)

Łozicki Jerzy, ppor. art. (LZK)

Łozicki Jan, pchor. lek. (LZK)

Łuczak Paweł, Łuczak (?) mjr, listy, pocztówki, kalend. kiesz., (AM 1717), Łuczak (WO 1717 str. 23), Łuczak — mjr, 1892, s. Piotra i Emilii (LZK)

Łuczak Stefan, inż., ppor., 2 ks. oszcz. PKO, karta na broń karta szcze- p, wizytówki (AM 2963)

Łuczak Tadeusz, ppor. art. (LZK)

Łuczak Wacław, 1902 (LZK)

Ługowski Tadeusz, ppor. lek. (LZK)

Łujski sędzia (LZK)

Łukasiewicz Kazimierz, kpt. z Lublina, pismo garniz. Lublin, pocztówka, 2 oznacz. woj., medalik (AM 724)

Łukasiewicz Władysław, list (AM 76), Łukasiewicz (WO str. 6)

Łukomski Czesław, por., lista z nazwiskami, kartka z adresa- mi (AM 3603), por. 1911 — Podgórze (LZK)

Łukomski Kazimierz, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. państw. T. 14/596, 2 listy (AM 865), (WO 855 str. 12)

Łukowski Włodzimierz, wachm. pchor. (LZK)

Łuniewski Ludomir, Lunewski — por., 3 pocztówki, list (AM 532) Luniewski (WO str. 8)

Łuniewski Tadeusz, por. art. 1896. (LZK)

Łunkiewicz Czesław, Łunkiewicz — kpt., legitymacja, pocztówka, okulary (AM 1820), Łunkiewicz — leg. Stow. Opie- ki nad Zwierzętami w Płocku, (WO 1820 str. 26)

Łunski Czesław, w mundurze, 2 listy placzy, wizytówki, 2 zaświ., (AM 2079), prezes Sądu Okręg. w Płocku, (WO 2079 str. 32), — (bez imienia) sędzia apel. (LZK)

Łużyński Wacław, ppor., wojsk. prawo jazdy, wizytówka, leg. oznacz., karta szcze- p, kwit depoz., leg. ofic. (AM 4094), por. 1912, s. Franciszka i Malwiny. C.W.Sap. (LZK)

Łysakowski, por. (LZK)

Łyska Gottfryd, w mundurze, ur. 1914, leg. szkolna, dowód osob., medalik (AM 1242), Imię Fotferdy (?), (WO 1093 str. 15)

Łyszkowski Jerzy, por. (AM 370)

Mac Zdzisław, ppor. (LZK)

Maczyński Tomasz, Machciński — por., 1899, s. Jana i Marii (LZK) Maczyński — ur. 1.1.99 (ROR 34 str. 331)

Machill ppor. (LZK)

Machnac Zygmunt, Machnac (?) — w mundurze, dowód osob., z fotografia, telegram, pocztówka, 1 rosyjski dowód osob., ró- żaniec (AM 3055), Machnac (bez imienia), kpt., (LZK), (ROR 34 str. 11)

Machnia Wacław, w mundurze, leg. naucz., karta szcze- p 555, metryka służbu, 2 listy, różaniec, medalik z łańc. (AM 730), Machniak lub Machnik (WO str. 10)

Machowski Franciszek, ppłk., dowód osob., karta szcze- p. Nr. 4192, got. 1000 złotych, (AM 276), (bez imienia) ppłk. (LZK)

Machowski Stanisław, por., 2 wizytówki na nazwisko Machow- ski Stanisław (AM 3124)

Macielowicz, kpt. (LZK)

Maciejewski Antoni, dowód osob. (AM 3135)

Maciejewski Jacek, ppor., leg. ofic., karta wstępu, znak tożs., na nazwisko Kurianszysk Arkadiusz, ur. 1912, por. (AM 3422)

Maciejewski Julian, ur. 1908, znak tożs., karta na broń, karta mobil. (AM 2800), ppor. lotn. (WO 2800 str. 52), por. lotn. (LZK)

Maciejewski Kazimierz, por., karta czł. Ligi Koloni., 2 kwity, medalik z łańc. (AM 779), por. rez., 1907, syn Józefa i Marii, 24 p.p. Łuck (LZK)

Maciejewski Konstanty, ppor. (LZK)

Macieja Stefan, por. (kpt.) (LZK-S)

Macikowski Stefan, kpt. (kpr. ?), (LZK)

Maciszewski Mieczysław, dr ppor., zam. Warszawa, Krucza 41 m. 6, leg. oznacz., własne recepty in blanco, wieczne pióro (AM 2499), ppor. lek., 1898, s. Stanisława i Stefani (LZK)

Maciejewski Stanisław, prof., w mundurze, przepustka, 1 ks. oszcz. PKO., wieczne pióro (AM 2801), por. 1893, s. Stanisława i Stefani (LZ)

Mackiewicz Dymitr, por. lot. (LZK-S)

Mackiewicz Tadeusz, ppor. rez. aud., 1901, s. Ignacego i Adeli (LZK)

Mackiewicz Wacław, znak tożs., 1 obrączka ślubna (AM 1913), znak tożs. z napisem: Wilno 1906 obrączka z wrytym: Irena 11.8.31., (WO 1913 str. 28), kpt. piech. (LZK)

Mackiewicz Włodzimierz, por., ur. 1912, leg. urzęd., wizytówki, scyzoryk, telegram, znak tożsam. (AM 3510)

Maculewicz Wacław, kpt., wizytówki, pismo MSWojsk., plakieta, karta szczep. 1782, fotografie (WO 1697 str. 45)

Maczewski Zygmunt, Marian, ur. 21.11.74, cywilny, dowód osob., 3 koperty, 2 listy, karta na broń (AM 379)

Madejski Stanisław, cywilny, karta szczep. (AM 2058), syn Franciszka (WO 2058 str. 32)

Madejszy Wiktor, (LZK)

Madeyski Felician, ppłk. (LZK), (RO. 32 str. 277)

Madorowicz Andrzej, ogniomistrz (LZK)

Magierski Witold, chorąży (LZK)

Mahoma ppor. (LZS-K)

Maj Stanisław, ppor., ks. st. sl., leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO., wizytówki (AM 1968), por. (LZK)

Majchrowski Roman, ppor. art. (LZK)

Majchrowski Romuald, ppor., 3 listy, łańc. z krzyżykiem (AM 608)

Majchrzak Tadeusz, oficer, ur. 6.3.13, ofic. leg., dowód osob. (AM 945), (WO 908 str. 12)

Majczanowski Roman, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Majer Władysław, (?) ppor., koperta z nadawcą: Janina Grodecka, Warszawa, ul. Krucza 40 m. 19 (AM 3960)

Majewski Czesław, podkomisarz Str. Gran., 2 wizytówki, karta szczep. 3305, odznaka Str. Gran. (AM 2182), por. (LZK)

Majewski Franciszek, por., pocztówka, koperta, telegram, karta szczep. 4041 (AM 2277), ppor. (LZK)

Majewski Konstanty, w mundurze, ur. 10.7.10, zam Warszawa, Sienna 69, ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 2745), ppor. 1910, s. Witolda i Heleny (LZK)

Majewski Marian, por. (LZK)

Majewski Marian, Str. Gran. (LZK)

Majewski Marian Ryszard, ppor., ur. 1911, dowód osob., przepustka, pismo urzędowe, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3318)

Majewski Piotr, przod. P.P. (LZK)

Majewski Stanisław, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Majewski Stefan, dr med., ppor. (LZK)

Majewski Stefan, ppor., ks. st. sl., leg. służbowa, karta szczep. 2376, listy i pocztówki (AM 1265), (WO 1107 str. 16)

Majewski Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Majewski Zdzisław, mjr, przepustka, 3 pocztówki, karta szczep. 3448, wizytówki, 2 listy, kalend. kiesz. (AM 804), mjr aud. (LZK)

Majkowski kpt. piech. (LZK)

Majkowski Janusz, por. (WO str. 3)

Majkowski Stanisław, por., ur. 1900, znak tożs., wizytówka, karta na broń, fotografie (AM 137), Maykowski (WO str. 4)

Majok Stefan, w mundurze leg. urzęd., 3 wizytówki, telegram, list, pocztówka, cygarniczka (AM 3835)

Majorewicz Antoni, aptekarz, por., zam. Poznań, ul. Mickiewicza 22, wizytówki, list, część leg. (AM 2540), por., lat 58 (LZS)

Makowiak Emilian, Makowiak — oficer, weter., dowód osob., fotografie, listy, przepustka samochodowa (AM 1089), (WO 988 str. 14)

Maksymienko Roman, w mundurze, legit. urzęd., karta szczep. 3058, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Maria Maksymienko, Radom, ul. Zermaskiego 30 m. 31 (AM 2453), ppor., 1904, s. Jana i Józefa (LZK)

Malaczynski Kazimierz, por., leg. ofic., karta na broń, 2 pocztówki, leg. odznacz. (AM 2976), por. sap., 1908, 1 Baon Sap. (LZS)

Malanowski Ryszard, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Malarski Stanisław, por., pismo wojskowe, rozkaz wyjazdu, (WO str. 45), por. rez. (bez imienia), (LZK)

Malczewski Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)

Malejka Leon, w mundurze, ur. 23.10.97, ks. st. sl., paszport, karta szczep. 1123, pismo urzędowe (AM 689), por. (LZK), Malejka (?), (WO str. 10)

Małeszek Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Małeszkiewicz Leon, kpt., zaśw. Szk. Pchor., 1 upomnienie, karta szczep., 2 pocztówki (AM 1787), Mleszkiewicz — świad. Szk. Pchor. Rez. Art. (WO 1787 str. 25)

Malicki Bolesław, ppor., ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. ofic. rez., 2 listy (AM 3979)

Malinowski Ignacy, kpt. (LZK)

Malinowski Leon, w mundurze, 2 listy (AM 1271), (WO 1119 str. 16)

Malinowski Ryszard, ur. 3.6.98 w Łunińcu, zam. Sarny, ul. Kolejowa 37, ks. st. sl. (AM 129), starosta — Zdobunów (LZK)

Malinowski Tadeusz, oficer, pocztówka (AM 45)

Malinowski Tadeusz, por. (LZS-K)

Malinowski Tadeusz, ppor. art. (LZK)

Malinowski Władysław, por. rez., 1912, s. Józefa i Michaliny (LZK)

Malinski Roman, w mundurze, list (AM 2440), por. 1906 (LZK)

Malisz Franciszek, przy zwiłkach Hannig Konrada znalezione 3 listy adresowane: Malisz Franciszek z Kozielsku (AM 1750), (WO 1750 str. 24)

Malisz Franciszek Ksawery, ppor., ur. 22.9.14 w Rostokach, dowód osob., karta na broń, ks. st. sl., odpis metryki urodz., dowód przynależn. państw. (AM 1222), ur. 29.2.14 w Roztoce (WO 1081 str. 13), por., ur. 1914 (LZK)

Maliszewski Bolesław, ppor., Biała Podlaska, ur. 1905, znak tożs., 1 ros. leg. partynia, 2 kwity, notatnik (AM 3046)

Maliszewski Józef, Maliszewski — w mundurze, ur. 1911, znak tożs., karta szczep., list (AM 3469)

Maliszewski Stefan, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Małszyk Jan, ppor. lek. (LZK)
 Małtze Tadeusz, por., leg. ofic., ks. oszcz. PKO., karta szcep. 1957, pocztówki (AM 1804, zam. Warszawa, ul. Wiśniowa 59/12 (WO 1604 str. 20))
 Małukiewicz Stanisław, ur. 1907 Ryga, znak tożs., ks. oszcz. PKO., pismo służbowe (AM 2103), zam. Siedlce, ul. 3. Maja 3/a (WO 2103 str. 32), ppor., mgr. (LZS)
 Małecki Antoni, kpt., wizytówki, fotografie, list, pismo lekarńskie, świad., medalik, wieczne pióro, 2 wizytówki: Matylda Małecka (AM 2033)
 Małecki Jan, por. (kpt.) sap. (LZS-K)
 Małecki Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)
 Małeki Wacław, ppor. (LZK), inż., wizytówki, list (AM 3531)
 Małek Antoni, Małek — nauczyciel, w mundurze, ur. 8.6.908 w Michałowicach, zam. Orłowiec, poczta Lagów obok Staszowa, znak tożs., ks. oszcz. PKO., (AM 1193), Małek — poczt. Łęgow pod Staszową (WO 1061 str. 15)
 Małuszynski Narcyz, Małżnicki — kpt., karta szcep., 2 listy (AM 869), (WO 858 str. 12), Małuszynski — ur. 10.11.02 (RO. 32 str. 398)
 Małysz Julian, 1904, 73 p.p. (LZK)
 Małyszka Aleksander, plut. san. wst. (LZK)
 Mamaladze Jerzy, mjr kontraktowy (LZK)
 Manikowski Czesław, ppor., ur. 19.6.10 w Berlinie, ofic. ks. st. sl., pocztówki, listy (AM 1235), Tamanikowski (WO 1090 str. 15)
 Mantel Stanisław, por., 2 pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 2992), por. ur. 1899 (LZK)
 Manulak Bogdan, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., karta szcep., medalik (AM 2927), ppor. (LZK)
 Manczak Józef, kpt. lotnik, rozliczenie z poborów, część dowodu osob., na nazwisko Mańczak Ewa, oprawa zegarka na rękę, odznaka lotnicza (AM 914), (WO 891 str. 12), kpt. rez. pil. (LZK-O)
 Mańkowski Leon, ppor., znak tożs., ur. 5.8.02 (AM 3722), ppor. (LZK)
 Mańkowski Stefan, kpt. art. (LZK)
 Marczak Stanisław, por., listy, karta szcep. (AM 2576)
 Marchewski Wawrzyniec, por., płatnik, karta na broń, karta szcep. 1177, kwity, wizytówki, fotografia (AM 2182), por. (LZ)
 Marchlewski — kpt. piech.
 Marchocki Zygmunt, s. Michała i Marii (LZK)
 Marciak Karol, ppor. (LZK), Marciak — por., ofic. ks. st. sl., list, medalik (AM 1583)
 Marciak Stanisław, por. rez. art. (LZK)
 Marciniak Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
 Marcinkiewicz Józef, por., docent Uniw. (LZK)
 Marcinkowski Aleksander, ppor., (LZK)
 Marcinkowski Antoni, kpt. rez. 1893 (LZK)
 Marcinkowski Jerzy, ppor., ks. oszcz. PKO., pocztówki, foto-

grafia, (AM 4015), inż. ppor. rez., 1906, s. Zygmunta i Marii (LZK)
 Marcinkowski Marian, por., ofic. ks. st. sl., 3 listy, krzyżyk z ład. (AM 1656), Marian Szczepny — por., ur. 1903, s. Feliksa i Julii (LZK)
 Marcon Kazimierz, ks. kapelan (LZK)
 Marcwski Adam, pchor. art. (LZK)
 Marcwski Jerzy, por. rez. piech. 1901, 50 p.p. (LZK)
 Marcwski Tadeusz, 1911 (LZK)
 Marcwski Feliks, ppor., leg. odznacz., prawo jazdy, karta na broń, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2331), ur. 10.11.95 (WO 2331 str. 38), por. lotn. (LZK)
 Marcyszyn Sforoniusz, kpt. art. (LZK)
 Marecki Andrzej, kpt. mar. (LZK)
 Marecki Ferdynand, leg. szkolna, telegram (AM 52), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Margoni Edmund — Morgoni — kpt. lek. część dowodu osob., karta szcep., rysunki-karykatury (AM 2724), Margoni — mjr. (LZK), dr. ur. 4.11.83, mjr. lek. (ROR. 34 str. 214)
 Mariak Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK), K. (?) w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Mariakowa Stefania, list (AM 3642)
 Mariński Stefan, por. rez. (LZK-S)
 Markiewicz Andrzej, por. (LZK-S)
 Markiewicz Czesław, plakietka z napisem: Pamiątka promocji na ppor. — Ostrów Mazowiecka — 15.10.30 — (WO 2234 str. 36), Markiewicz — w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, plakietka (AM 2234), Markiewicz — por. (LZK)
 Markiewicz Witold, mjr., pocztówki, karta szcep. 580, list, wizytówki (AM 1516), zkn. Warszawa, Szajnochy 5 (WO 1516 str. 43), mjr. (LZK)
 Markowski Antoni, w mundurze znak tożs., dowód osob., ur. 9.8.08 w Warszawie, leg. szkolna (AM 2794), ppor., 1908, s. Mieczysława i Janiny (LZS)
 Markowski Bolesław, inż., por., 4 listy, 2 koperty, pocztówka z nadawcą: Markowska, Kielce, ul. Śniadeckich 21 (AM 297), por. rez. piech., 1897, s. Bolesława i Eleonory (LZK)
 Markowski Edmund, ppor., pocztówki (AM 4038)
 Markowski Edward, ppor. rez. piech. (LZK)
 Markowski Wojciech, W. . . . ckw. . . . ppor., Lwow. karta rejestr. samochodu Nr. 43191, dwie 5% panstw. oblig. z r. 1924 po 50 zł., Nr. 3194977 i 3194978, 13 fotografii, 2 złote monety 10-cio koronowe (AM 437), zam. Lwów, ul. Pełczyńska 39 (WO 437 str. 19), ppor. (LZK)
 Marmużniak Stanisław, ppor., dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., wizytówki, 2 fotografie (AM 3876), ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Marszałek Bazyli, ppor. lotn. (LZK)
 Marszałek Stanisław, kpt., ofic. leg. z dobrą fotografią, leg. odznacz., różaniec (AM 1664), kpt. 2 p.a.c. (WO 1664 str. 22), kpt., s. Franciszka i Józefa (LZS)
 Marszałek Wincenty, s. Wojciecha, dowód osob., karta szcep., odznaka (AM 1781), prawdopodobnie oficer Str. Gran., odznaka „Za służbę graniczną”, s. Wojciecha (WO 1781 str. 25)
 Marszałek Zygmunt, por. piech. (LZK)

Marszałkiewicz Stanisław, ppor., leg. urzęd., metryka ślubu, medalik (AM 3665)

Martin Michał, ppor. lotn. (LZK)

Martin Piotr, inż. Urzędu Patent. Warszawa, dowód osob. świad. szcep. z Koziełska, koperta (AM 113), — ur. 1896 (LZK), Piotr Borys, inż., ur. 18.9.93 (ROR. 34 str. 160)

Martini Wiktor, w mundurze, znak tożs., ur. 8.2.910 (AM 3668)

Martuszek Roman, por., karta mob., karta zwolnienia z wojska, odznaka pułkowa (AM 3102)

Martyni Bogdan, ppor., karta szcep., 2 pocztówki, okulary (AM 1629), nadawca pocztówki: Janina Lerner (?), Warszawa, ul. (nieczytelna) Nr. 1 m. 27 (WO 1629 str. 21)

Martyni Witold, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, kwit depoz. (AM 3182)

Martyszewski Janusz, ppor., ur. 1.4.13. w Wilnie, dowód osob., karta czł. Klubu Sport., zaśw. 81 Dyw. Panc., 2 listy, kilka fotografii (AM 877), Martyszek — ur. 1894 w Nawilnej, zaśw. przynależności do 8 Baonu Panc. (WO 863 str. 12)

Marwisko Józef, por. (LZK)

Marynowski cywilny, (LZK)

Marynowski Wiktor, w mundurze, wizytówki, karta st. sl., karta mob., metryka urodzenia, pocztówki (AM 1790), własne wizytówki z adresem: Polna 78, oraz wizytówka z nazwiskiem Dr. Zbigniew Marynowski, ppłk. lek., Wilno, Antokołska 30 (WO 1790 str. 25), oficer (LZS)

Marynowski Zbigniew, por., pismo urzędowe, pocztówka (AM 4036)

Marynowski Zbigniew, ppłk. lek. (LZK)

Masakowski Zygmunt, ppor. art. (LZK)

Masalski Piotr, pocztówka, listy (AM 123), Masalioni (WO str. 4)

Masatkowski Franciszek Ignacy, kpt., pismo, 2 pocztówki, karta szcep. 3359, medalik z lanc. (AM 840), (WO 839 str. 11)

Mastalerz Mieczysław, Małtalarz — ppor., pocztówka, rozliczenie z poborów (AM 3180), ppor. Mastalerz — (LZK)

Maszkowski Władysław, oficer geograf., znak tożs., ur. 24.6.900, pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 1574), ur. w Opocznie, (WO 1574 str. 44), oficer rez. (LZK)

Matejczyk Jan, ppor., sędzia, ur. 21.7.04 w Biłton, dowód osob., 2 listy, karta mob. (AM 1966), por. rez. (LZK)

Matkowski Henryk, kpt., 1901, s. Stefana i Ludwika (LZS-K)

Matkowski Kamil, oficer, część leg. ofic., karta szcep. 676, karta z adresem (AM 759), kpt. (LZK)

Matla Władysław, ppor., 1911 (LZK)

Matolski Leon, lek. wet., w mundurze, prawo jazdy, wizytówka, obrazek święty (AM 1548), mjr lek. (LZK)

Matras Michał, ppor., leg. urzęd., karta szcep., leg. ofic. rez., medalik (AM 3516), ppor. 1910 (LZK)

Matraszek Mieczysław, ppor., leg. ofic., 2 listy (AM 2168)

Matysiak Roman, por. (ppor.), (LZK)

Matuszek Jan, ppłk. 1892 (LZK)

Matuszewski Ignacy, ppor., 1905, s. Antoniego i Walentyny (LZK)

Matuszewski Stanisław, w mundurze, dzienniczek, wizytówka, karta szcep. 1350, lanc. z medalikiem (AM 529)

Matyjaszyczek Tomasz, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta szcep. 1711, 2 listy, medalik (AM 1751)

Matysiak Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)

Matz Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)

Matzner Bolesław, plk. aud. (LZK), plk., leg. ofic., wizytówki, blok notesowy, baretki (AM 493), Małucz Bolesław plk. (LZK), Matzner — dr. ur. 6.2.89 (RO. 32 str. 308)

Mauthe-Zygmunt, por. (LZK-S)

Mayer Eugeniusz, kpt., pozwolenie na broń, wizytówka (AM 61), kpt. aud. (LZK)

Mayer Feliks, (LZK)

Mazak Paweł, ppor. piech., 1904, s. Jana i Jadwigi (LZK), — (bez imienia), w mundurze, pocztówki, list (AM 3756)

Mazanowski Stanisław, mjr, karta szcep., 2 pocztówki (AM 3959), mjr. aud. (LZK)

Maziarz Jan, kpt. (LZK)

Mazowiecki Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Mazur (?) w mundurze, znak tożs., 2 listy, medalik (AM 1987), syn Jana (WO 1987 str. 30)

Mazur Stanisław, ppor., 1909, s. Mateusza i Zofii (LZK)

Mazur Stanisław, chorąży (LZK)

Mazur Stanisław, dowód osob., karta szcep. 3180, 3 odcinki poczt. ze stemplem „Żywiec” (AM 245)

Mazur S., ppor., karta z jego adresem (Koziełsk) i z innym adresem: Mazur Jan, poczta Wystrowice, wiecisko szkatułki drewnianej z wrytym napisem: Koziełsk 1940 i inicjałami MS, list (AM 236)

Mazurek Franciszek, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Mazurkiewicz Józef, 1917 (LZK)

Mazurski Marcin, por., leg. urzęd., państw., fotografia, 3 listy — z nich dwa od dzieci, karta szcep., leg. odznacz. (AM 1015), (WO 948 str. 13), por. (LZK)

Mączewski Zygmunt, ppor. art. (LZK)

Mączka Eugeniusz, w mundurze, 3 listy, 2 pocztówki, rysunek ołówek (AM 2112), Maszka, (WO 2112 str. 32), Mączka, ppor. art. (LZK)

Mączyski Antoni, stopnia nie ustalono, szczegółów brak (WO str. 9)

Mądry Sykstus, kpt., notatnik, ks. oszcz. (AM 2272), brulion pisma, pisany ołówkiem do Państw. Liceum w Tucholi (WO 2272 str. 33), (LZK)

Męgiel Władysław, por. rez., s. Andrzejka, 57 p.p. (LZK)

Meisner Ludwik, rtm. (LZK)

Męssner por. (LZK)

Męssner Roman, ppor. art. (LZK)

Męssner Tadeusz, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 1113), (WO 1005 str. 14)

Meister Jan, ppor. piech. (LZK-S)

Mejster Stefan, ur. 20.2.87, pismo z podaniem miejsca za-

mieszk.: Czestochowa, Al. Wolności 23, dowód osob., 3 wizytówki, 3 pocztówki, tytoniarka z drzewa, rzeźbiona, napis „Kocielski 1940” (AM 378)

Mekler Stefan, w mundurze lotniczym, list, telegram, 2 odznaki (AM 3009), por. lotn. (LZK)

Mellerowicz Tadeusz Michał, w mundurze, kierownik Wydziału Przem. Urzędu Wojew. Białostok, karta zwolnienia z woj. skia z daty 29.8.39, (zwolniony jako strzelec), 3 listy, 1 ros. dowód osob. (AM 2100), nacz. Urzędu Wojew. Łuck (LZK)

Melita Władysław, w mundurze, prawo jazdy (AM 2043)

Melzek Kazimierz, s. Ludwika, ze Stanisławowa, koperta, pocztówka (AM 1036), (WO 960 str. 13)

Merecki, ppor. (LZK)

Merkel Zygmunt, w mundurze, karta st. sł., leg. urzęd., list (AM 1918) (bez imienia) — sędzia Sądu Apelac. (LZK)

Mewczyk, ppor. st. st. (LZK)

Mękaraki Włodzimierz, kpt., leg. ofic., list (AM 1866)

Meżycki Stanisław, rtm. (LZK)

Mianowski Wacław, ppor. KOP. (LZK)

Miara Zygmunt, w mundurze, ur. 1908 w Baranowiczach, odznaka pułkowa, fotografia, papierosnica z monogramem, znak tożs., leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, pocztówki (AM 3271)

Miastkowski Leon, plut. pchor. art. (LZK)

Milbowski, por. rez. (LZK)

Michalak Władysław, ppor., 3 listy, prawo jazdy, 2 kartki meldunkowe (AM 3761)

Michalczyk Marian, ppor., leg., wizytówki (AM 1864), por. 1907, syn Władysława i Magdaleny (LZK)

Michalec Antoni, ppor., karta szcep. 745, 2 listy, okulary, odznaka (AM 1480)

Michalewicz, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Michalik Paweł Adolf, ur. 11.11 (?), ppor., ks. st. sł., leg. urzęd., fotografia, list w jęz. niem., różaniec, grzebień (AM 500), ppor. (LZK), ur. 11.6.06 (ROR. 34 str. 102)

Michalski, kpt. rez. piech. (LZS-K)

Michalski Adam, ppor. rez. (LZK), ppłk. 25 p. ul., leg. ofic., karta sportowa, kwit., wizytówka, monoli (AM 2588)

Michalski Antoni, mjr (LZK)

Michalski Czesław, por., ks. st. sł., legit. odznacz., 2 listy, medalik (AM 1497), por. 1893 (LZK)

Michalski Edmund, ppor., ks. st. sł., 4 pocztówki, list, 1 ros. kwit., medalik (AM 1760), ppor. art. (LZK)

Michalski Edward, por. rez. (LZK)

Michalski Jan, w mundurze, pocztówka, zaśw. w jęz. ros. (AM 1536), niewysłany list w jęz. ros., pisany do p. Golański w Brześciu n/B. (WO 1536 str. 43)

Michalski Kazimierz, w mundurze, leg., wizytówki, fotografia (AM 3621), (LZK)

Michalski Marian, por. (ppor.) — (LZK)

Michalski Stanisław, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., różaniec (AM 1186), ppor. art. (LZK)

Michalski Stefan, ppor., ur. 1905, znak tożs., dowód osob.,

leg. czł. ZOR, plakietka, różaniec, odznaka, leg. czł. Zw. Aptekarzy, fotografie, monogram, 2 listy (AM 3683), ppor. (LZK)

Michalski Zygmunt Sylwester, kpt., ur. 30.12.05 w Wiedzinie, świad. szkolne, świad. dojrzałości, metryka urodz. i chrztu, metryka urodzenia (AM 3274)

Michałowski, rtm. (LZK)

Michałowski Antoni, ppor. art. (LZK)

Michałowski Stefan, ppor. (LZK)

Michna Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Michniak Jan, por., leg. sportowa, fotografie, wizytówki (AM 1679), por. 1902 (LZK)

Michniewicz Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Michniewicz Kazimierz, ppor., notatka — wewnątrz tekst: „Posiadać tej książeczki, Michniewicz Kazimierz, Pabianice obok Łodzi, ur. Bracka 12. — Zawiadomić panią Marię Michniewicz” — karta szcep. 1951 (AM 1191), (WO 1059 str. 15)

Michnowski Wacław, mjr (LZK)

Michowski, ppor. (LZK)

Midloch Edward, kpt., ofic. ks. st. sł., znak tożs. (AM 1663), kpt. rez. (LZK)

Mieczysław Stefan, lat 47 (LZK)

Mieczkowski, kpt. (LZK)

Miecznik Leonard, Mieszek — (?), w mundurze, mies. karta, znak tożs., krzyżek (AM 2090), Miecznik (WO 2090 str. 32)

Miedura Stanisław, ppor., leg. urzęd., pocztówka (AM 4065)

Miedziejko Arkadiusz, Miedziejko — syn Mikolaja, żona — Teodozja, 2 listy (AM 3549), Miedziejko — ppor. (LZK)

Mielczarski Stanisław, w mundurze, zam. Poznań, Wąty Jagielny 22 m. 2, karta z bloku notesowego, karta szcep. 2864, medalik z łańc. (AM 1715) Mielcarski — (WO 1715 str. 23)

Mielecki Stanisław, officer, ur. 22.4.96, leg. ofic., ks. oszcz. PKO., medalik z łańc. (AM 3425), por. (bez imienia) — (LZK)

Miernik Józef, por., karta szcep. 1067, lista z nazwiskami, różaniec (AM 1991), syn Antoniego (WO 1991 str. 30), Mien — por. 1906 (LZK)

Mieszynski Stanisław, w mundurze, 4 listy z nadawcą: Zofia Mieszynska, Hajnówka (AM 2067), Meczynski — (WO 2067 str. 32)

Mietek Waldemar, por. 1896, s. Wilhelma i Marii (LZK)

Miesowicz Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)

Mietus Stanisław, ppor. rez. 1894 (LZK)

Migoni Zdzisław Ignacy Michał, ppor., ks. ofic., 1 damski pierścionek z 2 koralami (AM 1240), (WO 1092 str. 15)

Mijkowski Hugon, ppłk., ofic. leg., wizytówki, listy, krzyż

Virtuti Militari (AM 2174), ppłk., s. Władysława i Marii (LZK)

Mijał Franciszek Ksawery, por., pismo urzędowe, wizytówka, pocztówka (AM 1580), Mijał Franc. Ksawery, ppor. 1898 (LZK).

Mijał — ur. 21.5.98 (ROR. 34 str. 39)

Mikiewicz Wojciech, — Mikiewicz — mjr, leg. urzęd., 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Mielczowa, Rzeszów, ul. Królewska 18 (AM 3435), Mikiewicz — kpt. 1900 (LZK), Mikiewicz — ur. 16.4.92, kpt. wet. (ROR. 34 str. 296)

Miklaszewski Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)

Miklaszewski por. (LZK)
Miklaszewski Jerzy, kpt., leg. urz. państw., 4 listy, odznaka art., wizytówka, telegram, 4 złote zęby, nadawca listów: Miklaszewski, Warszawa, ul. Kielecka 46, pudełeczko blaszane (AM 421), kpt. (LZK)
Mikotajczyk Stanisław, ppor., zaśw. komendanta Garnizonu, karta szczep., medalion z łańc. (AM 2045), syn. Władysława, (zaśw. Kmdy Garnizonu Szack z 14.9.39 (WO 2045 str. 31)
Mikoszewski Bolesław, ppor. (LZK)
Mikoszewski Bronisław, por., 2 pocztówki, kartka (AM 3449), por. (LZK)
Mikucki Eugeniusz, Mickucki (?), por. leg. ofic., karta szczep. (AM 3417), Mikucki, por. rez. 1904 (LZK)
Mikulski Stanisław, kpt., wizytówki, fotografie, 3 obligacje państw. z kuponami (AM 4130), kpt. (LZK)
Mikula Józef Kazimierz, ur. 1901, w mundurze, zam. Iwieniec, żona Maria, 1 ks. oszcz. PKO., pocztówka, 4 listy (AM 813), chorąży, lat 40 (LZK)
Mikula Julian, por. (LZK-S)
Milanowski Zenon, ppor. (LZK)
Milczewski Augustyn, przod. F.P. (LZK)
Milczewski Tadeusz, ppor., 2 pocztówki, karta szczepienia, medalion z łańc. (AM 3205)
Milewski Władysław Michał, por., ur. 23.10.03, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, notatnik, odznaka, krucyfiks (AM 2378), Władysław — por. 1903, (LZK)
Milewski Wojsław, ppor. rez., 1913, s. Stanisława i Marii, PKU. Żywiec (LZK)
Miliak Henryk, Miliak — ppłk., karta na broń, 2 pocztówki, wizytówka (WO str. 3), Miliak — ppłk. lek. (LZK)
Miller Władysław, ppor., leg. urz. państw., ofic. ks. st. s. (AM 1369), ppor. rez. (bez imienia), (LZK)
Milli Stanisław, mjr (LZK)
Milański Stanisław, w mundurze, ur. 19.11.05, metryka ślubu, medalik (AM 1295), Miladowski (WO 1123 str. 16), Miladowski, ppor. 1905 (LZK)
Minkiewicz Henryk, gen. dyw. (LZK)
Mioduszewski Józef, ppor. (LZK-S)
Mioduszewski Lucjusz, ks. kapelan, — (bez imienia) — (LZK S-O-K), Lucjusz — ur. 11.2.86 (ROR: 34 str. 401)
Mirecki Stanisław, kpt. rez., okulista z Chorzowa (LZK)
Miroslawski Maciej, ofic. 508p., ur. 8.7.02, Wadowice, Al. Wolności, znak tożs., ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. ofic. rez., notatnik, metryka urodz. (AM 2671), ur. 1892, por. (LZK)
Mirsak Józef, ppor., ur. 28.1.11 w. ?, pow. Poznań, ks. st. s., 3 pocztówki, 3 listy, notatnik, różaniec, karta szczep. 1937 (AM 538), Mirsak lub Mirszak (WO str. 8)
Misejuk Antoni, Misauc — kpt., leg. ofic., karta czł. Zw. Strzel., karta szczep., tytonierka rzeźbiona z napisem Koziełsk 1940 (AM 859), Misauc (?), (WO 852 str. 12), Misejuk kpt. (LZK), ur. 30.3.93 (ROR: 34 str. 347)

Misiewicz Jan, w mundurze, ur. 1908, znak tożs., telegram (AM 3806)
Mistat Stefan, w mundurze, leg. służb. (AM 2372), Mistata, zam. Studzieniec, poczta Puszcza Mariana, por., Skiermiewice, (WO 2372 str. 39), Mistak, por. (LZK)
Miszczyk Stanisław, ppor., leg. urzęd. skarb., leg. ofic. rez., wizytówka, pocztówka, list (AM 2673)
Miszyk Zygmunt, ppor. (LZK)
Misko Tadeusz, w mundurze, pocztówki, list (AM 2807)
Mikus Witold, kpt. lek., 1899, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)
Mitro Tadeusz, w mundurze, pocztówka, karta szczep. (AM 3451), ppor. (LZK)
Mittegg Tadeusz, oficer, zaświadczenie, złote zęby, plakietka (AM 847), Mettegg (WO 843 str. 11)
Mizgański B. (LZK)
Mizolebski Marian, w mundurze, leg. urz. (nieczytelna), karta szczepienia, 2 listy, krucyfiks (AM 1638), Miżelabski (WO 1638 str. 21)
Młock Tadeusz ppor. 1913 (LZK)
Młodecki Edmund Karol, dr med., Brześć n/B., ul. Zygmuntońska 51 m. 4, blok na recepty lek. z nadrukiem jego nazwiska, kalendarz, kiesz., wizytówka, odznaka art., kwity, portfel, list (AM 430), kpt. lek., (LZK)
Młodnicki Wiktor, por. (LZK)
Młodzik Franciszek, por. 1892, s. Marcina i Feliksa (LZK)
Młynarczyk mjr. (LZK)
Młynarczyk Ludwik, ppor., 2 listy, pocztówka (AM 3802), ppor. (bez imienia) (LZK)
Moenke Edmund, dr ppor., leg. Zw. Lek., pismo wojsk. Placówki Służb., kwity, karta szczep. 3922 (AM 587), ur. 1882 (LZK), dr. ur. 23.1.83, (ROR: 34 str. 222)
Mogilnicki Tadeusz, kpt., dr med., dowód osob., 3 listy, telegram, karta poczt., wizytówki, 2 negatywy, okulary (AM 754), kpt. lek. (LZK)
Mogħla - Stankiewicz Wacław, rtm. (LZK)
Mohl Andrzej, w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Mohl Maria, Milanówek, karta szczep. 2279, medalik (AM 2193), ur. 1904 (LZK)
Mołlich ppor. (LZK)
Molda Mieczysław, por. (LZK), w mundurze, pocztówki (AM 1582)
Mołdźki Kazimierz, w mundurze, pocztówki, koperta, medalik z łańc. (AM 3018), Molendzeński — por. (LZK)
Monczyński ppor., cześć leg., różaniec, modlitewnik (AM 1986), Maczyński, (WO 1986 str. 30)
Moos Stanisław, kpt. art. (LZK)
Morawinski Tadeusz, Mrawiński — por. ks. ofic., 4 pocztówki, notatnik (AM 545), Morawinski (WO 545 str. 8)
Morawski kpt. uzbr. (LZK)
Morawski Adolf Jan, inż., por., prof. Politechniki Warszawskiej, zam. Warszawa, Al. Grójecka 45 m. 14, wizytówki, listy, 2 fotografie, amulet (AM 3704), Alfred — prof. Polit. Warsz. (LZK), Adolf Jan — inż., ur. 17.6.95 (ROR: 34 str. 176)

Morawski Jan, ppor. art. 1902, s. Grzegorza i Felicii, DOK. IX. (LZK)

Morawski Józef, w mundurze, list, 2 pocztówki, ks. do modl., krzyżyk (AM 2039)

Morawski Marcin, cywilny, Prezes Sądu, wizytówki, 3 pocztówki, 2 listy, łańc. z medalikiem (AM 1446)

Morawski Marek, por. (LZK)

Morawski Tadeusz, ppor. wet., ur. 21.5.09, ks. ofic., dowód osob. (AM 523)

Morawski Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Mordas - Żyliński Tadeusz Michał, ppor., ur. 14.10.04 (AM 3330)

Morgulis Leon, por., dowód osob., karta na broń, karta szcep. karta mob., wizytówka (AM 1131)

Morik Stanisław, por. 1909, s. Eliaza i Pauliny, 19 p.a.l., (LZK)

Moroński Witold, ppor., dowód osob., 5 pocztówek, koperta, wizytówki, mapa Europy (AM 364)

Moroż Jan, kpt., znak toż., medalik (AM 626), kpt. (LZS)

Moroż Miroslaw, Morz, naucz. gimn., w mundurze, leg. urz., 2 wizytówki, prawo jazdy (AM 1670), Moros — prof. państw. gimn. w Wadowicach (WO 1670 str. 22), Moroz — kpt., ur. 1893 (LZK)

Moroż Paweł, w mundurze, ur. 1913, znak toż., karta szcep., list, części leg. ofic. (AM 3206), ppor. art. (LZK)

Morski Emil, inż., por. art. (LZK), oficer, ur. 13.7.08, znak toż., (AM 1870)

Morszczyzna Edward Stanisław, ur. 2.2.02., ppor. architekt, Brześć n/B., ul. Kilińskiego 12, dyplom archit., 2 leg. osob., karta na broń, łańc. z krzyżykiem, prawo jazdy Nr 1874 (AM 685), Morszażna (?) — (WO str. 10), Morszczyzna — ppor. (LZK)

Morzy Józef, (LZK)

Mosier Leopold, por., zam. Warszawa, pismo MSWojsk., pocztówki, leg. ofic., listy, leg. czł. (AM 3831), por. 1898 (LZK)

Moskal Franciszek, kpt. (LZK)

Moskal Józef, Mosgal — kpt., ur. 13.7.00, 1895 w Grodzisku, zam. Radymno, ul. Mickiewicza 28 a, ks. oszcz. PKO, 4 listy (AM 577), Moskal — (WO str. 9), Moskal — kpt. (LZK)

Moskal Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Moskauf Antoni, ppor. rez. lot., 1904, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK)

Moskowiłyn Michał, kpt., kalend. kiesz., wizytówka, medalik (AM 3347), kpt. (LZK)

Mossakowski Alfred Tadeusz, w mundurze, dowód osob. prawo jazdy, list, karta szcep. 3837 (AM 1984), zam. Warszawa, Al. Niepodl. 159, (WO 1984 str. 30), ppor. rez. 1912 (LZK)

Mossakowski Zygmunt Aleksander, kpt. (LZK)

Moszczeński Leon, komandor. dr med. (LZK), ur. 28.1.89, ppłk. lek. (RO. 32 str. 323)

Moszczyński Adam, pchor. art. (LZK)

Moszczyński Antoni, dr med., dowód osob., prawo jazdy, karta szcep., odznaczenie, pugnares z kluczami, naramienniki bez oznak (AM 322), Moszczeński (WO str. 7)

Moszczyński Edward, ppor., listy, pocztówki, medalik, fotografie (AM 1943), pocztówki i listy od Jadwigi Moszczyńskiej, Golub, Brześć Kuj., (WO 1943 str. 29), ur. 1889, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Moszkowicz Jan, kpt., rachunek, pocztówka, pismo notarialne, karta szcep. 911 (AM 895), (WO 877 str. 12), kpt. geogr. (LZS)

Mościński Tadeusz, kpr. (LZK)

Mościński Wincenty, por., zam. Warszawa, ul. Żelazna 63, karta na broń, karta polowania, pocztówka (AM 1168), (WO 1041 str. 14)

Możarski Tadeusz, (LZK) w mundurze, paszport, okulary, rzeźbiona fajka (AM 510), Morawski (WO str. 8)

Motloch Eugeniusz, ppor. (LZK)

Motyka Paweł, ppor. (LZK)

Motył ppor. (LZK)

Mozkowski Edmund, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Mroczek Stefan, ppor., ur. 1903, znak toż., karta czł. Czerw Krzyża, (AM 3414), ur. 1903 (LZK)

Mrozik Alojzy, oficer, ur. 13.1.96, Tuchola, zam. Gdynia, Świętojańska 54/9, ks. oszcz. PKO, list i pocztówki, karta szcep., leg. ofic. (AM 2810), kpt. mar. (LZK)

Mrozowski Jan, ppor., 1911, s. Arseniusza i Wandy (LZK)

Mróczyński Bolesław, mjr art. 1900 (LZK)

Mróz Konstanty, kpt. br. panc., kartki z leg. ofic., wizytówka (AM 1952)

Mściłowski Franciszek, ppor., karta szcep. (AM 2301)

Mucha Bruno Ludwik, ppor. ks. ofic., pocztówka (AM 1974)

Mucha Stefan, kpt., dowód osob., pismo służb. 57 p.p., list, ks. do modlenia, (AM 1782), mjr lub kpt. (LZK)

Mucko Jan, por., pocztówki, list z nadawcą: Mucko Rozyna, Warszawa, ul. Ludowa 3 m. 4, łańc. ze złotym krzyżykiem (AM 2497)

Munek Zygfryd, ppor. art. (LZK)

Murawski Eugeniusz, inż. ppor., leg. urz. państw., karta na polowanie, medalik z łańc. (AM 498)

Murza - Murzicz Aleksander, Murza - Mirzicz, ppor., ofic. ks., 2 notatniki (AM 876), (WO 862 str. 12), Murza - Murzicz Ali — ppor. (LZK)

Mussil Paweł, w mundurze, — Mussel, — dowód osob., pocztówki, fotografia, 2 medaliki (AM 2865), Mussil — por. (LZK)

Muszel Kazimierz, por. rez. (LZK)

Muszyński Władysław, rtm. (LZK)

Muszyński Władysław, pchor. piech. (LZK)

Mutke Edmund, ppor., naucz., leg. ofic., leg. urzęd. (AM 3404)

Mueller Józef, kpt., odznaka 57 p.p., znak na bieleńcu: Mueller Józef, część kwitu na nazwisko: Mueller Józef, Zwarki, dnia . . . /II. ks. do modlenia (AM 820), kpt., ur. 1898, s. Stanisława (LZK)

Mychalewicz Bazyli, post. KOP. (LZK)

Myczewski por. (LZK)

Leonla, zam. Poznań, ul. Szydłowska 13, zaśw. na nazwisko Nelicki Leszek, ur. 25.5.27 w Krakowie. (AM 2566)

Nelken ppor. (LZK)

Nelken Jan Władysław, plk lek. (LZK)

Nelken Samuel, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., pocztówki, list (AM 3211)

Nemunis Eugeniusz, por., pocztówka z nadawcą: Janina Szlachyńska, Łapy, okręg Białystok, ul. Średnia 3 (WO str. 3)

Nenko Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Neugebauer Adam, w mundurze, list z nadawcą: Neugebauer Alicja w Pabianicach, ul. Reymonta 15, karta szcep., wizytówka, krzyżyk z łanc. (AM 1247), Reymonta 13 (WO 1098 str. 15), kpt. (bez imienia) — (LZK)

Neyman Julian, kpt. br. panc. (LZK)

Nidecki Jan Michał, kpt., leg. ofic., wizytówka, karta szcep. (AM 1386), kpt. (LZK)

Niebroń Filip, por. SPRA (LZK)

Nieczykowski Władysław, kpt. (LZK)

Nieć Mieczysław Władysław, ppor. piech. (LZK), Władysław — ppor., leg. ZOR., karta szcep., list, blok notesowy (AM 2158)

Niedbański Stanisław, por. 1911 (LZK)

Nieduszyński Kazimierz, kpt. art. (LZ. S-K)

Niedzielski Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Niedzielski Jan, ppor. (LZK), ur. 1898, oficer, znak tożs., list (AM 791)

Niedwiecki Henryk, kpt. st. sp., 1889, s. Józefa i Adeli (LZK)

Niedwiecki Henryk, ppor., dowód osob., karta szcep. i pocztówka (WO str. 3)

Niedwiecki Stanisław, ppor., (LZK)

Niekas Jan Kazimierz, w mundurze, leg. odznacz., leg. PKK., karta rybolowca, leg. urzęd., list (AM 3787)

Niemcewski Marcin, por. panc. (LZK)

Niemcewski Marian, inż. ppor., wizytówki, leg. urzęd. (AM 3224)

Niemczyński Julian Marian, por., 1899, s. Leonarda i Eugenii (LZK)

Niemiec Kazimierz, mjr MSW (LZK)

Niemiec Michał, por., list (AM 2787), (LZK)

Niemirów - Szczętyl Kazimierz, ppor., dr med., dyplom doktorski, wizytówki, fotografie, recepty, 1 stempl gumowy (AM 1688), dyplom wydz. med. Uniw. St. Batoiego w Wilnie, leg. asystenta kliniki psychiatr. Uniw. Warszawskiego (WO 1688 str. 22), por. lek., 1901, s. Aleksandra (LZK)

Niemirów - Szczętyl Leonard, kpt. (LZK)

Niemirski Michał, kpt. mar. (LZK)

Niemyski Stanisław, ppor. lot. (LZK)

Nieniewski Marian Tadeusz, kpt., ur. 1897, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., dowód osob., leg. odznacz., pocztówka (AM 3169), kpt. rez. 1897, syn Antoniego i Walerii (LZK)

Nierenberg Abraham, ppor., 3 telegramy, 2 pocztówki (AM 1964), Nierenberg A. (WO 1964 str. 29), Nirenberg Abram, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Mykietyn Jan, kpt., listy, karta z jego nazwiskiem (AM 2262), kpt. SPRA (LZK)

Mysyrowicz Tadeusz, ppor., 1911 (LZK)

Myszkowski Jerzy, por. 1895 (LZK)

Myszkowski Zdzisław Henryk, ppor., ur. 1913, leg. ofic., karta szcep. 1864 (AM 1662), Myczkowski ur. . . /4.13, (WO 1662 str. 22)

Myśliński Piotr, mjr lub kpt. (LZK)

Mysliński Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Mysliński Hieronim, por., ur. 30.9.08, ks. oszcz. PKO., telegram, 3 listy, wizytówki, pocztówka (AM 4111), por. (LZK)

Nadobnik Józef, ppor. rez., (LZK), Dadobnik (?), w mundurze, geometra, ur. 8.2.02 w Łubnicy, zam. Poznań, Górna Wilda 28 m. 7, ks. oszcz. PKO., karta na broń (AM 2679), Nadobnik — ur. 8.2.02 (ROR. 34, str. 145)

Nahlík E., por. SPRA (LZK)

Nahrebecki Karol, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Najburg Ruwin Moszek, (LZK)

Najdź Bronisław, w mundurze, pół znaku tożs. z nazwiskiem jego (AM 3838), (LZK)

Nalwebecki ppor. (LZK)

Nalecz - Dobrowolski Tadeusz, student, w mundurze, leg. szkolna, karta szcep., 2 pisma urzędowe, wizytówka (AM 2328), ur. 23.3.17, stud. Polt. Warsz. zam. Kielce, ul. Tad. Kościuszki 8/1, zaśw. przyjęcia na praktykę wakacyjną Urzędu Wojew. Kieleckiego, zaśw. o zaginięciu ks. wojsk. z 4 p.p. Legj. Kielce-Bukówka, medalik i kalendarz, (WO 2328 str. 38)

Napieralski Stefan, ppor., leg., karta na broń, wizytówki, list, pocztówka, ks. do modlitwa (AM 1432)

Narbutt Tadeusz, plk. (LZK)

Narożński Henryk Tadeusz, kpt. (LZK)

Nasielski ppłk. (LZK)

Nasielski Szaja, 1907 (LZK)

Naszkiewicz Ryszard, por. (LZK)

Naturista Tadeusz, kpt. SPRA — (LZK)

Naumow Józef, por. lek., s. Józefa (LZ. K-S)

Nawarecki Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)

Nawinski Leon, por. (LZK)

Nawrocki kpt. (LZK)

Nawrocki Teodor, ppor. (LZK)

Nawrot por. piech. (LZK)

Nazarewicz Józef, — Nazierewicz Józef Gabriel, por., leg. ofic., pismo służbowe z 12 p. ul., leg. urzęd. (nieczytelna), (AM 2356), zam. Lublin, ul. Bernardynska 16/1, (WO 2356 str. 39), Nazarewicz — por. (LZK)

Nazarowski ppor. (LZK)

Nazimble Stefan, Nazimble — w mundurze, pocztówka, fotografia, (AM 2407), ppor. KOP., 1905, s. Mariana i Stanisławy (LZK), Nazimble — ur. 2.8.05 (ROR. 34 str. 102)

Nelczarski Kazimierz, por. (LZK)

Nelicki por., leg. ofic. z fotografią, 2 kwity zastawowe: 1) na nazwisko Nelicki, 2) na nazwisko Torawska,

Niesiewicz Tadeusz, inspektor, cywilny. (Min. Skarbu), miedziarnodowy bilet kolej. na jego nazwisko, fotografie, rysunek ołówkowy, kalend. kiesz., telegram, wizytówki (AM 2223), Miesowicz, inspektor Biura Pers. Min. Skarbu (WO 2223 str. 35) Nietupski Julian, dr. w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Regina Nietupska, Białystok, telegram, medalik (AM 752), kpt. (LZK)

Niewiadomski Czesław, w mundurze, (nazwisko na tabliczce drewnianej), list, pocztówka, karta szcep. 797, różaniec, 2 medaliki, tabakierka z drzewa (AM 2230), drewniane pudełko na tytoń, własnej roboty, z monogramem własnym i wrytym napisem "Kozielecki 1.2.1940" (WO 2230 str. 35-6)

Niewiarowicz Edward, por., listy, pocztówka, karta szcep. odznaka pułkowa, medalik (AM 2583), syn Jakuba, (WO 2583 str. 47)

Niewiarowski Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)

Niewodski Mikołaj, Niewucki — inż. bud. dróg i mostów, por., zam. Lublin, ul. Skłodowskiej 5-1, pismo wojskowe, wizytówki, pocztówka, medalik z łańc., cygarniczka (AM 927), Niewodski. (WO str. 3)

Niewzałkiewicz Marian, ppor., zam. Chorzów, dowód osob. (nieczytelny), ofic. ks., karta na broń, wizytówki, wieszak fotograficzny (AM 1637)

Niezbittowski Gotfryd, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta mob., leg. urzęd., pocztówki, list (AM 3154), por. mar. (LZK)

Niezgoda Władysław, por. (LZK), W., w mundurze, karta szcep. 4154, monogram W.N., notatnik (AM 2147)

Nieży Józef, inż., 2 bloki notesowe — w nich wycinek z listu: "Co robi Tadeusz, Michał, Zygmunt? Gdzie jest Zygmuntowa z Janką?" (AM 797)

Niger inż. (LZK)

Nikol Michaił Nikiel — w mundurze, 2 kraty szczeniemia (AM 2403), ppor. (LZK), Nikel — ur. 23.9.08 (ROR. 34 str. 105)

Nikiel cywilny (LZK)

Niwiński Józef, inż. bud. dróg i mostów, wizytówki, list (AM 1287), (WO 1118 str. 16), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Nocun Stefan, ppor. piech. (LZK), (bez imienia) syn An-drzeja, ur. 18.5 . . . (7), pow. Pińczów, w mundurze, ks. st. sl., 2 listy, (AM 524), (WO str. 8)

Nodzenski Michał, — Nadzenski, kpt., leg. ofic., rozkaz ewak., 3 pocztówki, list, plakietka (AM 2985), Nodzeński — ur. 29.9.96 (RO. 32 str. 58)

Nodzyński Franciszek, por., leg. urzęd., karta wolnej jazdy, 2 wizytówki, fotografie (AM 3494)

Nodzyński Marian Zbigniew Władysław, kpt., Modlin, wizytówka, fotografie, kalend. kiesz. (AM 2006)

Noga ppor. piech. (LZK)

Nowicki por. aud. (LZK)

Normark Stefan, w mundurze, listy, pocztówki, telegram z Warszawy z 9.3.40: "Jesteśmy zdrowi, mieszkamy nieuszkodzone, martwimy się o Ciebie — Janusz Szerzewski" (AM 2104), por. (ppor.) (LZK)

Nowalik Kazimierz, ppr. (LZK-S)

Nosowicz Olgierd, por. rez., 1907, s. Teodora i Zofii (LZK-S)

Nossowicz Henryk, — Nosowicz, kpt., leg. służb., świad., notatnik (AM 110), Nossowicz — ur. 28.7.89, (RO. 32 str. 251)

Noszyk Henryk, (?) w mundurze, pismo sądowe, leg., wizytówki (AM 1202), Moszczyk (WO 1065 str. 15), Noszczyk, dr., ur. 6.7.96 (ROR. 34 str. 223), por. (LZK)

Nowak pchor. kaw. (LZK)

Nowak Adam, kpt. san., Wojsk. Szpital Warszawa, 1892 (LZK)

Nowak Alojzy, ppor. (LZK)

Nowak Alojzy (II), ppor. (LZK)

Nowak Antoni, w mundurze, pismo sądowe, leg., wizytówki (AM 1677), pozwolenie na załatwianie spraw maklerskich, wydane przez Urząd Celny w Gdyni (WO 1677 str. 22)

Nowak Antoni, w mundurze, ur. 20.11.1910, część leg. ofic. rez. łańc. (AM 3688)

Nowak Emil, ppor. rez., inż. (LZK)

Nowak Ignacy Stanisław, por., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3924)

Nowak Jan, kpt., adres Kozielecki (AM 1070), (WO 978 str. 13)

Nowak Jan, Kier. Szkoły Powsz. w Ostrowicy ppor., ur. 1905, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., świad. szkolne (AM 3146), por. (ppor.) rez. (LZK)

Nowak Józef, ksiądz, mjr (LZK)

Nowak Józef, Nowack — ppor., leg. ofic. rez., listy i pocztówki, blok notesowy (AM 2759), Nowak (WO 2759 str. 51), ppor. (LZK)

Nowak Klemens, ppor., urzędnik podatkowy, leg. urz. państw., pocztówka, wizytówka, karta szcep. 3133, leg. uczniowska (AM 700)

Nowak Ludwik, kpt. art. (LZK)

Nowak Marian, mjr wet. lek., leg. ofic., wizytówki, list, blok notesowy (AM 1383)

Nowak Norbert Karol, ppor., karta mob., leg. urzęd., 2 pisma służb., leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, karta szcep. 2757 (AM 2828), nadawca pocztówki: Eleonora Nowak, Warszawa, ul. Szczawińska 18 (WO 2828 str. 52)

Nowak Rudolf, ppor. (LZK-S-K)

Nowak Stanisław, dr. 1894 (LZK)

Nowak Wacław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Nowak Wiktor, kpt., leg. ofic. (nieczytelna), leg. odznaczeni, karta szcep. 2038, odznaka (AM 1553), leg. ofic. MSWojsk., odznaka instr. PW. wraz z leg. (WO 1553 str. 43)

Nowak Zbigniew, ppor. rez., 52 lub 53 p.p., notariusz (LZK), pismo urzędowe, listy, pocztówki, fotografie, wizytówka, rachunek (AM 417)

Nowakowski Florian, dr med. (WO 921 str. 45)

Nowakowski Jan, por. sap. (LZK-S)

Nowakowski Tadeusz, (LZK)

Nowakowski Zdzisław, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., pocztówka, fotografia, kwit depozytowy, medalik (AM 2304)

Nowicki kpt. obliczenie poborów, okulary (AM 2360)

Nowicki Aleksander, kpt. sap. (LZK)

- Oficiński Piotr, oficer, dowód osob. (AM 46)
 Oginiński Piotr, ppor. (LZK)
 Ogłaza Boguchwał, mjr, 1898, s. Józefa i Walerii, 4 pp. Kiel
 ce (LZK)
 Ogonowski Józef, st. post. P.P. (LZK)
 Ogorodnicki Karol, por., wizytówki, leg. ofic. rez., karta szcep.
 (AM 3336)
 Ogródzinski Stanisław, ppor., 2 listy (AM 4003), por., (LZK)
 Ojca Józef, kpt., leg. ofic., list, 4 pocztówki, fotografie, 2 wi-
 zytówki, medalik, odznaka pułkowa (AM 872), (WO 859 str. 12)
 Okołów Zygmunt, ppor. KOP. (LZK)
 Okoński Stanisław Leon, ppor., ks. ofic., legit. (AM 786)
 Okraso Zygmunt, por. rez. (LZK)
 Okrzeja Władysław Karol, w mundurze, dowód osob., leg.
 urzęd., fotografie (AM 2402), ur. 22.10.09 w Warszawie, naucz.
 (WO 2402 str. 40), ppor., lot. (LZK)
 Okularczyk, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Okulicz, Okulicz — ppor., s. Włodzimierza, karta
 szcep. 2901, lańc. z medalikiem (AM 1116), Okulicz (WO 1007
 str. 14)
 Okupski Jan, mjr (LZK)
 Okusko - Radwan Aleksander, por. rez. (LZK)
 Okwiecinski Józef, por. rez., adwokat (LZK)
 Ołtas Feliks, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. panstw., pocztówka, 2
 listy (AM 768), kpt. dr (LZK)
 Olbrychtowicz Adam, Olbrychtowicz, kpt., list, cygarnicza
 (AM 851), Olbrychtowicz (WO 847 str. 11)
 Olbrysz Feliks, kpt., ofic. leg., karta szcep. 2718, pocztówka,
 list (AM 1783), kpt. int. st. st., 1 p. radio Warszawa (LZ)
 Olechowski Kazimierz, inż. (LZK)
 Olejniczak Jan, kpt. (LZK)
 Olejniczak Leon, por., list od nadawcy z Grudziądza, ul. Je-
 rzego 7/7, medalik z lańc. (AM 3811), por. st. st. (LZK)
 Olejniczak Władysław, ofic. ks., ur. 24.6.14, fotografie, mo-
 nogram, spinki od mankietów (AM 1033), (WO 959 str. 13)
 Olejnik Albin, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, karta szcep., me-
 dalik (AM 880), Ernie Albin (WO 866 str. 12), Olejnik — kpt.
 kol. (LZS)
 Oleksiak Leon, st. post. P.P. (LZK)
 Oleksiewicz, por. piech. (LZK)
 Oleksiewicz Zygmunt, sierżant, karta szcep. 1546, legit.
 odznacz., medalik (AM 968), sierż. sztabowy (WO 925/a str. 13)
 Oleksik Władysław, mjr lot. (LZK)
 Oleśnicki Tadeusz Julian, inż., 1910 (LZK)
 Oleszkiewicz, ppor., leg. odznaki pułkowej, lańc. z
 krzyżykiem, karta szcep. (AM 1184), (WO 1053 str. 15)
 Oleszkiewicz Jerzy, por., ur. 1907, ofic. ks., prawo jazdy, 2
 kartki, 2 odznaki pułkowe (AM 1841), Oleksiewicz (WO 1841
 str. 26), Oleszkiewicz, por. lot. (LZS-K)
 Oleszyński Zygmunt, (LZK-S)
 Oleśkiewicz Tadeusz, w mundurze, leg., pocztówki, listy, ró-
 żaniec, medalik (AM 2650)
 Oleśki Józef, mjr dypl. (LZK)
- Nowicki Aleksander, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Nowicki Franciszek, ppor. inż., leg. urzęd., karta szcep. 150,
 rysunek ołkówy, medalik z lańc. (AM 2000)
 Nowicki Jan, kpt. art. (LZK)
 Nowicki Jerzy Roman, ppor. (por.) art. (LZK)
 Nowicki Tadeusz, stopnia nie ustalono, szczegółów brak (WO
 str. 9)
 Nowicki Teofil Karol, (LZK-S)
 Nowicki Wacław, ppor., karta poborowa, list, odznaka (AM
 2685), wizytówka na nazwisko Halina Adamczukówna, Warsza-
 wa, ul. Polna 40 m. 32 (WO 2685 str. 49), ppor. (LZK)
 Nowik Justyn, w mundurze, list (AM 2644), syn Józefa (WO
 2644) str. 48)
 Nowik Stefan, oficer, dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., karta mob.-
 karta szcep. 4259, list (AM 2916), ur. 1885 (WO 2916 str. 55)
 Nowikow, por. (LZK)
 Nowochoński Jerzy, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Nowosielski Gustaw Wiktor, Nowosielski, ppłk., 2 pocztówki,
 Krzyż Virtuti Militari (AM 4041), ppłk. dypl. (LZK)
 Nowosielski Ksawery, ppor., rez. pil., 1900, s. Juliana i Zofii
 (LZK)
 Nozak Paweł Jerzy, ppor. (LZK)
 Nuckowski Teodor Franciszek, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Nurczyński Edmund Antoni, por., 1885, s. Stanisława i Ludo-
 miry (LZK)
 Nusbaum Maksymilian, Nusbaum — dr, w mundurze, poczt-
 ówka, list, (AM 3977), Nusbaum, dr, ur. 28.3.98 (ROR. 34 str.
 223)
 Nusbaum, ppłk. (LZK)
 Nuszel Kazimierz, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Nyzio Franciszek, st. ogólnistrz (LZK)
- Obidziński Karol, por. rez. (LZK)
 Obidziński Aleksander, dr med., Warszawa, ul. Czerniakow-
 ska 185 m. 7, notatnik, medalik z lańc., medalik, naramiennik,
 karta szcep. 3771, 2 pocztówki i kartka (AM 746)
 Obrzut Henryk, (Obrzut), ppor. piech. 1910, s. Jana i Julii
 (LZK)
 Obuchowicz Bolesław, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Obuchowicz Witold, por., ur. 1905, znak tożs., lańc., fotogra-
 fia, list (AM 1101), (WO 998 str. 14)
 Ochab, ppor. (LZK)
 Ochocki Mieczysław, ppor., znak tożs., ur. 1909 w Sarnach,
 modlitewnik, medalik z lańc. (AM 1411), ur. 1900 (WO 1411 str.
 17), ppor. (LZK)
 Ochocki Piotr, ppor. (LZK)
 Ochowski Adam, ppor., leg. urzęd., zaśw., list (AM 3368)
 Ochowski Zdzisław, plut. (LZK)
 Odbierzyciel Józef, ppor., dyplom Akad. Handl., pismo
 Państw. Banku Rolnego w Poznaniu, pismo Sekty Baptystów
 (AM 2855), (WO 2855 str. 53)
 Odołowski Józef Zygmunt, ppor., ks. ofic. (AM 1465)
 Odynie Antoni, w mundurze, karta szcep. (AM 4083)

Olgębski por. (LZK)
 Olkusński Marian, ppor. (LZK)
 Olkuśnik Marian, Olkuśnik — ppor., leg. urzęd. (AM 2638),
 Olkuśnik — ppor. (LZK)
 Olszanski Bolesław, por., ur. 6.4.9., dowód osob., wizytówki
 (AM 599), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Olszanski Czesław, — oljański, syn Ludwika, karta
 szczep. 1077, spinki, zapalniczka (AM 701), Olszanski (WO
 str. 10)
 Olszewski Alfons Brunon, ppor., zam. Grudziądz, ul. Kościusz-
 ki 32/5, dowód osob., 3 pocztówki, list, pismo wojskowe, me-
 tryka służbu, metryka urodz. córki (AM 3400)
 Olszewski Damazy, stopnia nie ustalono, szczegółów brak
 (WO str. 9)
 Olszewski Hieronim, w mundurze, ur. 9.8.03, dowód osob. (AM
 3371)
 Olszewski Jan, plk. (LZK)
 Olszewski Kazimierz, mjr, leg. ofic., karta szczep. 2115 (AM
 2201)
 Olszewski Mieczysław, w mundurze, karta szczep. 282, 2 lis-
 ty (AM 428), ppor. (LZK)
 Olszewski Wacław, — Olszewski, por., dr med., ks. ofic., me-
 tryka służbu, 3 pocztówki, list, karta szczep. 3965 (AM 629), por.
 (ppor.) lek. (LZK)
 Olszowski ppor., pocztówka (AM 3209)
 Olszowski Aleksander, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Olszyński ppor., ur. 1902, znak tożs., medalik, kar-
 ta mob. (AM 2708)
 Omeljan Wacław, w mundurze, dowód osob., leg. urzęd., ne-
 gatywy (AM 3011), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Onyszkiewicz Zenon, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Opaliński Eugeniusz, ppor., ur. 1912, znak tożs., leg. ofic.
 rez., karta na broń, pocztówka, list (AM 3803), ppor. (LZK)
 Opiełński Edmund, kpt., płatnik, kwit, list z nadawcą: Opie-
 lińska Jadwiga, Gniezno (AM 2621)
 Opodunkiewicz Pod w mundurze, mies.
 karta tramw. (AM 946), (WO 909 str. 12)
 Orawiec Franciszek, mjr piech. (LZK-S)
 Orch ppor. (LZK)
 Ordylowski Tadeusz, por. piech., 1894, s. Józefa i Heleny
 (LZK), por. leg. ofic., zegarek na rękę, pamiątkowa moneta
 (AM 3358)
 Orel Brunon, ppor., ur. 3.7.14 w Czechowicach, dowód osob.,
 karta klubowa, karta ze znakami Morse'go, 3 listy, kartka z
 zapisami (AM 1855), ppor. 1914 r., 25 p.p., Piotrków (LZK)
 Orliński L., por. (LZK)
 Orlewicz Stanisław, plk. lek. 1888, s. Antoniego i Władysławy
 (LZK)
 Orlik Adam, por. rez. (LZK)
 Orlikowski Antoni, w mundurze, dentysta, Warszawa, pl. 3
 Krzyży 8, dowód osob., leg. służb., wizytówka (AM 3764), ppor.
 lek. dent. (bez imienia) — (LZK)

Orlikowski Czesław, w mundurze, leg., karta szczep. 60,
 łańc. z medalikem (AM 1329)
 Orłowski Kazimierz, ppor., wet., karta mob., karta szczep.
 (AM 3983)
 Orłowski Kazimierz Władysław Marian, sędzia, ur. 7.8.04,
 wojsk. ks. st., świad. dojrzałości, 2 pisma Min. Sprawiedl.,
 dowód zwoln. ze służby wojsk. (jako strzelec zwolniony 31. mar-
 ca 39 r.), (AM 2062)
 Orłowski Roman, ppor., ofic. ks. medalik (AM 1705)
 Orłowski Stefan, por., ur. 15.1.94, leg. ofic. rez., list, notatnik
 (AM 3041)
 Orłowski Stefan, por., leg. ofic. (AM 1146), por. rez., lek.
 (LZK)
 Orłowski Walerian, mjr, list, pocztówka, świad. szczep. z Ko-
 zielska, fotografie (AM 23), mjr (LZK)
 Ornatowski ppor. KOP. (LZK)
 Ornatowski Mieczysław, Oziatowski — ppłk., karta szczep.
 20, pocztówka, notatnik, świad. lek. odnośnie próby krwi na na-
 wisko Mieczysławski Józef, mjr (AM 1204), (WO 1066 tr. 15),
 Ornatowski — ppłk. (LZS-K)
 Ornatowski Stanisław, ppor., medalik, kwit ros. (AM 1158),
 wizytówka z nazwiskiem Zakrzewska Lucyna, papieronika z no-
 gramem C.J., — (ta sama treść podana przy zwłokach kapita-
 na nierozpoznanego — vide (AM 1159) — (WO 1934 str. 14),
 ppor. rez. piech. (LZS)
 Ornatowski Tadeusz, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, list (AM
 1693), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Orsicz Eustachy, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Oryński Eugeniusz, officer, leg. ofic., listy (AM 2938), ppor.
 1914, s. Piotra i Emilii, 28 p. strz. k. (LZK)
 Orzechowski Adam, kpt. KOP. (LZK)
 Orzechowski Antoni, por., wojskowe rozliczenie (AM 1595),
 (bez imienia) por. lek. (LZK), dr. ur. 29.5.94, por. san. (ROR. 34
 str. 219)
 Orzechowski Marian, (WO 338 str. 45)
 Orzechowski Wacław, kpt. uzb. (LZK)
 Orzel Jerzy Zygmunt, 3 pocztówki (AM 159), ppor. rez.
 (LZK)
 Orzeszko Władysław Stanisław, Orzeszko — mjr, pismo
 służb., list (AM 1828), Orzeszko, komendant Rej. Uzupeł., Sło-
 nim (WO 1828 str. 26), mjr (LZK)
 Osęka Marian, Osęka — por., pismo z PKO. z adresem: Krze-
 mieniec, ul. Pasięczna 6, 3 pocztówki, 2 listy, odcinek poczt., te-
 legram, fotografia (AM 1031), Osęka (?), (WO 957 str. 13, Osę-
 ka — inż., ur. 21.11.901 (ROR. 34 str. 173)
 Osika kpt. (LZK)
 Osiniński Tadeusz, mjr, leg. ofic., pocztówka, karta wstępu do
 Gmachu Szt. Gen., medalik (AM 923), (WO 894 str. 12)
 Osiniński Wacław, notatnik — w nim 3 nazwiska: Osiniński Wac-
 ław, ppor., Wójtowicz Szymon, Rządowski Aleksander, — ks. do
 modli., list (AM 240), por. (WO 246 str. 19), ur. 1893, s. Teofila
 i Apolonii, por. (LZK)

Owczarski Józef, mjr, leg. ofic., legit. odznacz., karta szcep.
2 listy, medalik z lanc. (AM 3506)
Owczarski Stefan, ppłk. (LZK)
Owczarski Bronisław, ppłk., 1907 (LZK)
Owczarski Bronisław, w mundurze, ur. 11.3.08, ks. oszcz.
PKO. (AM 2903), naucz., ur. 9.2.08, zam. Dukasz k/Turmont
Pożemski (WO 2903 str. 54), (bez imienia), por. (LZK)
Owsianny Stanisław, Owsiany — kpt. lek., dyplom doktorski
palińska (WO 2903 str. 54), (bez imienia), por. (LZK)
z Niemiec, karta szcep., 1161, dowód osob., legit. odznacz., pa-
pierośnica (AM 1795), Owsiany — por. lek. (LZK), Owsiany —
dr, ur. 1.5.88, kpt. san. (ROR. 34 str. 217)
Oziębło Zygmunt, por. lek. (LZK), Oziębło — ppłk., ofic. ks.
dowód osob., karta mob., metryka ślubu, papierosnica oraz za-
palniczka z monogramem OZ. (AM 1302), Oziębło (WO 1302 str.
16), Oziębło — dr, ur. 14.4.04 (ROR. 34 str. 227)
Oża Tadeusz, por. lek. wet. (LZK), ppłk. wet., ur. 5.2.06
w Brodach, dowód osob., karta mob., wizytówki listy, pocztówki,
szkapierz (AM 1138), (WO 1023 str. 14)
Ożóg Artur, mjr, 1890, s. Stanisława i Małgorzaty (LZK)
Pachecka Jan Stefan, urzędnik celny, w mundurze, 2 pisma
Dyr. Cel. leg. urzęd., 4 kartki meld., list, pocztówka, wyblakła
fotografia z napisem, karta nazwiskami (AM 3726)
Pachlik ppłk. (LZK)
Pachnikiewicz Wacław, w mundurze, 4 pocztówki z nadawcą:
H. i Z. Krzesiński, Warszawa, ul. Bracka 14 m. 2, fotografia,
notatnik, portfel (AM 438)
Paciorkowski Stanisław, cywilny, pocztówki, listy, znaczek
blaszany z obozu jenieckiego Ostaszów (AM 4032), por. mar.
1899 (LZK), ur. 21.4.98, por. mar. (ROR. 34 str. 1062)
Paczesny Antoni, Paszesny (?), dr ppłk., leg. ofic., pocztów-
ki, wizytówka (AM 3484)
Paczuski Romuald, kpt., kilka wizytówek (AM 596), kpt.
emer., 1887 (LZK)
Paczynski Władysław, por., ur. 5.9.08 w Białymstoku, znak
tożs., wieczne pióro (AM 3234)
Padlewski - Skorupka Juliusz Zygmunt, ppłk. (LZK)
Pajdak Józef, w mundurze, listy, karta szcep. (AM 3705)
Pajdak Stefan, ppłk., karta na broń, karta polowania, list,
zaśw. (AM 3844)
Pajczewski Stefan, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd.
(AM 3581)
Pajewski Antoni Czesław, ppłk., ur. 1891 (AM 258)
Pajewski Zygmunt, lek. ppłk., leg. urzęd., karta mob., od
znaka, karta szcep. 3853, (bez imienia), ppłk. lek. (LZK)
Pakaniewski Stanisław, lekarz (LZK)
Pakista por. lek. (LZK)
Pakos ppłk. (LZK)
Pakulnis Henryk, w mundurze, list (AM 3609), ppłk. (LZK)
Pakula Stanisław, por. lek. (LZK)
Palczewski Konstanty, ppłk., list 33 (LZK)
Palczynski Karol, ppłk., list (AM 3215), (LZK)

Ospow Osip, ppłk. art. (LZK)
Ostonski ppłk. (LZK)
Osonek Kazimierz, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki (AM 1108), On-
nek (?) Kazimierz (WO 1001 str. 14)
Osos Zelman Jakub, ppłk. lek., leg. ofic. rez., ks. oszcz. PKO.,
karta na broń (AM 2720), Nosnos (bez imienia), por.
lek. (LZK), Osos, ur. 4.4.96 (ROR. 34 str. 229)
Osostowicz Zofii, mjr dypl., 1893, s. Władysława i Zdzi-
sławy (LZK)
Ospalec - Ostrowski Ferdynand, por. rez., inż. (LZK), Ospe-
Ostrowski — w mundurze, przepustka, leg. cywilna, — wyst.
przez Wojsk. Instyt. Geogr., odcinek pocztowy (AM 2929)
Ossowski Ludwik Rajmund, ppłk., leg. ofic., pocztówki, list
(AM 4019) ppłk. lek. (LZK)
Ossowski Wacław Feliks, Osowski — Władysław Feliks, w
mundurze, ur. 20.11.03, metryka urodz. (AM 1189), (WO 1057
str. 15), Ossowski Wacław Feliks — ur. 20.11.03 (ROR. 34
str. 83)
Ostapowicz Artur, kpt., karta szcep., pocztówka (AM 1800).
pocztówka z nadawcą: Wera Ostapowicz, Łódź, ul. Kiłińskiego
105 m. 10 (WO 1800 str. 25)
Ostromiecki Piotr, Ostromiecki — por., 2 pocztówki, koperta,
medalik, odznaka pułkowa (AM 1403), Ostromiecki (WO 1403
str. 17)
Ostrowski oficer, część leg. ofic. (AM 838)
Ostrowski Bolesław Jan, kpt., dowód osob., ks. do modł., pla-
kieta, rosyjska gwiazda (AM 767)
Ostrowski Henryk Stanisław, ppłk., znak tożs., ur. 3.8.06,
zam. Wysokie Możowieckie, ul. Kościuszki 41, ks. oszcz. PKO.,
leg. ofic. rez., kartka z zapiskami (AM 3865), ppłk. (LZK)
Ostrowski Witold, ppłk. 1915, s. Tadeusza i Zofii (LZK)
Osuch Kazimierz, ppłk. (LZK)
Osiko Marian, por. rez. (LZK)
Otko Bolesław Marian, prawnik, w mundurze, dowód osob.,
wizytówka, pocztówki, fotografie, różaniec, list (AM 1601), ur.
15.7.12, zam. Ołtarzowiec (WO 1601 str. 20)
Otoromański Aleksander, w mundurze, karta szcep. 377,
listy i pocztówki (AM 1414)
Otto Aleksander, ppłk., rozliczenie poborów, karta szcep.
(AM 2367)
Otto Marian Piotr, ppłk., ur. 1907, zaśw., 2 karty meldunkowe,
leg. klubowa, leg. ofic. rez., metryka urodz., fotografie, list, 2
pocztówki, ołówek do wykrywania (AM 3817)
Owczarek Aleksander, w mundurze, dr med., zam. Warsza-
wa, ul. Marszałkowska, leg. ofic. rez., legit. odznacz., prawo jaz-
dy, karta szcep., listy, pocztówki, telegram (AM 3669), (bez
imienia), ppłk. lek. (LZK)
Owczarek Stanisław, w mundurze, prawo jazdy, karta szcep.,
karta rejestr. roweru, zaświadczenie (AM 3871), ppłk. 1905
(LZK)
Owczarewicz Leon, ppłk., Owczarski — (LZK), Owczare-
wicz — dr, ur. 2.1.82, plk. lek. (RO. 32 str. 372)

Palczyński Marian, por. (LZK)
 Palenkiewicz Marian, ppor. (LZK)
 Palewicz Eustachy Wiktor, kpt., ur. 17.4.99, część leg. ofic., znak tożs., list, wizytówka, złoty medalik (AM 3159)
 Palucha Jan, por. rez., 6. panc. Brześć n/B. (LZK)
 Paluch Józef, por. lot., pocztówka, list, wizytówka, odznaka pułkowa (AM 2973), por. (LZK)
 Palukajtyś Antoni, Polukajtis — por., 2 listy (AM 3202), Palukajtyś, por. (LZK)
 Palczyński Wincenty Franciszek, mjr, leg. ofic., dzienniczek, łańc. z medalikami, koperta (AM 478), (bez imienia) mjr (LZK)
 Panaszewicz ppor. 1909 (LZK)
 Pankiewicz kpt. (LZK)
 Pankiewicz Eugeniusz, ppor. 1912 (LZK)
 Pankl Eugeniusz, por. (LZK)
 Papiński Jan, kpt. (LZK)
 Paprota Antoni, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., krzyżyk z łańc. (AM 3017)
 Paprotny Tadeusz, por. obs., 1912, s. Józefa (LZK)
 Paradnia Jerzy, wet., w mundurze, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, pismo, koperta (AM 1161), (WO 1035 str. 14)
 Parfiński Władysław, ppor. rez. 1912 (LZK-O)
 Parczewski Romuald, kpt. (LZK)
 Parfianowicz Piotr, ppłk. (LZK)
 Parniewski Prezydent m. Łucka (LZK)
 Paserek Henryk, ppor., ur. 1913, znak tożs., listy (AM 3496)
 Pasteka Adam, ppor., ur. 28.10.05, znak tożs. (AM 2915), (LZK)
 Pasikowski ppor. (LZK)
 Paskiewicz Ryszard, referendarz, dowód osob., wizytówka. 3 fotografie, 2 pocztówki, list, różaniec, 2 medaliki (AM 658), ppor., 1900, syn Lucjana i Zofii (LZK)
 Pastawski Władysław Ewald, w mundurze, leg. ZOR., fotografie, karta szczep. 1492, medalik (AM 1741), Władysław Edward — figurka św. Antoniego (WO 1741 str. 24), ppor. 1901, s. Ludwika i Kazimierzy (LZK)
 Pastuszko Władysław, Pastuszka — cywilny, 3 pocztówki (AM 11), Pastuszko — cywilny, 1905, s. Franciszka i Tekli (LZK)
 Pastwa Wacław, por., dowód osob., fajka (AM 410), por. 1902, s. Rocha i Eleonory, DOK. III. (LZK)
 Paszkiewicz Inspektor Str. Wz. (LZK)
 Paszkiewicz Eugeniusz, ppor., 1912 (LZK)
 Paszkiewicz Michał, w mundurze, ks. czł. urzęd., 2 metryki urodz. (AM 1130), (WO 1017 str. 14)
 Paszko Ryszard, ksiądz ewang. augsb. wyzn., plk., lat 60, syn Gustawa i Karoliny (LZK)
 Paszkowski Kazimierz, ppor., leg. urzęd., 2 listy, 2 wizytówek, cygarniczka (AM 3071), ur. 1902 (LZK)
 Paszkowski Roman, ppor. 1898 (LZK)
 Paśko Adolf, mjr lek., dr (LZK-S)
 Patej Bolesław, ppor. (LZK)

Patekiewicz Adam, ur. 9.9.97, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 58), w mundurze, 2 listy, pocztówka, różaniec, medalik (AM 3863)
 Patka ppor. (LZK)
 Patkowski ppor. (LZK)
 Paupa mech. lotn. (LZK)
 Paweł Aleksander, por. (LZK)
 Pawelec Wiktor, ppor., 1893, s. Antoniego i Marii (LZK), w mundurze, Sosnowiec, ul. Kręta 5, kalend. kiesz., 2 listy, karta szczep. 142 (AM 548)
 Pawłowski Konrad, kpt., 1895, s. Rudolfa i Heleny (LZK), kpt., leg. odznacz. 2. p. art., 2 pocztówki, list, karta z adresami, różaniec własnej roboty, mały notatnik (AM 857), Wikulski — kpt. art. (WO 850 str. 11)
 Pawłowski Jan, st. przod. P.P. (LZO-K)
 Pawlarczyk Ludwik, ofic. zawodowy (LZK)
 Pawlak Józef, por., 1890, s. Michała i Franciszki, 43 p.p. (LZK)
 Pawlak Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Pawlikiewicz Władysław, ppor. (LZK)
 Pawlikowski Antoni, kpt. (LZK)
 Pawlikowski Ludwik, dowód osob., wizytówka (AM 43), (bez imienia), plk. (LZK), Pawliszewski — komandor (LZK)
 Pawluć Antoni, mjr, 1883, s. Wincentego i Józefa (LZK)
 Pawłowicz Alfons, por. rez. (LZK)
 Pawłowicz Mirosław, por., 1910, s. Mieczysława i Jadwigi (LZK)
 Pawłowski por., fotografia, listy (AM 1123), (WO 1012 str. 14)
 Pawłowski Artur, kpt. (LZK)
 Pawłowski Czesław, ppor., dowód osob., fotografia, list, pismo urzędowe, kwit depozytowy (AM 2441), leg. Rady Adwokackiej (WO 2441 str. 41), ppor. (LZK)
 Pawłowski Edmund, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., karta szczep., medalik (AM 2957)
 Pawłowski Jan, pchor., telegram, karta szczep., papierosnica (AM 2307), plut. pchor. (LZK)
 Pawłowski Stefan, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Pągowski Gustaw, Pankowski — syn Łukasza, ppor., karta czł., koperta, pocztówka, karta szczep. (AM 3229), (bez imienia), por. (LZK)
 Papakowicz Władysław, ppor. (LZK)
 Pech Henryk, kpt. lek. st. sp., 1 dyon żand., Warszawa (WO str. 3 i 9)
 Pecka Józef, plk. (LZK-S)
 Pegza Henryk, leg. odznacz. pismo handlowe, karta na broń (AM 3962), (bez imienia), ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Peiser Ryszard — Peisker — por., list, 2 pocztówki, wizytówki, karta i wizytówki na nazwisko Roman Miszczyk, ur. 11.6.10, por., zam. Gnieszno, ul. Sobolskiego 11 a m. 3, — lista z nazwiskami oficerów, rysunek ołówkowy (AM 2096), Peiskar (WO 2096 str. 32)

Peisert Franciszek, kpt., część leg. ofic., list (AM 882), Pejser (WO 867 str. 12), Pejzert (bez imienia), kpt. (LZK)

Pelar Jan, por., ur. 15.12 w Skoczowie, zaśw., karta mob. (AM 1732), Pelor (WO 1732 str. 23), Pelar — por. (LZK)

Pellegrini Leopold, ppłk., przepustka do Minist., karta szcep. 1202, pocztówka, dowód osob. (AM 1597), ppłk., 1896, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Pelczyński Bolesław, kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Pelka Antoni, w mundurze, leg. ofic. (AM 2690)

Pelka Piotr, kpt., odznaczenie, leg. Virtuti Militari, leg. służb., dowód osob., list, złotę zęby, wizytówka, karta szcep. 2886, 4 fotografie (AM 822), (bez imienia), kpt. st. sp. (LZK)

Pensza Jan, por., list (AM 1165), (WO 1038 str. 14)

Peplowski Jerzy, Peplowski — kpt., ur. 24. 12. 94, leg. ofic., prawo jazdy, wizytówka, odznaka pułkowa (AM 2421), Peplowski, 1894, s. Adama, kpt., Warszawa (LZK)

Peplowski Stefan, kpt. (LZK)

Perczyński Antoni, por. (LZK)

Perczyński Tomasz, por., znak tożs., ur. 1908 (AM 3887)

Percec Hilary, por., pocztówki, karta szcep., leg. służb. (AM 3718)

Percec Marian, w mundurze, pocztówki, 2 listy, notatnik (AM 1646)

Perek Marian, oficer, leg. ofic., ros. pismo z Kozielska (AM 3047), por. (LZK)

Perenz Kazimierz, w mundurze, karta szcep., pocztówki, fotografie (AM 2969)

Peretus Kazimierz, por. rez. (LZK)

Perkiewicz Edward, por. piech. (LZK)

Perlic Wacław, kpt. (LZK)

Perlit Zygmunt, por. art. (LZK)

Persowski Kazimierz, por. piech. (LZK)

Perz Kazimierz, por., dowód osob., leg. odznacz., karta szcep., pocztówka (AM 2598), Perz — oficer rez., ur. 25.12.99 (WO 2598 str. 47), Perz (bez imienia), por. (LZK)

Perzak Paweł, por., ur. 1.1.06, leg. ofic. rez., karta na broń (AM 2498), ur. 4.1.06 (WO 2498 str. 42), (bez imienia), por. (LZK), ur. 7.1.06 (ROR. 34 str. 172)

Perzyński Józef, kpt. (LZK-S)

Peszko Franciszek, por., s. Józefa, 2 listy, medalik (AM 3346)

Peszko Roman, kpt., ks. Kasy Oszcz., karta szcep., karty z hańc. (AM 1351), Peszka (WO 1351 str. 17)

Petelczyc Zygmunt, — Petelczec, w mundurze, list, pocztówka, telegram, medalik z hańc. (AM 3676), Petelczyc, por. rez. art. (LZK)

Petri Eugeniusz, pchor. rez. (LZK)

Pekalski Tadeusz Zbigniew, por. art. (LZK)

Pekalski Zbigniew, por. lek. (LZK)

Peski Roman, por. piech. (LZK-S)

Pfann Eryk, mjr, 3 listy, pocztówka (AM 1217), Pfana Hen-

ryk (WO 1077 str. 15), Pfann — mjr. kaw. (LZK), Pfann — ur. 15.11.89 (ROR. 34 str. 336)

Piasecki chor. kaw. (LZK)

Piasecki Jan Robert, por. rez., 1905, s. Jana i Lucyny (LZK)

Piasecki Józef Kazimierz, w mundurze, referent sądowy w Lublinie, leg. urzęd. państw., cwikier (AM 1951), por. rez. (LZK)

Piasecki Ryszard, por., list z nadawcą: Piasecki Władysław, Sosnowice koto Parczewa, woj. Lublin, karta z adresem (AM 3077)

Piątek Jan, przod. P.P. (LZ. K-O)

Piątkowski z Gostynia (LZK)

Piątkowski Aleksander, mjr, ks. oszcz. PKO., 2 kwity (AM 1460)

Piątkowski Franciszek, por., leg. urz. państw. (AM 539)

Pichler Franciszek, Bichler — kpt., karta z nazwiskiem Bichler Franciszek, tekst po niemiecku: „Kochana Mam...”, różn. zapisane kartki (AM 1213) Pichler (bez imienia), kpt., Drogomyśl (LZK), Pichler — ur. 20.1.93 (RO. 32 str. 43)

Piećka Karol, por., ur. 10.9.10, zam. Chorzów, urzędnik Magistratu, dowód osob., karta mob., list, pismo Zarządu m. Chorzów (AM 795), ur. 10.9.18 (WO str. 11)

Piechociński por. st. (LZK)

Piechota Jan, por. art. (LZK)

Piechota Stanisław, por. art. (LZK)

Piechowiak Ignacy, por. art. (LZK), por., znak tożs., 1909, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówki (AM 4063)

Piechowicz Marian, Pol. Państw., 1909, s. Tomasza i Mariany, Warszawa (LZK)

Piekar Wiesław, pchor. (LZK)

Piekarowski Franciszek, mjr dypl. (LZK), Piekarski — ofic., ur. 7.10.900 w Chorzowie, zam. Lida, ul. Falkowskiego 23, ks. oszcz. PKO., list, pocztówka (WO 1352 str. 20), — nierozpoznany — kilka kartek z notatkami, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Marian Sliwiński, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Franciszek Piekarski — mjr, niezapoznany z nazwiskiem — (AM 1352)

Piekarowski Zygmunt, (Stanisław), mjr int. (LZK), Zygmunt — ur. 10.11.91 (RO. 32 str. 317)

Piekielniak Jan, w mundurze, ur. 20.10.05 w Kielcach, leg. odznacz., metryka ślubu, leg. ofic. rez., wizytówki, listy i pocztówki (AM 2481)

Pieko Mieczysław, por., karta szcep. 3389, odznaka pułkowa, list (AM 2677), (bez imienia), por. rez. (LZK)

Piekus Teofil, Pekucz — por., listy, pocztówka (AM 2931), Piekus — por. art. (LZK), Piekus — ur. 9.8.06 (ROR. 34 str. 149)

Pielarski Józef, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Pielarski Wacław, kpt. lotn., leg. ofic., odznaka lotnicza (AM 1365), kpt. lot. (LZK)

Pieniążek Roman, por. rez. (LZK)

Pieniążek Stanisław, kpt., legit. odznaki sport., 2 listy, pocztówka, papierosnica, syzyorki (AM 766), kpt. piech. (LZK)
 Pienyczkowski Jan, por. rez. P.P., 1896, s. Jana i Anny (LZK)
 Pięnkowski Bolesław, w mundurze, kwit. depozytowy, karta szczep. (AM 3658), (bez imienia), chor. KOP. (LZK)
 Pięnkowski Ludwik, kpt. (LZK)
 Pięnkowski Stefan, dr — major, prof. Uniw. Krakowskiego, leg. urzęd. państw., karta rybołowcza, 3 wizytówki, kalendarz, kiesz., 3 pocztówki, odcinek pocztowy, 2 puste ks. oszcz. PKO., syzyorki (AM 988), (WO 938 str. 13), (bez imienia), mjr lek. (LZK)
 Pięrciński Józef, sekr. MSWojsk. (LZK)
 Piesowicz Józef, Piesowicz — mjr, karta szczep., cwikier, odznaka pułkowa (AM 3438), Piesowicz — mjr piech., 1894, s. Karola i Marii (LZK)
 Pięstrzak Marian Antoni, mjr, ks. oszcz. PKO., dowód osob., świadectwo, 2 medalliki (AM 1614), ur. 21 . . . (?), 1896 (WO 1614 str. 21), ur. 21.11.96 (RO 32 str. 300)
 Pietkiewicz Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Pietkiewicz Adam, dr med., dowód osob., karta na broń, 2 listy, prawo jazdy (AM 1343), kpt. lek. (LZK)
 Pietraszek Józef, kpt., dowód osob., kalendarz, rachunek (AM 354), kpt. (LZK)
 Pietraszek Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)
 Pietraszkiewicz Jan, por. piech. (LZK)
 Pietraszkiewicz Ryszard, w mundurze, pocztówki, karta szczep., fotografie, medallik (AM 2766)
 Pietrowski Bronisław, ppor., 3 pocztówki, medallik (AM 4021)
 Pietrowski Stanisław, Pietrikowski — kpt., leg., list z nadawcą: Pietrikowski - Ostro, karta szczep. 448, różaniec (AM 2833), Pietrykowski — leg. osob. Pomorskiej Brygady Obrony Narodowej, list z Ostrowa (WO 2933 str. 53)
 Pietrzyk Franciszek, kpt. lot. (LZK)
 Pietrzyk Stanisław, plk. (LZK)
 Pietrzykowski Jan, Piętrzykowski — por., leg. ofic., 2 pocztówki, 2 fotografie, leg. Virtuti Militari, Krzyż V.M., (AM 887), Ludmil Pietrzykowski (WO 870 str. 12)
 Pietrzykowski Tadeusz, por., Prezes Sądu Okr. Katowice (LZK)
 Pigłowski Bronisław, ppor., 1909, s. Teodora i Jadwigi, 16 p. ul. (LZK)
 Pigłowski Władysław, mjr lek., ofic. ks., wizytówka, karta smob., 2 notatniki (AM 1381)
 Piko Władysław, kpt. piech. (LZK)
 Pijasa Bolesław, ppor., ofic. ks., karta szczep. 2951, odznaka pułkowa, wizytówki (AM 1621), geometra, odznaka Szk. Pchor. Rez. (WO 1621 str. 21)
 Pilaczyński Józef, por., karta rej. samochodu, wizytówka, karta czł., karta szczep., pocztówka (AM 3275), por. rez. (LZK)
 Pilarczyk Ludwik, ppor. (LZK)
 Pilarczyk Zygmunt, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., list, rysunki ołówek (AM 3001)
 Pilarski Józef, kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Pilat Franciszek, por., pocztówka, list z nadawcą: Pilot Janina — Grodysławice, gm. Rachanie, pow. Tomaszów Lub. (AM 2899)

Pilawski mjr lek. (LZK)

Pilawski Roman, w mundurze, pocztówka, fotografia kobieca, kartka z jego adresem (AM 4045), (bez imienia), kpt. (LZK)

Pilch Feliks, por. art., ofic. leg. (nieczytelna), wizytówki, kartka ośc. PKO, medalik, list, cygarniczka własnej roboty (AM 1668)

Pilch Kazimierz, mjr lek., legít. odznacz., karta mob., list od kapłana (AM 2798), list od kpt. Stan. Kosińskiego z Zęzra, stwierdzający fakt kupna samochodu P.F. (WO 2798 str. 52)

Pilecki Jan, w mundurze, pocztówka, telegram, medalik (AM 1546), ppor. art. (LZK)

Pileski Julian, mjr, Kraków, ul. Topolowa 46/II. p., b. austr. por., pismo MSWojeł., leg. odznaki Korpusu Kadetów we Lwowie, list, pocztówki, portfel (AM 497), Pilewski (WO str. 7), mjr (LZK), Pilewski — ur. 19.11.83 (ROR. 34 str. 326)

Pilewski Kazimierz, mjr (LZK)

Pilkowski Janusz, ppor., kalend. kiesz., ręcznie pisane nuty, struny skrzypcowe, dwa listy, 2klucze, kartka z zapiskami, notatnik (AM 331), Pilichowski — ppor. pil. (LZK)

Pillich Adam, (?) w mundurze, 2 wizytówki, 2 fotografie, telegram, list, pocztówka z nazwiskiem: Adam Pillich, Warszawa, ul. Mickiewicza 37, kalend. kiesz., medalik z łańc. (AM 3033), Pillichy — por. (LZK)

Pimienow Konstanty, por., 2 listy z nadawcą: Maria Pimienowa, Częstochowa, ul. Jasnogórska, wyciąg z rejestru (AM 2527)

Piniński Stanisław, w mundurze, dowód osob., leg. urzęd., list, karta sroczek, różaniec (AM 2783)

Pionko Bronisław, kpt., (LZK)

Pionkowski Marian, ppor., dowód osob., leg. szkolna, legít. odznacz., listy (AM 2346), Piątkowski — ur. 6.3.15 (WO 2346 str. 39)

Piotrowicz Eugeniusz, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Piotrowicz Franciszek, ppor. 1905, 2 p. art. (LZK)

Piotrowicz Michał, Piotrowitach — por., dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, legít. odznacz. (AM 2749), Piotrowicz — ur. 26.4.900 (ROR. 34 str. 72)

Piotrowski kpt. (LZK)

Piotrowski Antoni, ppor. (LZK)

Piotrowski Eugeniusz, kpt., wizytówka na nazwisko: Wilhelm Hartmann, pastor, — różne kartki (nieczytelne), (AM 1382), (WO 1382 str. 46)

Piotrowski Franciszek, w mundurze, list, pocztówka, odznaka (AM 3616), st. przod. P.P. (LZK)

Piotrowski Hearyk, ppor. lot. (LZK-K-S)

Piotrowski Julian, ppor. lek., leg. ofic. rez., leg. służb. (AM 33947)

Piotrowski Konrad, ppor. inż., s. Franciszka i Weroniki, karta zwolnienia z wojska, leg. (AM 4017)

Piotrowski Marcin, w mundurze, karta meldunkowa, karta szcep. (AM 3573)
Piotrowski Mieczysław, w mundurze, rachunek na nazwisko Piotrowski Mieczysław (AM 2611)
Piotrowski Stanisław, w mundurze, dowód osob., leg. urzęd. państw., listy, 2 wizytówki (AM 1174), (WO 1044 str. 15)
Piotrowski Stanisław, ppor., 1912, s. Rozalii (LZK)
Piotrowski Tadeusz Stanisław, ppor. inż., 1906, s. Adama i Heleny (LZK)
Piotrowski Zdzisław, pchor. (LZS-K)
Piotrowski Zygmunt, ppor., 1903, s. Bolesława i Julianny (LZK), w mundurze, podanie ros. z nazwiskiem Piotrowski Ser- giusz, kartka z zapiskami (AM 2922)
Piotrowski Zygmunt, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy (AM 4018)
Piórkowski Antoni, cywilny, list, 2 pocztówki, okulary (AM 595)
Pióro Konstanty, ppor., inż., ur. 11.12.09, zam. Białowieża, ul. Stoczek, leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO., prawo jazdy (AM 3261), ppor. art. (LZK)
Pircel,, dr, ppor. (LZK)
Pisarski Stanisław, por., ofic. ka., karta szcep. 1441, fotogra- fie (AM 1892, (bez imienia), por. (LZK)
Piskadło Wiktor, w mundurze, wizytówki, karta mob., poczt- ówka, list (AM 2853)
Piskorz Józef, ppor., leg. urzęd., rozkaz wymarszu, karta szcep. 308, kartka z adresami (AM 1746)
Piszer Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)
Pitera Jan, w mundurze, koperta, fotografie (AM 2449), Pichera — (WO 2449 str. 45), Pitera — ppor. (LZK)
Pitula Józef, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta na broń, karta szcep. (AM 3653)
Piwnica,, kpt., fotografie z adresem jego matki: Józefa Piwnica, Rzeszów, ul. Lwarka (?) 27 — od jego żony: Jadwiga Piwnicka, Tarnów, ul. Goldammera (Sierakowskie- go), — karta szcep., powrót (AM 904), adres jego matki: Re- szów, ul. Lwowska 27 (WO 884 str. 12), Adam, kpt. (LZS-K)
Piwowarczyk Kazimierz, kpt. (LZK)
Piwowarczyk Stanisław, urzędnik wojskowy, ur. 3.3.94, znak tożs., medalik (AM 656), kpt. rez. 1904, s. Stanisława i Kazimie- ry (LZK), ur. 3.3.94 (RO. 32 str. 367)
Platonoff - Plater Zygmunt, ppłk. (bez nazwiska), przepust- ka, różne adresy, zbiory pierścieni z szafirem (AM 1570), Zyg- munt Władysław — ppłk. (WO 1570 str. 20), ppłk., kartki, fot- ografie, przepustka wyst. 24.9.1939, na przejazd ze Złoczowa do Łowicza (WO 1570 str. 44), ppłk. dypl., s. Józefa i Jadwigi (LZK)
Plesner Edward Jan, Plesner — por., ur. 22.7.94, karta mob., list, pocztówka, modlitewnik (AM 1673), Plesner — kpt. rez. (LZK), Plesner — ur. 22.7.94 (ROR. 34 str. 18)
Plewniak Wojciech, kpt. lek., ks. oszcz. PKO., dowód osob., 3 pisma wojsk. (AM 2728), kpt. lek. 1893, s. Bonawentury i Ka- tarzyny (LZK)

Plis Józef, por. KOP. (LZK)
Pluciński Tadeusz, kpt. (LZS-K)
Pluta Antoni, por. si. st. (LZK)
Plachecki,, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Plachecki Janusz Włodzimierz, rtm., 1893, s. Jana i Celiny, 26 p. ul. (LZK)
Platek Franciszek, Platek — kpt., ur. 2.11.92, zam. Grodno, ul. Orzeszkowej 34 m. 10, ofic. leg., leg. adm., zasw., ks. oszcz. PKO (AM 2732), Platek (WO 2732 kpt. (LZK)
Plociński Eugeniusz, kpt. piech. (LZK)
Pobedza Władysław, por. rez. KOP (LZK)
Pobieraj,, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Pobratyn Józef, por. rez. (LZK)
Pobudejski Józef, por., 1901, s. Antoniego i Walerii (LZK)
Pociecha Władysław, pocztówka, fotografie, medalik (AM 3324), por. piech. (LZK)
Pocię Marian, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta szcep. (AM 2423), ur. 24.9.98 (WO 2423 str. 41), ppor. sap. (LZK)
Podgórski Adam Stanisław, ppor., zam. Równe, 3 karty meld. (AM 1706), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)
Podgórski Józef, kpt., karta szcep. 2912, okulary (AM 1818), syn Franciszka, wyblakłe fotografie (WO 1818 str. 26), Józef Konrad — kpt. art. (LZK)
Podgórski Mieczysław, w mundurze, list do: Podgurski Mie- czysław od Jadwigi Podgurska, 1. weksel adres, zapalniczka (AM 886), Podgórski (imienia i bliższych szczegółów brak) — dr med. (WO 886 str. 19), (WO 869 str. 12), kpt. (LZK), Pod- górski — ur. 16.1.96, dr (RO. 32 str. 334)
Podgórski Stanisław, ppor., ur. 1905, leg. ofic., znak tożs., wizytówka (AM 1132), (WO 1018 str. 14)
Podkowa Jerzy, Potkowa — ppor., leg. urzęd. (AM 4033), (bez imienia) por. rez. (LZS), Podkowa — ur. 3.11.90 (ROR. 34 str. 51)
Podlaski Bazyli Zenobiusz, ppor., leg. urzęd., karta szcep., 3 odcinki poczt., kalend. kiesz., części leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3334)
Podolski Zbigniew, (Podłowski) — por. lot. (LZK-S)
Podolski Edward, por., inż., leg. urzęd., prawo jazdy, 2 rachunki, wizytówka (AM 2684)
Podolski Eugeniusz, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Podolski,, kpt. (LZK-S)
Podolski Karol, por. rez. (LZK)
Podolski Władysław, k. t., leg. ofic. (AM 3289), Podowski — kpt. piech. (LZK), Podolski — ur. 19.6.93 (RO. 32 str. 48)
Podsedkowski Bolesław, ppor. (LZK)
Podwinski Stanisław, kpt., listy, pocztówka (AM 1517), kpt. lek. si. st. 1911 (LZK), dr, ur. 30.5.96 (ROh. 4 str. 221)
Podwysocki Edward, leg. ofic. rez., listy, pocztówki (AM 2448)
Pogoda Julian, ppor. (LZK)
Pogonowski Stanisław, chorąży (lub pchor.), 2 ks. oszcz. PKO., bankowa ks. wkładkowa, list, fotografie (AM 1549), chor., ur. 19.1.91, 1 ks. oszcz. L.L.O. (WO 1549 str. 43)

Pogorzelski Feliks, inż. kpt., 2 rozkazy wymarszu, wizytówki, listy z nadawcą: J. Pogorzelski, żnin (Poznań), cukrownia (AM 1448)

Pohorecki książd (LZK)

Pohorecki Bolesław, Prezes Sądu Naiw. (LZK), Bolesław Herbert, cywilyn. Warszawa, ul. Starołowicka 99, dowód osob. (nieczytelny), karta meld., telegram, list, 8 pocztówek, wizytówka (AM 409)

Poklewski Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Pokoniowski Stanisław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Pokrzeński Stefan, dr. por. (LZK)

Polak Franciszek, por., karta szcep. 2648, pocztówka, list (AM 2672), ppor. (LZK)

Polak Jan, kpt. (LZK)

Polak Paweł, ppor., (LZK)

Polakowski Władysław, kpt., rozkaz wyjazdu, pocztówka, list, fotografia, medalik, list pisany w Kozielsku, krzyż Virtuti Militari (AM 3263)

Politr Fryderyk, ppor. inż., ur. 4.10.99, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urzęd., zam. Warszawa, ul. Wilanowska 14 m. 11, (AM 3925), por. (ppor.) — (LZK)

Polkowski Józef, por. karta szcep. 4122, różaniec, wykaz imienny w jez. rosyjskim, pocztówka, odznaka pułkowa (AM 1181), Fokowski — (WO 1051 str. 15)

Polok Paweł, w mundurze, karta szcep. (AM 2894), Pollok — ppor. (LZK)

Polanowicz Jerzy, ppor. (LZK)

Polanowicz Adam, Pol. Państw. (LZK)

Polczyński Stanisław, Polczyński (Pełczyński) — ppłk. lek. (LZK), Polczyński — dr. ur. 17.4.75 (ROR. 34 str. 301)

Polczyński Stanisław Marcell, kpt., leg. ofic., krzyż i leg. Virtuti Militari (AM 3467), Polczyński — kpt. piech. (bez imienia) — (LZK)

Poleć Stanisław, Polec — por. leg. ofic., karta szcep. maty. notatnik, różaniec, (AM 2396), Poleć (WO 2396 str. 40), Poleć — por. piech. (LZS)

Polecki, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Połujan Józef, Polujan — s. Antoniego, ppor., list, 2 pocztów ki (AM 3590)

Pompolowicz Władysław, por. (LZS-K)

Ponczyński Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Pongowski Ksawery Marian, kpt., leg. ofic., leg. sport., list, zaśw., kwit., karta szcep., lista z nazwiskami, medalik z łańc. (AM 3132)

Poniatowski Aleksy, mjr, 2 pocztówki, szczyryk (AM 1385)

Ponichtera Antoni, ppor. art. (LZK)

Poniza Jan, por. ur. 29.3.97, dowód osob., leg. ofic., wojsk. prawo jazdy, karta szcep. (AM 3715), por. (LZK)

Popiel Alfred, por., leg. ofic., pocztówka, list (AM 2502)

Popiel Wacław, plk. dypl. art. (LZS-K)

Popławski Antoni, mjr, 4 pocztówki z nadawcą: Popławska, Warszawa, ul. Asfaltowa 15 (AM 3405)

Popławski Bonifacy, ppor. art. (LZK)

Popławski Franciszek, Popławski — chorąży, znak toża., list, kalend. kiesz. (AM 2363), Popławski — ur. 1910 (WO 2363 str. 39), chor. zawodowy KOP. (LZK)

Popławski Juliusz, por., pocztówki, notatniki, list, karta szcep., rozkaz, 3 medaliki (AM 1167), (WO 1040 str. 15), ppor. art. (LZK)

Popławski Leon, ppor. (LZK)

Popławski Piotr, mjr (LZK-S)

Poraziński Jerzy, por., rozkaz wyjazdu, karta rekwizycyjna. list (AM 4080) por. rez. (LZK)

Poraziński Leon, ppor. (LZK)

Poraziński Zygmunt, por. kaw. 1891, s. Bronisława i Ludwiki (LZK)

Pospieszalski Wiktor, ppor., znak toża., wojsk. prawo jazdy, przepustka, leg. ofic. rez., świad. szk., zaśw., pocztówki, fotografia (AM 2910)

Postawka Leon, w mundurze, ur. 2.6.10 w Odonow, dowód osob., metryka służb, fotografie, pocztówka, plakietka, prawo jazdy (AM 1341), Istawka (?), ur. 2.10.18 (WO 1341 str. 17), Postawka — ppor. (LZK)

Postępski Roman, Postępski — kpt., 2 pocztówki, karta szcep., pek kluczy (AM 1363), Postępski Roman Józef, ur. 28.2.06 (RO. 32 str. 262)

Postępski Stanisław, kpt. sap. (LZK-S)

Postolka Tomasz, ppor. 1909 (LZK), Postolka — ur. 30.9.09 w Woronówce, dowód osob., świad. szcep. 2300, karta meld., pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 329)

Postolko Zygmunt, por. rez. kaw., lat 50, adwokat z Łucka (LZK)

Potemkowski Marian Ignacy, por. rez., (LZK)

Potocki Albin, kpt. (LZK)

Potocki Uryk, porucznik (LZK)

Potrzebowski Karol, Potrzebowski — mjr, leg. ofic. rez. dowód osob., wizytówki, recepta in blanco, metryka urodz., metryka służb, karta mob., 2 listy, dyplom doktorski, karta szcep. (AM 3517) — mjr lek. 1885 (LZK), Potrzebowski — dr, ur. 31.10.85, lek. (ROR. 34 str. 214)

Powicki Wacław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Powroznic Józef, kpt., dowód osob. (nieczytelny), metryka urodz., wizytówka, 2 listy, karta szcep. (AM 220), (bez imienia), kpt. inż. (LZK)

Pozwolski Jakub, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 2515)

Prausa Tadeusz, w mundurze, 2 listy, krzyżyk, karta szcep. (AM 3385)

Prawowski Stefan, kpt., ur. 21.7.93 w Rozkoszy, zam. w Poznaniu (WO str. 45)

Prażmowski Jerzy Marian, w mundurze, ur. 2.8.901 w Krakowie, dowód osob., karta szcep. 2128, list, medalik, kalend. kiesz., notatnik (AM 2316)

Prądzyński Jerzy, ppor. (por.) piech. (LZK)

Prądzyński Lech Kazimierz, por., leg. ofic., prawo jazdy, listy, pocztówki (AM 1846), zam. Warszawa, ul. Poznańska 21 (WO 1846 str. 27)

Precl Władysław, pchor. (LZK)
 Press Dawid, kpt., leg. ofic., różne kartki z adresami (AM 1384), kpt., lek. wet. (LZK)
 Preyer Marian, w mundurze, listy, koperta, pocztówka, 2 odznaki pułkowe (AM 3115)
 Pręgowski Zdzisław, w mundurze, wizytówka na nazwisko: Pręgowski Zdzisław (AM 3125)
 Problemaki Kazimierz, ppor., recepta dla wojsk. apteki (nieczytelna), list, rozliczenie miesięczne (AM 3560)
 Probst Józef Ernest, ppor. art. plotn. 1910 (LZK), ur. 13.12.10 w Cieszyńcu, urzędnik, oficer, dowód osob., list, medalik, ks. do mod. (AM 952), (WO 915 str. 12)
 Prochowik Kazimierz, kpt. rez. (LZK)
 Prochner Józef, mjr dypl. (LZK-S)
 Prokofiew Stefan, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Prokop Antoni, kpt., 4 leg. (PKO., ZOR., PCK., leg. ofic.), 2 pocztówki, list, telegram (AM 799)
 Prokopowicz Edward, w mundurze, koperta (AM 1488)
 Prokopowicz Włodzimierz, por. kaw. (LZK)
 Prokosz, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Probst Józef, ppor., Cieszyn (LZK)
 Proskurnicki Mieczysław, 2 listy, 2 pocztówki (AM 3192), ppor. (LZK)
 Prochniewicz Antoni, rtm. (z dyw. panc.), prawo jazdy, karta na broń, karta na polowanie, leg. odznaki panc., wizytówki, 2 fotografie, 4200 złotych (zniszczone — wycofane z obiegu) (AM 1921), kpt. 1898 (LZK)
 Pręszczyński Stanisław, Pruszczyński — różne recepty, karta z nazwiskiem (AM 1331), kpt. (rtm.), 1893, s. Wincentego i Marianny (LZK), Pręszczyński — ur. 6.2.93 (RO. 32 str. 41)
 Prus Fawel, w mundurze, leg., dzienniczek, 2 listy (AM 765)
 Prus - Bogusławski Czesław, ppor., insp. pow. Twa Ubezpiecz. Sarny, pióro wieczne, wizytówki (AM 1456)
 Pruski Marian, ppor., karta szczep. 3451, ofic. ks. st. st. (AM 1893)
 Pruszanowski Leon, mjr dypl. (LZK)
 Pruszyński Feliks, w mundurze, karta szczep. 2405, kwit (AM 558), (bez imienia), kpt. (LZK)
 Pryb Aleksander, w mundurze, połowa znaku toża. z nazwiskiem Pryb Aleksander (AM 1989)
 Przepalski Adolf, ppor. (LZK)
 Przepalski - Mlot Zygmunt, (LZK)
 Przepeliński Eugeniusz, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta podróżna (AM 3207)
 Przeradzki Stefan Jan, mjr, karta mob., prawo jazdy, ks. oszcz. PKO, fotografie, spinki (AM 1648), ur. 29.8.93 (WO 1648 str. 22), mjr kaw. (LZS-K), — ur. 29.8.93 (RO. 32 str. 156)
 Przetak Mieczysław, ppor., przepustka, karta szczep., karykatura ołówkiem (AM 2945)
 Przewalski Zygmunt, ppor., leg., książ. turystyczna (AM 2514), ppor., 1894, s. Aleksandra i Heleny (LZK)
 Przewłocki Wacław, ppor. art. (LZK), w mundurze, znak

toż., karta na broń, prawo jazdy, leg. urzędn., medal złoty z datą 30.4.34 (AM 2391), ur. 1903 (WO 2391 str. 40)
 Przeworski Antoni, ppor. lek., ur. 10.2.97, znak toża., telegram, pocztówka (AM 3172), ppor., leg. lek. (LZK)
 Przeworski Mieczysław, ppor., leg. urzędn., leg. ofic. rez., karta szczep. 1521, mały notatnik (AM 2821)
 Przewoźniak Ferdinand Antoni, ur. 30.4.10, Kraków, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., karta szczep. 3458, (AM 2680)
 Przybyszewski Makary, karta mob., karta szczep., św. szk., list (AM 2883), fotografia z dedykacją: „Dla wspomnień z przeszłości na przyszłość — Irena Gutkowska“ (WO 2883 str. 54)
 Przychodzki Marian, w mundurze, naucz., leg. urzędn., listy (AM 2891)
 Przygodziński Bronisław, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: E. Przygodziński, Poznań, 3 listy, fotografia (AM 664), kpt. (LZK)
 Przyjemski Stanisław Marek, por., leg., wizytówka (AM 1315)
 Przytasz Zbigniew, w mundurze, pocztówki, wizytówki, notatnik (AM 4023)
 Przytarski Franciszek, ppor., prawo jazdy, dowód osob., pocztówki, odznaka pułkowa, medalik (AM 3155)
 Przytocki, ppor. (LZK)
 Pszragowski Kazimierz, ppor., dowód osob., rozkaz wyjazdu (AM 3218)
 Pszrocki Antoni, por., (LZK)
 Psuja Bolesław, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., pocztówki, list, medalik, różne korespondencje w jęz. niem. (AM 2962)
 Ptak Jan Romuald, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., plakietka, medalik z łańc. (AM 2317)
 Ptak Stanisław, por. (LZK)
 Puchalik Zygmunt, kpt., 3 listy, 4 pocztówki z nadawcą: Jadwiga Puchalik, Warszawa, ul. Olynicka 11, nożyczki do paznokci, złote zęby (AM 844), (WO 842 str. 11)
 Puchalski Romuald, ppor., ur. 20.11.04, leg. ofic. rez., karta szczep. (AM 2451)
 Puchalski Ryszard, ppor. rez. piech., 1906, s. Józefa i Stanisławy (LZK)
 Puchlik, ppor. (LZK)
 Puchowiak Ignacy, ppor. (LZK)
 Pucki Antoni, ppor., pocztówki, list, plakietka, różne fotografie (AM 1667)
 Pufahl Roman, kpt., ur. 26.1.94, zam. Warszawa, ul. 6 Sierpnia 58 m. 2, leg. ofic., prawo jazdy, 3 listy, pocztówka, szczyrtek, zaśw. o si. wojsk. w jęz. niem. (AM 3708), Pufahl (bez imienia), komandor ppor. (LZK), Pufahl — ur. 25.1.94 (RO. 32 str. 269)
 Puhaczewski Jan, w mundurze, leg. urzędn., zaśw., karta szczep. 4039, notatnik (AM 3064), ppor. (LZK)
 Puharowski Tadeusz, por., znak toża., ur. 14.9.90, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., pocztówka, list (AM 4007)
 Pułaski Stanisław, por., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3109), kpt. (LZK)
 Pułkowski Edward, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Purdeczak Kazimierz, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, karta szczep 801 (AM 2839)

Pusch Sergiusz, w mundurze, list, pocztówka, karta szcze-
(AM 2886) por. lek. (LZK)
Pustówka Józef, w mundurze karta, szcep., leg. urzęd-
(nieczytelna), 1 list (AM 3595), (bez imienia), por., Jablonno
(LZK)
Puzdrakiewicz Kazimierz, ppor., karta mob., naramienniki
bez oznak (AM 388), ppor., 1898, s. Stanisława i Władysława
(LZK)
Puzichowski Michał, por. KOP. (LZK)
Puzyna Marian, ppor. (LZK)
Puzanowski Klemens, por. (LZK)
Puzanowski Witold, por. (LZK)
Puertel Mieczysław, ppor. art. (LZK)
Pyptuk Władysław, por., int., ur. 10.10. 86, znak toż., wi-
zytówki, list (AM 3919), por. (LZK)
Pys Jerzy, ppor., dowód osob., list, karta szcep., wizytówka
(AM 1672), Pyś (WO 1672 str. 22)
Pysiewicz Wacław, ppor. art. (LZK)
Pyszko Jan, mjr, 1888 (LZK), oficer, ur. 9.6.81 w Kutnie,
zam. Ustron-Słońsk, ks. oszcz. PKO, portfel, blok notesowy
(AM 462), ur. 3.5.81 (ROR. 34 str. 326)
Pyszyński Tadeusz Władysław, por., karta z adresem: Maria
Pyszyńska, Biała Podlaska, ul. Żydowska 3, pięć srebrnych mo-
net, ubijacz do fajki, notatnik z adresem (AM 503)
Pytko Jan, ppor., 1905, 29 pułk (LZK-S)
Pytlak Jan, przod. P.P. (LZK)
Pytlakowski Stanisław, ppor., ur. 14.10.98 w Warszawie, znak
toż., karta mob., metryka ślubu (AM 3147)
Pyziel Jan, por. 1907. IV. Baon Panc. (LZK)
Quandt Ryszard, ppor., ks. ofic., karta szcep. 3365, notatnik
(AM 1178), (WO 1048 str. 15)
Quirini Emanuel, mjr żand. 1895, s. Mariana i Adeli (LZK)
Rabasz Józef, kpt., Wilno, ul. Pożarowa 18 m. 6, karta z ad-
resami (AM 2179), Rabosz (WO 2179 str. 34)
Rabcewicz kpt. (LZK)
Rabiner inż. (LZK)
Rachel Franciszek, kpt., listy, wizytówki (AM 2722), (LZK)
Raczek Eugeniusz, w mundurze, list (AM 3978), (bez imie-
nia), ppor. (LZK)
Raczek Zygmunt, Radczek — ppor., 2 pocztówki, list, meda-
lalik (AM 1761), Raczek — ur. 24.7.08 (ROR. 34 str. 110)
Raczkowski Czesław, kpt. (mjr) — (LZK)
Raczkowski Janusz, w mundurze, leg. ofic., 3 listy, pocztów-
ka z jego adresem, 2 medaliki, odznaka pułkowa (AM 2837), por.
1913, s. Tadeusza i Marii, 2 p. ul. (LZK)
Raczyński Jan Franciszek, kpt., wizytówka, karta szcep.
1735 (AM 1348), kpt. KOP. (LZK)
Raczyński Julian, Pol. Państw., 1899, s. Gracjana i Bronisła-
wy, Warszawa (LZK)

Raczyński Kazimierz, ppor., leg. odznac., list, pocztówka,
medalik (AM 3568)
Raczyński Kazimierz, w mundurze, zam. Poznań, Fredry 3,
leg. służb., 2 wizytówki, fotografie (AM 4069)
Radawicz Roman, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Radanski Andrzej, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., 2 karty czł. (AM
3593)
Radecki - Mikulicz Edward Henryk, ppor., metryka ślubu,
świad. szcep., pismo MSWojsk., koperta, różaniec, lanc., nara-
mienniki ppor., (AM 317), ppor. 6 p. lotn. Lida (WO str. 7)
Radecki - Mikulicz Marian, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Radel Aleksander, major, ur. 23.10.86 (ROR. 34 str. 355) Ra-
den (bez imienia) mjr. zawod. (LZK)
Radkiewicz Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)
Radliński Wiktor, kpt. (LZK)
Radowski kpt. (LZK)
Radowski por. (LZK)
Radomski Karol, kpt. piech. (LZK)
Radomski Roman, kpt. piech. (LZK)
Radoniewicz Mieczysław, por. mgr., s. Aleksandra i Janiny
(LZK)
Radowski kpt. (LZK)
Radwanski Andrzej, ppor. 1904, s. Ryszarda i Leokadii, Inst.
Geogr. (LZK)
Radwiłowicz Hieronim, ppor. (LZK)
Radziejowski Bronisław, ppk., 1887, s. Augustyna i Rozalii
(LZK)
Radzieniecki Wit, w mundurze, karta szcep., fotografia (AM
3994)
Radzikowski Adam, kpt. inż. (LZK)
Radziński ppor. (LZK)
Radziszewski Edward, ppor. art. (LZK)
Radziszewski Leonard, przy zwłokach Butwillo Witold zna-
lezione również 2 koperty na nazwisko: Radziszewski Leonard
(AM 3782)
Radziszewski Wacław, kpt. (LZK)
Radziszewski Witalis, ppor. art. (LZK)
Radziszewski Władysław, Radziszewski — ur. 2.6.94, zam.
w Łodzi, ks. oszcz. PKO, ks. wktadk. Kasy Oszcz. Warszawa,
list, cygarniczka (AM 1792), ur. 2.6.93 w Ostrzeżowie Wlkp.,
zam. Łódź, ul. Kolbataja 1 m. 3 (WO 1792 str. 25), Radziszew-
ski — ur. 2.6.94 (RO. 32 str. 68)
Radzimiński Tadeusz, ppor. wet. (LZK)
Rafalowski Leopold, ppk. lek. (LZK)
Rajchen Leon Edward, mjr br. panc. (LZK)
Rajchel Zdzisław, ppor., ur. 1910, znak toż., koperta, wizy-
tówka, leg. urzęd., leg. odznac. (AM 3751)
Rajewski Adolf, por., ur. 6.9.99, leg. ofic., prawo jazdy (AM
3536) (bez imienia), por. (LZK)
Rajewski Franciszek, ppor., ur. 4.3.05, leg. ofic., dowód osob.,
metryka ślubu, metryka urodz., karta mob., leg. urzęd. (AM
2604)
Rajszys Ryszard, Rajschys — w mundurze, ur. 24.5.01, dowód

osob., medalik, cygarniczka (AM 3877), Rajszyś — ur. 24.5.01, dr (ROR. 34, str. 226)

Rajter Jan, kpt. aud. (LZK)

Rakiel Józef, ppor., art. (LZK)

Rakowski Czesław, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Rakowski Wiesław, ppor. (LZK)

Ramczyński Leonard, plut. pchor. (LZK)

Ramsa Jan Paweł, Ramasa — ppor., ur. 23.12.12, ofic. ks., papierosnica (AM 852), Ramasa — ppor. rez. (LZK)

Ramsza Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)

Ramult - Baldwin Witold, — Ramolt Witold Baldwin — por. lek., dowód osob., karta szcep., rozkaz wyjazdu, 3 fotografie, kalend. kiesz. (AM 300)

Rapp Kazimierz, ppor. pil., 1904, s. Ignacego i Jadwigi (LZK)

Rasiewicz Henryk, ppor., ur. 11.7.98 w Gnieźnie, dowód osob., części leg. ofic. rez., znak toż., fotografia (AM 2484)

Rastawiecki Modest, ppłk. dypl., 1896, s. Modesta i Bronisławy, Dęblin (LZK)

Raszewski kpt. rez. (LZK)

Rasze Eugeniusz, por. (LZK)

Rasze Marian, w mundurze, leg. odznacz., leg. Zw. Adwok., pakiet pocztowy z nadawcą: Elżbieta Rasze, Warszawa, ul. Wspólna 20 (AM 2987)

Ratajczak Egon, ppor. rez. KOP. (LZK)

Ratajczak Franciszek, ppor. (LZK)

Ratajczak Ludwik, ppor., ur. 9.8.09, leg. ofic. rez., ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urzęd., odznaka wojsk., medalik (AM 3016)

Ratajczak Władysław, w mundurze, 3 karty meld. (AM 2818), Ratajczyk (WO 2818 str. 52)

Ratajski Józef, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., (AM 3262)

Ratajski Witold Marian, kupiec, w mundurze, ur. 23.1.99 w Krasnymstawie, dowód osob., leg. odznaki sport., listy i pocztówki (AM 2388), Witold, ppor. lek. (LZK)

Rau Ludwik, mjr., list, pocztówki, różne kwity, karta szcep. 3079, różaniec, plakietka, kalend. kiesz. własnego wyrobu — założony 12.4.40 (AM 1542), mjr (LZK)

Raubo Witold, ppor. (LZK)

Rawicki Benedykt, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., pocztówka, listy (AM 3816), Witold (LZK)

Rawoczewski Rafał, oficer., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3615)

Rduch Franciszek, w mundurze, list z nadawcą: Elżbieta Rduch, Belk, poczta Czerwionka, Górny Śląsk (AM 3227), ppor. 1909, 4 pulk (LZK)

Rebhun Izak, dr, ur. 14.12.98 (ROR. 34 str. 224) Repkun — ofic. lek. (LZK)

Rechenński Leon, mjr., leg. ofic. odznaka pułkowa, kartka z ad. resami (AM 1577), mjr piech. (LZK)

Rechowicz Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Reciszek por. (LZK)

Redel Aleksander, mjr., leg. ofic., list, kartki z notatkami, medalik (AM 1044), (WO 964 str. 13)

Redych Józef, w mundurze, ur. 23.1.94, zam. Kobylnik, leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO., list (AM 3701)

Redziński Ludwik, ppor., ur. 25.3.05, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob. (AM 2477)

Reger Bolesław, ppor., karta szcep. 3295, medalik (AM 2848), ppor. piech. (LZK)

Reichenberg Gwido, mjr., ur. 26.1.92 (RO. 32 str. 180), Rojchenberg mjr., list, portfel, medalik w etui, papierosnica (AM 479), Rajchenberg (WO str. 7)

Reichert Erwin Juliusz, ppor., ofic. ks., prawo jazdy (AM 1135), (WO 1021 str. 14)

Reinharz Adolf, ppor., leg., pismo Kmdta m. Warszawy. 2 pocztówki (AM 2762)

Reiss Józef, inż., w mundurze, zam. Złoczów, świad., list, pocztówka, kalend. kiesz. (AM 1763), Reise lub Beise — Złoczów, „Export - Bacon“, zaśw. Urzędu Gromadzkiego w Budyninie (WO 1763 str. 24)

Rejdych Józef, ofic. rez. (LZK)

Rejcki Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Rejman Antoni, plut. (LZK)

Rejowski ppor. (LZK)

Rejterowski - Kopyciak Hieronim Henryk, dr, ur. 19.11.90 (ROR. 34 str. 219), Rejterowski H. H. — por. lek., pismo urzędowe, metryka urodz. żony, metryka zgonu, karta mob. (AM 2003), metryka ur. Heleny Marii Reiter metryka zgonu Pauliny Reiter (WO 2003 str. 30), Rejterowski (bez imienia), por. lek. (LZK)

Rek Franciszek, ppor. (LZK)

Rek Jan, w mundurze lotn., pocztówki, list, telegram, list z Goeteburga (AM 2936)

Reklajtyś Władysław, ur. 14.3.88 (ROR. 34 str. 330), Reklajtis, por. st. sp. (LZK)

Rekulak Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Remer ppor. (LZK)

Remisiewicz w mundurze, pocztówka (AM 2526), Renisiewicz — (WO 2526 str. 46)

Rencki Witold, ppor. (LZK)

Reszczyński Józef, por., 2 listy — z nich jeden pisany w Kozielsku (AM 3716), ppor. 1890 (LZK)

Rieger Andrzej, ppor., ur. 1.11.06, zam. Katowice, ul. Kościuszki 6 m. 6, dowód osob., karta mob., karta szcep., leg. ofic. rez., 2 odznaki, notatnik (AM 2431)

Robaczek Józef, ur. 12.3.08 (ROR. 34 str. 97), Robaczek — naucz., ofic. w Chorzowie, leg., metryka służby, 4 listy, karta szcep. (AM 890), (WO 873 str. 12)

Robak Eugeniusz, pocztówka z Węgier (AM 200)

Roczniak Mieczysław, dr, por. art. 1896 (LZK)

Roczyski Janusz, kpt., wizytówki, karta, szcep., plakietka, medalik (AM 802), Roczyski lub Toczyski (WO str. 11)

Rodkiewicz Józef, (Rokkiewicz) — w mundurze, pocztówka, części koperty (AM 3900)

Rodowicz Stanisław, inż. mjr, ofic. ks., przepustka, część leg. na odnawienie, paszport, pocztówka, wizytówka, notatnik (AM 970) (WO 927 str. 12), ppłk. inż. 1884, s. Teodora i Stanisławy (LZK), inż., ur. 16.2.83 (ROR. 34 str. 163)

Rodzenowski Bronisław, stopnia nie ustalono, szczegółów brak (WO str. 9)

Rodziejewicz Antoni, w mundurze, ur. 19.1.95, zam. Wilno, ul. Lwowska 7/4, ks. oszcz. PKO (AM 1285), (WO 1116 str. 16) - Rodziejewicz Jan, por., lekarz (LZK)

Rodziński Henryk, architekt, ppot., dyplom, wizytówki, przepustka (AM 2952), (bez imienia) — ppot., inż. architekt. (LZK)

Rogala - Kostecki Stefan, por. rez. (LZK)

Rogala Polikarp, por., 2 leg. (AM 1757)

Rogalski Walenty, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., wizytówka (AM 2570), (bez imienia), ppot. (LZK)

Rogalski Henryk, cywilny, karta szcep. 4023, pocztówki, listy, różne kartki w jęz. ros., telegram w jęz. ros. (AM 1832), (bez imienia) ppot. rez. (LZK)

Rogalski Julian, w mundurze, pocztówka, kartka z adresami: Ludmiła Rogalska, Wilno, ul. Piwna 6 m. 47, trzy srebrne monety, 3 medaletki (AM 556), major (LZK)

Rogalski Mieczysław, ppot., leg. urzęd., karta na broń, karta szcep. (AM 3307)

Rogawicz Stanisław Mieczysław, ur. 28.11.02 (ROR. 34 str. 47), Roganiewicz — ppot., leg. ofic. rez., 2 pocztówki (AM 3589)

Rogowski Bolesław, w mundurze, 2 pisma Kasy Chorych, 2 kartki meld. (AM 3670), (bez imienia) ppot. (LZK)

Rogowski Jerzy, mjr, karta szcep., kartka z adresami, pocztówka (AM 1851), dr mjr (LZK)

Rogowski Kazimierz, w mundurze, ofic. ks. (AM 578)

Rogowski Mieczysław, ppot. piech. (LZK)

Rogowski Władysław, kpt. (LZK)

Roguski Henryk por., 1903, s. Eugeniusza i Bogumiły, 20 p. ul. (LZK)

Rojecki, ppot., kwit dentysty, 2 odcinki poczt. (AM 2370), Jan, ppot., 1919, 3. p. lot. (LZ-), recepty poczt.: Rojecka Janina, Zamość i Rojecki Jan, Brześć, Matka Boska Ostrobramska z metalu złotawego na granatowym suknie (WO 2370 str. 39)

Rojek Edward, kpt. mar., ur. 8.9.92 w Wiśniczu Nowym, zam. Warszawa, ul. Senatorska 29, leg. ofic. ks. oszcz. PKO., wizytówki, metryka urodz. (AM 1654), (bez imienia), kpt. st. sp. (LZK)

Rojewski Franciszek, ppot. art. (LZK)

Rola - Szadkowski Leonard, dr med., mjr, zam. Poznań, ul. 27. Grudnia 16, recepta in blanco, wizytówki, plakietka (AM 1515), mjr lek., 1881, s. Jana i Michaliny (LZK)

Roliński Henryk, kpt. (LZK)

Romach, kpt. (LZK)

Romanenko, por. (LZK)

Romanowicz Michał, ppot., ur. 1900, sekr. Zarządu Miejskiego, zam. Otwock, ul. Słowackiego 7 m. 1, leg. ofic., wizytówka, leg. urzęd., leg. sport., pismo MSWojsk. (AM 2607), (bez imienia), ppot. piech. (LZK)

Romanowski, rtm. (LZK)

Romanowski Adam, szczegółów brak (WO 1025 str. 19 i 45)

Romanowski Bolesław, cywilny, karta szcep., zaśw. lek. (AM 2914)

Romanowski Maksymilian Bogusław, officer, leg. ofic. rez., (AM 2920)

Romanczuk Zenon, kpt. st. sp. (LZK)

Romanczuk - Kowalewski Zygmunt, w mundurze, ur. 21.4.11, metryka urodz., świad. dojrz., list (AM 3259)

Romanowski Józef, kpt., 1885, s. Franciszka i Walerii (LZK)

Rombo Witold, por. (LZK)

Romeyko Marian, w mundurze, karta szcep. 4011, kartka z adresami włoskimi, papierośnica, adres: Italia — Roma, via Botteghe Oscaro 32, Palazzo Chateau, Colonel Romeiko Marian (AM 1680)

Rondomanski Stanisław, dr. maj. lek., leg. ofic., wizytówki, karta szcep., krzyżyk (AM 1626), (bez imienia), mjr dr lek. (LZK)

Ropele, por. (LZK)

Rosa Franciszek, plut. rez. (LZK)

Rosen Samuel, dr, ur. 3.6.85 (ROR. 34 str. 215), Rozen — kpt., 2 fotografie, ks. oszcz. PKO., papierośnica (AM 930)

Rosenbaum Ludwik, ppot., leg. ofic. rez., 2 pocztówki (AM 2716), ppot. (LZK)

Rosenberg Józef Marcell, adwokat, w mundurze, pismo urzędowe, wizytówki, list (AM 2478), Rozenberg — ppot. (LZK)

Rosenberg Rudolf, stopnia nie ustalono, ur. 25.10.95 w Koptynianach, pow. Świętany, — zam. Poznań (WO str. 9)

Rosenfeld Ignacy, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 1765)

Rosengart Aleksander, por. lek., ur. 3.1.89, leg. ofic. rez. karta mob., odznaczenie, wizytówka, list (AM 2864), Rozengart (bez imienia) dr, ppot. lek. (LZK)

Rosenzweig Aleksander, por., zam. Łódź, ul. Piotrkowska 130, karta mob., wizytówki, fotografie, medalik, karta czł. ZOR. (AM 3197)

Rosiński Eryk, dowód osob., pocztówki, karta szcep., zapisane kartki (AM 1179), (WO 1049 str. 15)

Rosiński Bronisław, kpt. piech., 1894, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZS-K)

Rosiński Urban, cywilny, pocztówki z nadawca: R. Rosiński, Biała Podlaska, ul. Narobitza 6, listy, kartka z adresami (AM 3395), 41 lat (LZK)

Rosiński Zygmunt, ppot., Sochaczew, ul. Słowackiego 12, znak tożs., karta szcep. 2415, kartka z nazwiskiem, medalik (AM 628), ppot. (WO str. 9), ppot. rez. (LZK)

Rosnowski Michał, ur. 20.9.97, dr (RO.32 str. 326), Ronowski — dr ppłk., pismo z adresem: Szpital „Omega”, Warszawa, Al. Jerroz. 51, 2 zapiskane kartki, karta szcep. 1257, notatnik, znak tożs. na nazwisko Bylina Aleksander, płk. lek. 3.4.75, kompas ze złotym lanc. (AM 997), (WO 941 str. 13), Rosnowski, ppłk. lek. (LZK)

ki (AM 3916), Rubisch — ur. 25.7.95, ppor. dent. (ROR. 34 str. 230)

Ruciński Aleksander, ppor. lot. (LZK)

Ruciński Wincenty, ppor. lot. (LZK)

Rudak Antoni, ppor. art. (LZK)

Rudawski Jan, ppor., list, zaśw., metryka ślubu, pismo handlowe (AM 3257)

Rudenko Mikołaj, ppor., urzędnik graniczny, wizytówka, pismo handlowe, medalik z łańc., leg. (AM 2726)

Rudnicki Komisarz Piłki (WO 2854 str. 53), por. (LZK)

Rudkiewicz Kazimierz, w mundurze, zam. Warszawa, ul. Marszałkowska 25 m. 19, pismo służb., karta szczep., pocztówki, listy, wizytówki (AM 3496), prokurator (LZK)

Rudkowski syn Alojzego, ros. pocztówka adresowana do Kozielska (WO str. 3)

Rudlicki Czesław, w mundurze, wizytówka, pocztówki, 3 listy, kwit., medalik z łańc. (AM 2336), zam. Brześć n/B., ul. Unii Lubelskiej 7 (WO 2336 str. 38)

Rudner Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Rudnicki Bohdan, ppor. KOP. 1912, s. Kazimierza i Kazimiery (LZK)

Rudnicki Zygmunt, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki (AM 2506)

Rudolf Karol, plut. piech. (LZK)

Rudy Ludwik, ppor. (LZK)

Rudy Wilhelm Ludwik, — Rudy — w mundurze, świad. lek., wizytówki, fotografie (AM 3993), Rudy — artysta-malarz (LZK), ur. 12.5.88 (ROR. 34 str. 246)

Rudziński Henryk Bronisław, por., 1908, s. Józefa i Janiny, 3 bat. (LZK)

Rudziński Stanisław Jerzy, ur. 25.4.95, rtm. (RO. 32 str. 151), ur. 15.4.95 w Krakowie, leg. odznaki 5 p. str. k. (WO 2308 str. 38), Rodziński — kpt., karta mob., leg. inwal. (AM 2308)

Rudziński Wincenty, ppor. art. (LZK)

Rudzyński Julian, ppor. (LZK)

Ruhm Bolesław, por., karta członk. chóru, rozkaz, notatnik, fotografia (AM 1334), ppor. (LZK)

Rutim Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Rutimierz podoficer prowiantowy (LZK)

Rumianek Stanisław, ur. 10.5.99 (ROR. 34 str. 71), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK), Romanek — ur. 10.5.99, ks. oszcz. PKO., kier. szkoły, leg. urzęd., karta szczep. (AM 3746)

Rumich Jan, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., leg. odznac., odznaka pułkowa, notatki (AM 2926)

Rupniewski Roman, ppor., ur. 3.8.06 w Warszawie, ks. oszcz. PKO., pocztówki, wizytówki (AM 3632)

Rusiak Ignacy, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Rusiński Ludwik, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Ruszanowski Leon, mjr dypl. kaw. (LZK)

Ruszczyk Józef, st. strażnik Str. Gran. (LZK)

Ruszczyński Karol, cywilny (LZK)

Ruskiewicz Jan, kpt. 1898, Jabłonna (LZK)

Rutke Jan, oficer, leg. urzęd., część leg. ofic. rez., pismo

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Rosół Teofil, por. piech. (LZK-S)

Rossau Stefan, — Russo — w mundurze, 2 listy, pocztówka, fotografia (AM 883) Rossau, (WO 868 str. 12)

Rost Franciszek Ksawery, dr mjr, leg. odznac. (AM 1610), (LZK)

Roszkiewicz Józef, ppor. (LZK)

Roszkowski Czesław, w mundurze, ur. 1905, wizytówki, dowód osob., karta czl. (AM 3082), por. łączn. (LZK)

Roszkowski Józef, kpt. lek., pocztówka, karta mob. (AM 1244), (WO 1095 str. 15), dr (LZK)

Rotenberg kpt. piech. (LZK)

Rotenberg Niczysław, ppor., ur. 1909, znak tożs. (AM 660), Rutenberg WO str. 10)

Rozbicki Imiesław, mjr, część recepty z nazwiskiem: dr med. (AM 2501)

Rozbicki Piotr, ppor. art. (LZK)

Rozdolski Marian Adrian, por., pocztówki, wizytówki, listy, list z datą Kozielsk 17, lutego 1940 (AM 3965), por. (LZK)

Rozdolski Władysław, ppor. ur. 1918 Lwów, znak tożs., pismo Szpitala Woł., fotografia, odznaka pułkowa, leg. ofic. (AM 3612)

Rozengarten Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK-S-K)

Rozmysł Aleksander, sierż. zawodowy (LZK)

Rozmysł Stanisław, st. sierż. (LZK)

Rozwadowski Antoni, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Rozwadowski Marian, por. (LZK), w mundurze, 3 pocztówki (AM 3365)

Rożański Ryszard, ppor., zam. Włocławek, leg. ofic. rez., karta czl., wizytówki (AM 4000)

Rożański Wojciech, podoficer, ur. 14.8.20 w Warszawie, świad. gimn., leg. szk., (nieczytelna), leg. odznaki Zw. Strzeleckiego, leg. sport., karta z jego nazwiskiem (AM 4077)

Rożniecki Henryk, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., metryka ślubu (AM 2485) (LZK)

Róg Eugeniusz, por., część dowodu osob., wizytówki z zapiskami, krzyżyk (AM 3256)

Rómmel Wiktor, por. st. sp. (LZK)

Różak Władysław, podoficer (LZK)

Różaniec Piotr, por. (LZK)

Różański Eryk, ppor. (por.) (LZK)

Różański Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)

Różański Ryszard, ppor. 1893, s. Aleksandra i Henriety (LZK)

Różycki Ludwik, w mundurze, wizytówka na nazwisko Różycki Ludwik, w mundurze, krawaty do krawaty, zapalniczka, moneta złota 10-rublowa (AM 750), por. 1892, s. Kazimierza i Różali (LZK)

Rub. A, ppor., list z Krakowa z datą 14.2.40 (AM 718)

Rubinstein nieczytelne, zam. Zamość, woj. Lubelskie, ul. Staszicka 11 u Rajnera (WO 718 str. 20)

Rubinstein Izrael (Chaim), ppor. lek. (LZK)

Rubinstein Jerzy, (LZK)

Rubisch Józef, Rubesch — dr ppor., leg. ofic. rez., 2 pocztów-

Monopolu Tyton., wizytówki, rozkaz mob., (AM 2934), ur. 22.4.92 (ROR. 34 str. 205) Rudke — por. rez. (LZK)

Rutkiewicz Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Rutkowski Edward, ppor. art. (LZK)

Rutkowski Franciszek, por. 1895 (LZS-K)

Rutkowski Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)

Rutkowski Leonard, oficer (LZK)

Rutkowski Stanisław Grzegorz, kpt., 2 pocztówki, wizytówki (AM 2015), kpt. art., zam. Inst. Przeciwegazowy, Warszawa (WO 2015 str. 30)

Rutkowski Tadeusz, por., znak tożs., Warszawa 1908 (AM 1177), (WO 1047 str. 15), ziemianin (LZK)

Rutkowski Tomasz, ppor., 2 orzeczenia lek., leg. odznacz., leg. urzęd., zaśw. szpitalne, listy (AM 2800), por. art. (LZK)

Rutowski Andrzej, stopnia nie ustalono, szczegółów brak (WO str. 9)

Rutynski Bolesław Kazimierz, dr, kpt., pismo służb., 2 pocztówki, 2 listy (AM 1796)

Rux Jan, por. 1902, s. Jana i Anny (LZK-S)

Ruediger Kazimierz Wilhelm, dr med., kpt., Warszawa, al. Niepod. 142 m. 3, 2 zaśw. urzędowe, blok receptowy, plakietka (AM 1590), rtm. (?) 1903, s. Wilhelma i Kazimierzy (LZK), ur. 1.3.03, lekarz (RO. 32 str. 334)

Rybicki Witold, prawnik, Tarnów, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., karta szcep., 456, wizytówki (AM 2199), Rybarkiewicz, mgr prawa, Powiatowy Insp. PZUW. (WO 2199 str. 36)

Rybarkiewicz Stanisław Tadeusz, ofic. rez., prawo jazdy (WO 1173 str. 19)

Rybczyński Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)

Rybicki Jan, ppor., kalend. kiesz. (nieczytelny), prawo jazdy (AM 3340), ppor. (LZK)

Rybno, por. (LZK)

Rybus Mieczysław, dr, w mundurze, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, medalik (AM 3029), (bez imienia), kpt. lek. (LZK)

Rychalski Stefan, pplk. piech., 1891, s. Władysława i Agnieszki (LZK)

Rydarowski Stanisław, mjr. ks. oszcz. PKO, wizytówki, karta na broń, karta szcep. (AM 1599), mgr. prawa, ur. 7.10.92 w Bochni, zam. Łódź, ul. Karłowicza 7 (WO 1599 str. 20), (bez imienia) mjr. (LZK)

Rykowski Tadeusz, w mundurze, znak tożs., karta szcep., 2 listy, kalend. kiesz., 2 fotografie, plakietka (AM 3747), por., 1905, s. Jana i Izabeli (LZK)

Ryński Czesław, por., wojsk. prawo jazdy, ur. 26.3.12 w Suwałkach, leg. ofic., karta szcep. (AM 3905), (LZK)

Ryński Henryk, por. (ppor.) (LZK)

Ryński Ryszard, por. (LZK)

Ryński Tadeusz, por. pil. (LZK)

Rymaszewski Ant., wiceprokurator, w mundurze, ur. 14.11.02, pismo Uniw. Wileńskiego, wizytówki, pocztówki (AM 2059)

Rymaszewski Zenon, ppor. rez. (LZK), Rymaszewski — w mundurze, ur. 1910 w Wilnie, znak tożs., fotografia (AM 3258)

Rymkiewicz Adam, ppor. art. (LZK)

Ryndewicz Antoni, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Ryngwelski Jan, por., odpis leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., karta szcep., 2 pocztówki, 2 karykatury (AM 3130), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Rynkiewicz sierżant (LZK)

Rynkowski Ludwik, por., leg. ofic., leg. Zw. Pływ., medalik (AM 2866)

Ryszewski Tomasz, w mundurze, zam. Warszawa, ul. Barska 3 (?), leg., 4 pocztówki, fotografie (AM 1482)

Rytarowski Włodzimierz Waldemar, mjr. apl. kaw. ur. 16.11.95 (RO. 32 str. 145), (bez imienia) mjr. apt. (LZK)

Rytlewski Teofil, Gdańsk, ppor., dowód osob., pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 358)

Rytyel Wacław, ur. 6.8.98 (ROR. 34 str. 142), ppor., 1898, s. Antoniego i Stefani (LZK), (WO 1422 str. 18), Rytel — w mundurze, dowód osob., (nieczytelny), 2 koperty, fotografie, plakietka, notatnik (AM 1422)

Rzazewski Aleksander, (?) w mundurze, wizytówki, 2 listy, pocztówka, leg. odznacz. dla rannych (AM 3664)

Rzecki Jan, ur. 11.8.96 (RO. 32 str. 188), (WO str. 5), Rzęcki, kpt., leg. osob., pocztówka adresowana do niego, z nadawcą: Wanda Rzecka, Warszawa, al. Niepod. 245, wizytówka, 2 fotografie kobiece (AM 13), (bez imienia), kpt. (LZK)

Rzepecki Zygmunt, ppor., rozkaz wyjazdu, karta szcep., karta z nazwiskiem (AM 3301)

Rzepleta Józef, w mundurze, burmistrz Nowej Wilejki, wizytówka, leg. odznacz., fotografia, okulary, karta czł. Ligi Kolon. (AM 3240), por. (LZK)

Rzepka Józef, ppor., 2 listy, kalend. kiesz., medalik (AM 3852)

Rzeszotański Antoni, w mundurze, 3 listy (AM 2639), ppor., 1896, syn Tadeusza i Zdzisławy (LZK)

Rzeszowiecki Władysław, s. Teofila, ur. 1899, część karty zwolnienia wyd. w Sarnach, kalend. kiesz. (AM 2523), Rzeźniowiecki (WO 2523 str. 46), Rzeźniowski — dyr. K.K.O. (LZK)

Rzewuski Tadeusz, inż. oficer karta szcep. 3435 (AM 806)

Rzeźniczek Adolf, ppor., części leg. ofic. rez., 2 listy w języku niemieckim, (AM 3405), (LZK)

Rzeźniczek Antoni, por., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., fotografia, pismo Insp. Szkolnego Katowice (AM 3230), ppor. (LZK)

Rzymkiewicz Adam Stanisław, ur. 21.12.03 (ROR. 34 str. 71), Rzymkiewicz — ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3766)

Sabadkowski Piotr, w mundurze, karta szcep., list, telegram, medalik (AM 1752)

Sabanowski Mieczysław, ppor., (LZK)

Sabath Augustyn, mjr. łącz. (LZK-S)

Sabinicki Zygmunt, oficer, część leg. ofic., dowód osob., (nieczytelny), pocztówka, nieopisany znak tożs. (AM 833)

Sachnowski (LZK)

Sadowski Aleksander, ur. 8.10.87, inż. komandor ppor. (RO.

32 str. 401), Jan — (LZK) Sachowski A., inż., oficer mar., leg. służb., karta szcep. (AM 4074)

Sadowski Jan, mjr, leg. ofic. (AM 3408), mjr piech. (LZK)

Sadowski Kazimierz, ppor., (LZK)

Sagan Józef, w mundurze, 2 listy z nadawcą: Saganowa Stefania, Złoczów, ul. Gliniarska 7, okulary, wizytówki (AM 922), (WO 893 str. 12), pchor. rez. piech. (LZK)

Sahanek Roman, kpt. wojsk kol. (LZK)

Salcewicz Jan, kpt. (LZK-S)

Salinger Stanisław, ppor., ur. 11.11.13, znak tożs., karta szcep. Nr 1092, notatnik, odznaka komunistyczna (AM 521), ppor. 1914, s. Władysława i Heleny (LZK)

Salmonowicz Stefan, dr, por. lek. (LZK)

Salwowski Jan, ppor., 3 listy, 3 pocztówki (AM 1753), por. (LZK)

Sałęga Jan, mjr (LZK), ur. 30.3.94 (RO. 32 str. 195), — Zalega — wizytówka na nazwisko: Zalega Jan — mjr (AM 340)

Samardak — Ostrowski Józef, kpt. (LZK)

Samogyl Madan, — Samogajen — pocztówka, karta szcep. (AM 83), Samogajen względnie Samogyl — (WO str. 6)

Samojeden Marian, por. (ppor.) (LZK)

Sanczak Henryk, por. 1907, s. Wacława i Stefani (LZK)

Sanek Mariusz, por., karta szcep. 1631 (AM 2460)

Sanok Jan, ppor. KOP. (LZK)

Sanok Marian, por. kaw. (LZK)

Santariusz Karol, por. z Cieszyńska, leg. ofic. rez., 2 wizytówek (AM 3056), por., Cieszyń (LZK)

Sapiejewski Jan Tadeusz, ppłk, lek., leg. ofic., notatnik, karta szcep. 3983, fotografie, papierośnica, wizytówka (AM 477), mjr, dr. med. dent., 1892, s. Jana i Seweryny (LZK)

Sarnecki rtm. st. sp. (LZK)

Sarnecki Edmund, ppor. art. (LZK)

Sarnowicz Kazimierz, kpt., Warszawa, ul. Sienna 26 m. 13 (AM 131)

Sarosiak Wacław, ppor. rez. art. (LZK)

Sassal ppor. (LZK)

Sauczek Henryk Florian, ppor., dowód osob., leg. ofic. rez., listy i pocztówki (AM 2780)

Sawala Stanisław, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Sawicki ppor. rez. (LZK)

Sawicki Jerzy, por. 1894, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Sawicki Piotr, por. art. (LZK)

Sawicki Wiktor, chorąży KOP. (LZK)

Sawicki ppor., z Katowic, b. dyr. Pol. Związku Zachodniego (relacja kpt. K. W.)

Sawicki Witold, w mundurze, 2 listy, 3 pocztówki — z nich jedna z nadawcą: Sawicki Teofil, Warszawa, ul. Mokotowska 50 (AM 2600), ppor. rez. 1905, s. Juliana i Wandy, sędzia (LZK)

Sawicki Jerzy, por. (LZK)

Saenger Franciszek, ur. 30.1.78, ppłk. lek. wet. (RO. 34 str. 309), (bez imienia) — ppłk. lek. wet. (LZK), Sengier — por., list z Orlagu 4/a, list z Detroit w USA. (WO 1613 str. 21 i 46),

Stenczer — ppłk., list z poczty jenieckiej do ojca, list z Ameryki, różanec (AM 1613)

Schantroch Zygmunt, kpt. (por.) lek. (LZK-S)

Schanzer Maks, ppor., 8 pocztówek, 2 notatniki, pocztówka z nadawcą: Berta Schanzer, Bielsko (AM 407), Seroncer Max, ppor. (LZK)

Schild Stanisław, dr med., ppor., 2 pocztówki, fotografia, karta szcep., plakieta, karta Zw. Lek. (AM 1639), Schid — (WO 1639 str. 21)

Schmel Szymon, dr, ur. 13.10.98 (RO. 34 str. 222), Schimel — dr med., w mundurze, kilka wizytówek, baretki (AM 590), Schimek (WO str. 9)

Schimsheimer Wilhelm, ppor., karta szcep., kalend. kiesz. (AM 342)

Schindel Feliks, kpt. (LZK)

Schliezberg Elias, ppor. rez. lek. (LZK)

Schmagier Karol, sierż. piech. (LZK), Schmagier — wachm. żand. rez. (LZK)

Schmidt Eugeniusz, ur. 17.12.03 (RO. 34 str. 45), Samid — por., ur. 17.12.03 w Warszawie, ofic. ks. oszcz. PKO., leg., wizytówki, karta szcep. 3428 (AM 1360), ur. 17.1.03 (WO 1360 str. 17)

Schmidt Lucjan, w mundurze, odcinek poczt. — poczta Witaszyce, woj. Poznańskie (AM 3149)

Schmidt Tadeusz, por. (LZK)

Schneider Tadeusz, kartka z adresem: Schneider Tadeusz, Kozielsk (AM 196)

Schneider Wilhelm, urzędnik, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2013, różne listy i pocztówki, wizytówki, leg., zaśw., zdjęcie Roentgena (AM 1074), (WO 980 str. 13), Schneider — ppor. (LZK)

Schneikart Marian Konrad, mjr SPRA — Włodzimierz, (LZK)

Schnita Roman, ppor. (LZK)

Schollenberger Artur, karta szcep., cygarniczka (AM 1631), Scholkaberger — ppor. 1897 (LZK), Schollenberger — ur. 16.5.97 (RO. 34 str. 56)

Schoen Adolf Marian, insp. szkolny, leg. urzęd., legist., odznacz. wizytówka, blok notesowy (AM 2344)

Schoen - Wolski por. (LZK)

Schreier Joachim, ppor. (LZK), ppor. 1603, ul. Narutowicza 48 m. 2, leg. karta mob., karta szcep., 3 listy, fotografie (AM 678), Scherer (WO str. 10)

Schubert Tadeusz, ppor., metryka ślubu, odznaka (AM 372)

Schuemel Karol, oficer, dr (LZK)

Schwab Edward, kpt, 1892, DOK. II. (LZK), ur. 25.9.92 (RO. 32 str. 46), Szwab, części leg. ofic., list, recepta, okulary, karta szcep. (AM 3277)

Schwabe Kazimierz, ppor., list, koperta (AM 898), (WO 880 str. 12)

Schwarz Klemens, w mundurze, karta szcep., fotografia, monogram SK. (AM 2434), Szwarc — fotografia z dedykacją: „Duśku, wróć prędko, zdrów do Alusi i Muni”. (WO 2434 str. 41)

Schwarz Wilhelm Kladiusz, 1907, s. Jerzego i Ludwika, lekarz (LZK)

Siefert Tadeusz Ryszard, kpt., leg. ofic., list, pocztówki, od-cinek poczt. (AM 2488), Seifert — 1908, kpt. (LZK)

Sekunda Włodzimierz, mjr (LZK)

Selens Stanisław, por. (LZK), ur. 14.8.99 (ROR. 34 str. 43), Selezals (?), por., ur. 14.8.99, karta mob., 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, medalik z łańc., karta szcep. 2643 (AM 1346)

Semerga Zygmunt, ur. 4.3.96 (RO. 32 str. 33), Serega lub Seruga, ppik. (LZK)

Sempkowski Józef ppor., 1899 (LZK)

Serek Tadeusz, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez., karta szcep., przepustka (AM 3881), ppor. (LZK)

Seroka Edmund, por., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., wojak prawo jazdy, odznaka, karta mob. (AM 2628), ur. 11.10.05 (WO 2628 str. 48), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Serwatowicz Władysław, por. (LZK)

Seweryn Kazimierz, ppor., odznaka poczt., kwit, 2 listy, mo-nogram KS. (AM 3325, LZK)

Seweryn Mieczysław, ppor. (LZK)

Siatecki Józef, ppor. (LZK)

Sielewicz Julian, ppik. (LZK), ur. 20.3.92 (RO. 32 str. 228), ppor. rez., 15 p. ul. Ośr. Zapas. (LZ)

Siczka Tadeusz, por. 1912 (LZK-O-S)

Sidor Józef, kpt. (LZK), kpt. pil., 3 p. lotn. (WO str. 3)

Sidor Władysław, w mundurze, list, pocztówki (AM 1136), (WO 1022 str. 14), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Sidorczuk Jan, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, list (AM 684), ppor. (LZK)

Sidwa Stanisław, por. rez., 1905, s. Leonarda i Pelagii (LZK)

Siedmiograj Witold, por., 52 pp. (LZK)

Siek Józef, ppor. (LZK)

Siekierski por. (LZK)

Siekierski Kazimierz, mjr. dowód osob. (AM 168)

Siekierski Piotr, kpt. (LZK)

Sielewicz Julian, ppik. (LZK), ur. 20.3.92 (RO. 32 str. 228), Zielewicz — ppik., leg. Miedzynar. Aeroklubu, 2 karty rybo-łowcze, odznaka lotnicza, krzyżek z łańc. (AM 494)

Sielewicz Leonard, mjr. (LZK), Silewicz — nazwisko i imię odczytano z recept (WO 980 str. 19), Silewicz — ur. 6.4.81 (ROR. 34 str. 350)

Sielewicz Władysław, ur. 27.10.05, (RO. 32 str. 219), Sile-wicz — kpt. (LZK)

Sielkowski Józef, lub Siemikowski — w mundurze, listy i pocztówki (AM 2512), nierozpoznany wojskowy (WO 2512 str. 46)

Siemok Władysław, kpt. (LZK)

Siemiński Ludwik, mjr., ur. 31.1.97 w Krakowie, zam. Mod.lin. ul. Kościelna 219, ks. oszcz. PKO., karta szcep., 2 koperty, pocztówka, lista z nagłówkiem: Ciąg dalszy — 4 Kompania — zawierająca 11 nazwisk z rubrykami: Rok urodz., — przydział służb., — narodowość i pochodzenie (z jakiego obozu). W rubry-ce „pochodzenie” podane są obozy: Kozielec, Kozielec,

Taliza, Ostaszków i Skit I. — W rubryce „narodowość” ozna-czony jest jeden jako żyd. (AM 228), (bez imienia), mjr (LZK)

Stenicki Jan, por. 1908, 77 pp. Lida (LZK)

Stenicki Albin, lekarz, w mundurze, część pisma, karta szcep. (AM 1223), (WO 1082 str. 15)

Sienkiewicz Witold, ppor. (LZK)

Sierpiński Witold, kpt., karta szcep. 929, karta mob., części leg. oznacz. (AM 1356)

Sierszeński Wandalin, w mundurze, karta szcep., fotogra-fie, różne zapiski, medalik, 2 monety srebrne, adres: Maria Kasprzakowa, Poznań, ul. Włda 44 (AM 543)

Sierżant Julian, ppor. (LZK), Szurżant, ppor. (LZK)

Sikora Adam, strzelec (LZK)

Sikora Aleksander, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: prof. dr Stefan Piekowski, Warszawa, ul. Hoża 69 (AM 3054)

Sikorski por. mar., szczegółów brak (WO str. 7)

Sikorski Bogumił, por. 1910 (LZK)

Sikorski Franciszek Ksawery, ur. 30.11.91 (ROR. 34 str. 326), Ksawery — mjr. (LZK)

Sikorski Henryk, por., dr med., prof., ofic. ks., leg. urzęd., karta szcep. 73, pocztówka, list AM 1154), (WO 1032 str. 14), ppor. dr 1892 (LZK)

Sikorski Tadeusz, por., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., zegarek na rękę (AM 2897)

Silarski Tomasz, por. (LZK)

Silberstein ppor., dr (LZK)

Simulski Bolesław, por., leg. ofic. (AM 4099), kpt. 1897, s. Adama i Franciszki, DOK. II. (LZK)

Simon Józef Cezar, ppor., ur. 23.7.99, zam. Warszawa, karta mob., leg. ofic. rez., karta na broń, karta szcep., koperta (AM 3695)

Siniecki Władysław, list z nadawcą: Irena Sinicka, Łódź. ul. (WO 2369 str. 39), Sinicki — dr med., por., leg. urzęd., pocztówka, list, karta szcep., różaniec (AM 2369)

Sinkiewicz w mundurze, pocztówka z Kozielecka do Grodna, pocztówka do Kozielecka, karta szcep., listy (AM 2932)

Siodak Tomasz, w mundurze, część koperty, ros. odcinek poczt. (AM 3269)

Sipinski malarz (LZK)

Sitarski Marian Jerzy, ppor. (LZK), w mundurze, wizytów-ka, kolejowa karta jazdy, fotografia, scyzoryk (AM 1111), leg. urzęd. kolej. (WO 1003 str. 14)

Siwierski Jan, por. piech. (LZK)

Siwicki Aleksander, ur. 16.8.98 (ROR. 34 str. 168), Siewicki — w mundurze, ur. 16.8.98, dowód osob., leg. urzęd., 2 karty meld., odznaka pułkowa, miniaturka Krzyża Walecznych (AM 3119)

Siwicki Tomasz, kpt., 2 karty czł., 3 listy, 2 pocztówki, karta polowania, lista z nazwiskami, notatnik (AM 873), (LZK), Iwicki, kpt. (WO 860 str. 12)

Siwicz ppor. (LZK)

Siwicz Stefan, ppor. zawod. piech. (LZK)

Siwik Franciszek, (WO 2804 str. 52), Sywik — w mundurze, list, wyblakła fotografia, różaniec (AM 2804)

Skotnicki Henryk, kpt. (WO 979 str. 45)
 Skowronski Henryk, ppor., ur. 10.10.13, leg. ofic. rez., 2 listy, notatnik, zaśw. szpitala (AM 3002), ppor. (LZK)
 Skowronski Wincenty, ppor., leg. kolejowa 1669, mały nożyk (AM 910), (WO 889 str. 12)
 Skórka Jan, por. (LZK)
 Skórka Józef, por. (LZK)
 Skórko dr. por. lek. (LZK)
 Skrotowski Witold, komendant P.P. (LZK)
 Skrobiszewski Józef, dr. ur. 7.12.81, mjr lek. (ROR. 34 str. 302), Skobiszewski — mjr lek., ofic. ks., odznaka (AM 1194), (WO 1062 str. 15)
 Skrzydziejewski Bohdan, 1908 (LZK)
 Skrzydziejewski Czesław, naucz., ppor., leg. urzęd. państw. lista z nazwiskami oficerów, plakietka z Matka Boska, zam. Warszawa, ul. Kościelna 5 (AM 962), adres, ul. Kościelna 55 (WO 921 str. 12)
 Skrzypek Bolesław, kpt., 5 pocztówek, karta szczep. 3826 (AM 1571), pocztówka z nadawcą: Władysława Skrzypkowa, Warszawa 32, ul. Długoskiego 5 (WO 1571 str. 44), kpt. piech. 1894, s. Karola i Anny (LZK)
 Skrzypnik Stanisław, ppor., s. Antoniego, karta szczep. 2 pocztówki (AM 3342)
 Skrzyszewski Jan, w mundurze, list, pocztówka, plakietka, pół znaku tożs. z nazwiskiem Pry Aleksander (AM 3644)
 Skrzywan Jerzy, mjr, ur. 18.6.98, zam. Warszawa, ul. Białostocka 20-32, dowód osob., karta szczep., wizytówka, kalend. kiesz., (AM 232), (LZK), ur. 5.6.98 (RO. 82 str. 348)
 Skup Jan, por. (LZK)
 Skupa Józef, por. (LZK)
 Skupien Sebastian, naucz., por., leg. urzęd. (AM 1246), (WO 1097 str. 15), por. piech. (bez imienia) — (LZK)
 Skupp Kazimierz, ppor. rez. 1898, s. Marcellego i Kazimierzy (LZK)
 Skuta Zygmunt, oficer (LZK)
 Skwara Józef, ppor., ur. 29.7.900, zam. Jutrosin, ul. Szkolna 9, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urzęd., rękawiczki, baretki (AM 3749)
 Skwarek plut. piech. (LZK)
 Skwierczyński Witold, sekr. Urzędu Techn. MSWewn., leg. urzęd., karta szczep., pocztówki (AM 2110)
 Skwirzyński Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)
 Skwirzyński Tadeusz, mjr 1897, s. Juliusza i Stefani (LZK)
 Sliozberg Juliusz, dr. med., ppor., wizytówki, 2 recepty in blanco, pocztówki, fotografia, 2 odznaki pułkowe (AM 3091), Eban, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Sładki Kazimierz, (?) cywilny, pocztówki (AM 3657), ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Sławek sierż. st. sp. (LZK)
 Sławikowski Eugeniusz, kpt. art., wizytówki, leg. ofic., pocztówka, 2 fotografie (AM 3345)
 Sławin Jerzy, por. (LZK)
 Sławinski Lech, w mundurze, karta szczep. (AM 1375), Słabiński — (WO 1375 str. 17)

Siwik Przemysław, ppor., 1912, s. Bronisława i Stanisławy (LZK)
 Skalinowski Adam, ppor. (LZK), Skalinowski — w mundurze, leg. urzęd., telegram, karta szczep. (AM 3442)
 Skalecki Józef, (WO 1429 str. 18), Skalecki — naucz., w mundurze, metryka urodz., leg. urzęd., świad. przynal. państw., różne listy, medalik (AM 1429)
 Skarzynski Mieczysław, kpt. 1889, s. Juliana i Józefy (LZK)
 Skarzynski Wojciech Ambroży, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., metryka urodz., prawo jazdy, karta na broń, 3 pocztówki, fotografia, pismo służb. (AM 2830), ur. 21.6.13 w Złoczowie, na odroczenie jednej z fotografii napis: „oddac — Łódź, ul. Piotrkowska 121 m. 11 mojej ukochanej żonie Jadzi Wojciechowskiej - Skarzynskiej“ (WO 2830 str. 52), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)
 Skąpski ppor. pilot (LZK)
 Skąpski Bolesław, w mundurze, 2 listy, pocztówka, ofic. ks. (AM 1914)
 Skibiński Józef, w mundurze, ref. MSWewn., pismo MSWewn., 2 listy, pocztówka (AM 1794), (bez imienia), insp. Str. Wieg. (LZK)
 Skibiński Marian Stanisław, inż. ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., karta na broń, monogram S.M. (AM 2313)
 Skindzielewski Konrad, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Skindzielewski Piotr, ppor., karta mob., listy, karta szczep. (AM 3123), ppor. lek. (LZK)
 Skinder Jerzy, rtm. 1904, s. Wacława i Marii, 19 p. ul. (LZK)
 Skinder Wacław, naucz., w mundurze, dowód osob., części leg. urzęd., karta szczep. 604 (AM 1469)
 Skindziel Piotr, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Skindzier Czesław, pchor. art. (LZK)
 Skinszer Czesław, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Wera Sargiewicz, Wilno, ul. Chutkowska 12 m. 4, notatnik (AM 1032), (WO 958 str. 13)
 Skocezeń Jan, por., zaśw., karta szczep. 526, notatnik (AM 1745)
 Skoczyski Adam, mjr (LZK)
 Skoczyski Jerzy, w mundurze, znak tożs. (AM 585), por. (LZK)
 Skolimowski Mieczysław, ppor., ur. 19.7.06, wizytówka, kalend. kiesz. (AM 2012), (LZK)
 Skonieczka Henryk Stanisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3601)
 Skonieczny Andrzej, (WO str. 7), Skiniaczny — ppor., dowód osob., naramienniki bez oznak, karta szczep., orzełek polski (AM 307)
 Skorel Józef, ksiądz, mjr kapelan (LZK)
 Skorko Aleksander, kpt., lek., ur. 6.1.94, zam. Piszno, obok Warszawy, pismo Szkoły Sanitarniej, zaśw. lek., recepty, karta szczep. 41, pocztówki (AM 1650), pocztówka, której nadawca zam. Warszawa, ul. Kopernika 16 — (WO 1650 str. 22)
 Skorupski Stanisław, por. 1904, s. Mariana i Marii (LZK)
 Skotnicki Aleksander, ppor. art. (LZK)
 Skotnicki Franciszek, por. rez. (LZK), Shotnicki — por., pocztówki, list, karta szczep., plan, szkic domu (AM 3770)

Sławski Michał, kpt., ur. 6 lub 19.4.90, pocztówki, karta szczepl., kpt. rez. 1890, s. Aleksandra (LZK), ur. 19.4.90 (ROR. 34 str. 164)

Sławski Stefan, ppor., leg. urzęd. z fotografią, karta na broń, list (AM 2572)

Sławoszewski Str. Gran. (LZK)

Sławoszewski Adam, ppor. (LZK)

Słoda Zbigniew, ppor., dowód osob. (AM 3397)

Słotkowski Wacław, ppor., świad. przynał. państw., 2 listy, karta szczepl. 2264, znak tożs. (AM 1602), ppor. art. (LZK)

Słojowski Kamili, por., część leg. ofic., karta mob., wojsk. pismo służb., 2 wizytówki (AM 3295), por. st. sp. 1896 (LZS)

Słomka Jan Tadeusz, sekr. rach. Urzędu Wójev. Kraków, w mundurze, dowód osob., 2 pisma, wizytówka list (AM 607), ppor. (LZK)

Słoniński Antoni, ppor. (LZK)

Słoniński Jan, w mundurze, 31 lat, karta z adresem, karta szczepl. 4047, metryka ślubu z daty 4.9.39, syn Józefa i Wandy Marii z Bohdanowiczów, imię żony: Zofia z Bartosików, rysunek ołówkowy, portfel, (AM 714), (WO str. 10)

Słotkiewicz Tadeusz, ur. 19.12.900 (ROR. 34 str. 41), (WO str. 7), Złotobowiec — dowód osob., 2 pocztówki, rysunek ołówkowy, naramienniki bez oznak (AM 393)

Słowik Adolf, w mundurze, list z adresem: Kapek Franciszek, Królewska Huta II, Niemy — Górny Śląsk, ul. hr. Laury 1, karta szczepl., hańc. do zegarka (AM 2468), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Słowik Edward Antoni, kpt. KOP. 1893 (LZK)

Słowikowski Wiktor, podoficer (LZK)

Słowinski Józef Mikołaj, zawodowy major, zam. Lublin, leg. ofic., karta szczepl., pismo wojskowe, baretka, 3 odznaki (AM 2536), (bez imienia), mjr dypl. (LZK)

Słubicki Stefan, w mundurze, karta szczepl., leg. odznacz. (AM 3814)

Słuszek Stanisław, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Słysz Stefan, ofic. ks., karta z notatkami (AM 1313), ppor. rez., 1912, zawiadowca st. kol. Ustrzyki Dolne (LZK), (WO 1313 str. 16)

Słyszewski Leon, w mundurze, Schoeneck, Prusy Zachodnie, ul. Dworcowa 35, kalend. kiesz., list, karta z zapiskami, różaniec (AM 3096)

Smagacz Stanisław, kpt., pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 116)

Smalowski Jan, w mundurze, pocztówka (AM 2436), Smolowski (WO 2436 str. 41)

Smazynski Piotr, naucz., w mundurze, leg. urzęd., pocztówki, listy, karta szczepl., notatnik (AM 3897)

Smereczanski Jan, w mundurze, 2 listy, odciinek poczt., (AM 697), Smereczynski — mjr st. sp. (LZK), Smereczanski — ur. 22.12.92 (RO.32 str. 288)

Smoleński Tadeusz, kpt., rozliczenie uposażenia, odciinek poczt., część leg. (AM 2141), kpt. piech. 1898, s. Stefana i Zofii (LZK)

Smoliński Eugeniusz, kpt., leg. ofic., karta szczepl. 1180, kwit

depoz. ros., list (AM 2224), syn Feliksa (WO 2224 str. 35), dr, kpt. lek. (LZK)

Smolski Lech por. 1895, s. Józefa i Janiny (LZK)

Smolski Stefan, por. (LZK)

Smorawski Mieczysław, gen. bryg., ur. 25.12.92, zam. Lublin, pl. Litewski 3, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. Krzyża Virtuti Militari, leg. osob., papierosnica, złoty pierścionek, 2 medaliki (AM 1), gen. bryg. (LZK)

Smulski ppor., 2 pocztówki (AM 380), (WO str. 7), por. rez. (LZK)

Sobanski Michał, ppor. pil. (LZK)

Sobanski Roman, por. lotn. (LZK)

Sobczuk Alfred, kpt. (LZK)

Sobczyński Gabriel, kapral (LZK)

Sobczyński Romuald, w mundurze, leg. urzęd. państw., 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, plakietka (AM 1312)

Sobiecki Stefan, post. P.P. (LZK)

Sobielec Mieczysław, por. (LZK)

Sobieraj Jerzy, metryka ślubu, karta szczepl. z Kozielecka, list, pocztówka z adresem: Sobieraj Jerzy, Kozieleck, Dom Wypoczynkowy "Maxim Gorki" (AM 42), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Sobieraj Władysław, plut. pp. leg. (LZK)

Sobieszczański Józef Piotr, dr, kpt. lek. 1895, s. Józefa i Julii (LZK)

Sobkiewicz Zygmunt, ppor. art. 1907, s. Kazimierza i Walerii (LZK) oficer, ur. 15.5.07, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd. (AM 3987)

Sobolewski Czesław, kpt., 3 pocztówki (AM 1899), pocztówki z nadawcą: Jadwiga Harland, Warszawa, ul. Niemcewicza 9 m. 13 (WO 1899 str. 28)

Sobolewski Eustachy, w mundurze, pocztówka, życiorys jego w jez. ros. (AM 1567), Sobolewski — (WO 1567 str. 44), ppor. art. (LZK)

Sobolewski Jan, naucz., w mundurze, ur. 21.2.97 w Łojzdrach, leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 3121), ppor. piech. (LZK), ur. 13.2.97 (ROR. 34 str. 84)

Socha Jan, w mundurze, 2 listy, pocztówka (AM 2404), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Sochacki Czesław, w mundurze, ofic. legit. (nieczytelna), karta szczepl. 1738, list (AM 1702), Sochski — (WO 1702 str. 45)

Sochacki Tadeusz, kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Sochocki Czesław, por. 1907, s. Jana i Malwiny (LZK)

Sochorowski Feliks, por. KOP. (LZK)

Sokalski ręcznie pisane nuty z adresem: Lucyna Sokalska, Lisiewówka, poczta Wobyń, pow. Lublin, odznaka ofic. rez., medalik, 2 odciinki poczt. (AM 546), (bez imienia) por. (LZK), (WO str. 8)

Sokalski Ludwik, por., listy, różaniec (AM 1742)

Sokolowski Edmund, por. lek. (LZK)

Sokolowski Feliks, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Sokolowski Józef, mjr, 2 leg., dyplom (AM 3439), mjr kaw. (LZK)

Sokolowski Józef, kpt. (LZ-O-K)

Sowa Józef, cywilny, list adresowany do: Sowa Helena, Boryk (AM 3807), ppor. 1888 (LZK)

Sowiński Zbigniew, por. (LZK)

Spadniewski Feliks, plut. P.P. (LZK)

Spak Leszek, w mundurze, wizytówki (AM 4020)

Spalony Bronisław, ppor., ur. 11/...04, zam. Wolkowak, ul. 3. Majaj, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. ofic., fotografie, karta szcep. 480 (AM 966), (WO 925 str. 12), ppor. 1904 (LZK), ur. 11.2.04 (ROR 34 str. 65)

Specht Eugeniusz, cywilny, list, paseczek do zegarka, karta szcepienia (AM 386)

Spes Piotr, por. (LZK)

Spizel ppor. lek. (LZK)

Spławiszewski Marian, ppor., karta szcep. 1186, karta z nazwami miast, fotografia (AM 461)

Spodzikiewicz ppor. (LZK)

Spojda Marian, ppor. (LZK), ur. 4.1.01 (ROR 34 str. 177), Spojła — ppor., ur. 1901, znak tożs., dowód osob., leg. Klubu piłki nożnej (AM 3624)

Spruch Wacław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., rozliczenie poborów (AM 3010)

Spychalski Henryk, ppor., ur. 21.12.03 w Hildesheim, urzęd. nik, pismo PKO., dowód osob., rozkaz wynarzu, karta szcep. 3116, różne kwity ołowek automatyczny (AM 1069)

Spychalski Romuald, por. 1904, s. Stanisława i Kazimierzy (LZK)

Spychała Edward, ppor. 1910, s. Łukasza i Marii (LZK); (WO 1039 str. 14), Spichala — ppor., leg. ofic., leg. odznaki pułkowej karta czł. (AM 1166)

Spytkowski Stanisław officer sztabowy, zam. Kraków (WO str. 3)

Srebrny Kazimierz, por., paszport, karta szcep., krzyżk. notatnik (AM 2357), ppor. (LZK)

Stachiewicz por. (LZK)

Stachiewicz Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Stachowicz Andrzej, por. (ppor.) (LZK)

Stachurski Henryk, por., dr med., wizytówki, metryka urodz. córki, list (AM 2660), ur. 1901 (LZK)

Stahr Władysław, kpt., leg. ofic., karta szcep. 1178, list (AM 2178), Stahr lub Stahr (WO 2178 str. 34), Stahr — kpt. (LZK), ur. 7.3.92 (RO 32 str. 48)

Stalczewski Jan, por., zaśw., karta szcep., medalik, plakietka (AM 1847), (bez imienia), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Stania Paweł, ppor., list, karta bibliot. (AM 3223)

Stanielewicz Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK), mr., ur. 27.10.90 (ROR 34 str. 233), Staniellewicz — ppor., ur. 27.10.90, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., pismo Szpitala Woj. 504 (AM 3918)

Staniewicz Jan, ppor. inż., leg. urzęd., leg. ofic. rez., karta na broń, prawo jazdy, karta pobawiania, leg. medalik (AM 2990)

Stanio Józef, por. (LZK)

Stanisławski Albin, w mundurze, metryka służb, list, odej- nek poczt., karta szcep., pocztówka z nadawcą: Stanisława Sta-

Sokołowski Kazimierz, wet., ur. 18.2.906, zam. Wieluń, ul. Mickiewicza 15, ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 3171)

Sokołowski Stefan, ppor., ur. 1904, wyciąg rodowodu, metryka urodz. żony, leg. czł. Klubu Sport., karta z adresami, list (AM 2609)

Sokołowski Władysław, mjr (LZK)

Sokołowski Władysław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Sokołowski Władysław, officer, w mundurze, ur. w Łyszkowicach, ofic. ks. (AM 1293), ur. w Łyszkowicach (WO 1192 str. 16)

Sokołowski Władysław, w mundurze, ofic. leg., karta szcep. (AM 1596)

Sokołowski Zdzisław, por., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., 2 pocztówki, odznaka pułkowa (AM 2577), por. lek. 1913, s. Pawła i Anastazji (LZK)

Sokół Michał, pchor. piech. (LZK)

Solakiewicz Walenty, podoficer, (LZK)

Solanko Władysław, w mundurze, karta szcep. 1564 (AM 2859), syn Piotra (WO 2859 str. 53)

Solewski Henryk, dr, por. (LZK)

Solewski Marian, por., dr lek., zam. Lublin, ul. Nowy świat 5, dyplom za długoletni okres służby, leg. recepta z adresem, wybiłka fotografia z napisem: Władysława Olszewska, karta szcep. 3027 (AM 1412), Solewski (Sobolewski?) — (WO 1412 str. 18)

Solewski Wincenty, por. ur. 7.8.05 w pow. Lubelskim, znak tożs., ks. wojsk., pocztówka, naramienniki bez oznak (AM 223)

Solski Adam, mjr, 1896, s. Mariana i Marii (LZK), mjr, 57 p.p., 2 notatniki, karta szcepienia, 2 medaliki, rachunek, skierowanie do lekarza, pismo w jęz. ros. z obozu, kartka z adresami (AM 490)

Solski Kazimierz, kpt. (LZK)

Sołtan W. łysław, ppor., ur. 18.12.11, zam. Łuck, ul. Do-minikańska 12/3, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., list, karta szcep. plakietka (AM 3674), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Sołtycki Ludwik, por., zam. Warszawa, ul. Piusa IX m. 5, prawo jazdy, zaśw., 2 pocztówki, list, odznaka (AM 3772), kpt. pil. 1896, s. Albina i Jadwigi (LZK)

Sołtyś Kazimierz, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Songin Leon, ppor., pocztówki (LZK)

Soroczyński Ludwik, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Soroka Mieczysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Soroko Edward, ppor. KOP. (LZK)

Sosiński Leonard, ppor. (LZK), ppor. ur. 11/... (?), 1906, leg. urzęd., znak tożs., karta mob., karta szcep. 2429 (AM 1874), ur. 19.11.06, syn Jana i Rozalii (WO 1874 str. 27), ur. 19.11.06 (ROR 34 str. 154)

Sosin Stefan, w mundurze, wizytówki, karta szcep., 3 listy, medalik, notatnik (AM 1972), syn Feliksa, liścik adresowany do Heleny Sropińskiej, Łwów, Zadwórzańska 10, (WO 1972 str. 29), ppor. 1901, (LZK)

Sowa Antoni, por., leg. ofic., 2 pocztówki, 2 odznaki (AM 2601), por. 1911, s. Wojciecha i Marii (LZK)

niśawska, Brześć Litewski, ul. 9. Lutego (AM 3245), ppor., ur. 1908 (LZK)

Staniszewski cywilny (LZK)

Staniszewski lek. dent. (LZK)

Staniszewski Franciszek, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., różaniec (AM 3840)

Staniszewski Jerzy, ppłk. (LZK)

Staniszewski Zygmunt Hilary, mjr, pocztówki, karta szcze-
pismo w jez. ros. (AM 3957), mjr. (LZK)

Stankiewicz Bronisław, por., 1911 (LZK)

Stankiewicz Ju'jan, w mundurze, insp. szkolny, Warszawa, sta-
la karta jazdy (AM 3931)

Stankiewicz Michał, referendarz, w mundurze kolejowym, ur.
28.9.05 w Podwilu (AM 2207), mgr prawa, dyplom Univ. Ste-
fana Batoryego w Wilnie (WO 2207 str. 35)

Stankiewicz Mieczysław, ppor. (LZK)

Stankiewicz Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)

Stankiewicz Wacław, rtm., 1895 (LZK)

Stankiewicz Władysław, kpt. lek. (LZK)

Stankiewicz Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Stankiewicz Wojciech, por., 2 pocztówki, list (AM 3932)

Stanowski Wacław, ppor., ur. 25.5.03 (?) Starawarka, dowód
osob., 3 listy, karta szcze- 963, ofic. leg., notatnik (AM 1127),
lub Stasowski (WO 1015 str. 14)

Stapf Leon, mjr., ur. 21.3.88, zam. Zalesie Górne, poczta Pia-
seczno, ofic. leg., ks. oszcz. PKO, pocztówka, 2 listy, baretki,
leg. i krzyż Virtuti Militari (AM 1843), (LZK)

Starzewski Michał, ppor., 1896, s. Eugeniusza i Marii (LZK)

Starczyński Tadeusz, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki, list, kwit
PKO (AM 3542)

Starda Włodzimierz Felicjan, ur. 16.2.11 w Chrzanowie, leg.
blok notesowy, krzyżek (AM 406)

Stark Jan, por. (LZK)

Starkowski Stefan, ppor., ur. 1898 w woj. Poznańskim, leg.
sport., wizytówka, ks. inwal., listy i pocztówki, karta na broń,
blok notesowy (AM 1139), (WO 1024 str. 14)

Staroszczyk Roman, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., (AM 3412),
kapral pchor. 1914, s. Bazylego i Stanisławy, 76 pp. (LZK)

Starzeński August, ppłk. (LZK)

Starzewski Michał, (LZK)

Starzewski Wacław, por. piech. (LZK)

Starzyk Kazimierz, por., zam. Pińsk, ul. Unicka 22, dowód
osob., 2 listy z nazwiskami, kalendarz, kiesz., pismo MSWoisk., od-
cinek poczt., wieczne pióro (AM 436)

Stasiewicz Roman, por. (LZK)

Stasiewicz Wiktor, (LZK)

Stasiewicz Aleksander, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3383),
ppor. lek., ur. 1910 (LZK)

Stasiuk Wacław, kpt. 1900 (LZK)

Staszewicz Bronisław, ppor. (LZK)

Staszewicz Jan, por. szwol. (LZK)

Staszewicz Zygmunt, s. Władysława, por., lista imienna ofi-

cerów lotn. z obozu jeńców Bolotno obok Czernichowa, karta
szcze- (AM 712), Stachowicz (WO str. 10)

Staszewski Tadeusz, por., 6 pocztówek z nadawcą: Jadwiga
Staszewska, Warszawa, ul. Mazowiecka 8, wizytówki, kartki z
zapiskami (AM 3039), por. 1912, s. Feliksa i Lucyny (LZK)

Staszewicz Grzegorz, w mundurze, leg. urzęd., list, karta
szcze-., medalik, kwit depoz. (AM 3748), por. (LZK)

Staszewicz Włodzimierz, mjr (LZK)

Statki Kazimierz, lat 34 (LZK)

Stawarz Stanisław, mjr, leg. ofic., lek. krzyża Virtuti Militari,
karta szcze- 989 (AM 2683), mjr piech. 1894 (LZK)

Stawikowski Eugeniusz, kapral (LZK)

Stawin Jerzy, w mundurze, pocztówki z nadawcą: Zofia Sta-
winowa, Warszawa, Krak. Przedm. 6 m. 23, karta szcze-., m. d-
liteński (AM 2238), por. 1909, s. Mikołaja i Heleny (LZK)

Stawin Michał, ppor. (LZK)

Stawinski kpt. (LZK)

Stawinski Tadeusz, cywilny, części paszportu karta szcze-
1111, 3 pocztówki, list, leg. urzęd. (nieczytelna) — (AM 1689)

Stawisz por. (LZK)

Staperek Jerzy, w mundurze, ur. 31.5.11, dowód osob., prawo
jazdy .leg. Aeroklubu, różne leg., Politechniki, pocztówki, wizy-
tówki (AM 3874)

Stec Mieczysław, ppor., karta szcze- 1052, kwit, list (AM
1205) (WO 1067 str. 15), (LZK)

Steci sędzia okręg. (LZK)

Steci Leonard, por. lek. (LZK)

Steci Włodzimierz, dr ppor. (LZK)

Steckiewicz dr ppor. (LZ.O-K)

Steckiewicz Józef, leg. urzęd., 2 ks. oszcz. PKO., list, foto-
grafia (AM 2756)

Steckiewicz Zygmunt, ppor., ur. 16.9.10, leg. ofic. rez. (AM
4014), por. (LZK)

Stefanicki por. lot. (LZ.K-S)

Stefanicki Emil, st. przod. P.P. (LZK)

Stefanowicz Czesław Ludwik, ppor. rez. 1911 (LZK)

Stefanowski por. lek. (LZK)

Stefanowski Antoni, dr, plik. lek., wizytówki, 2 kwity (AM
492), plik. dr med. (LZK)

Steigel Franciszek, kapral zawodowy (LZK)

Stein Leon, por., ur. 1895, znak tożs., rachunek, pocztówki
(AM 3824), (bez imienia) — por. piech. (LZK)

Stelmach Roman, (LZK)

Stempen Włodzimierz, w mundurze, 4 pocztówki, list (AM
3348)

Stempniewicz Stanisław, ppłk. (LZK)

Stempniewski kpt. lek. (LZK)

Stencel por. (LZK)

Sternal Kazimierz, ppor., ur. 3.1.13, zam. Warszawa, ul. No-
wakowskiego, ks. oszcz. PKO., wizytówki (AM 3970)

Steslowski Włodzimierz, w mundurze (AM 2397)

Stępczński Michał, mr. ur. 7.9.85 (ROR. 34 str. 231), Stecz-

niewski Michał — por., ur. 7.9.85, ks. wojsk., naramiennik porucznika, kartka z adresem, list, ks. do modlenia, bibułka do palenia, lusterko, portfel (AM 301)

Stępel Jan, por., ur. 26.1.06, zam. Łagiewniki, ul. Pilsudskiego 8, dowód osob., karta szcep., ks. oszcz. PKO, odnaczenie, 3 fotografie, listy — między nimi jeden z Koziełska (AM 349), ur. 26.1.900 (ROR 34 str. 71)

Stępien Władysław, por. — fotografia, papierosnica, leg., notatnik (AM 1298), (WO 1125 str. 16), por., ur. 1906, s. Jakuba (LZK)

Stępkowicz Władysław, ppłk. (LZO-K), ur. 29.3.93 (RO 32 str. 38), Szepekowicz — mjr., dowód. osob., karta szcep., odznaka pamiątk. Pilsudskiego (AM 470), Szepekowicz Stanisław — (WO str. 7)

Stęplewski Jan, ur. 24.6.99 (ROR 34 str. 91), Zdeplewski — w mundurze, listy, 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Stęplewska Stanisława, Warszawa, ul. Sienna 17 m. 10 (AM 3247)

Stęplewski Józef Władysław, kpt., ur. 14.3.99 w Rożkowie, leg. ofic., karta szcep., pismo MSWewn. (AM 2400)

Stępiak Włodzimierz, ppot., zaśw. służb., karta mob., list. wizytówka, odznaka pułkowa (AM 3297), ppot. rez. (LZK)

Stiehal Jan Bolesław, por., dowód. osob., medalik (AM 1013), (WO 947 str. 13), Stiehal (bez imienia) por. (LZK)

Stobiński Józef, por. (LZK)

Stoicki Franciszek, ppot., leg. szk., 2 pisma służb., fotografia, wizytówka, pocztówka (AM 3951)

Stojarczyk Bronisław, kpt. (LZK), ur. 23.4.98 (RO 32 str. 99), Stojarczyk — kpt., 2 dowody osob., papierosnica z monogramem BS. (AM 2958)

Stojanowski Kazimierz, por., urzędnik bankowy, list, pismo Banku (AM 1990), urz. Banku Gosp. Kraj., zam. Warszawa, ul. Krucza 3 m. 5 (WO 1990 str. 30)

Stolarz Stefan, ppłk., leg. wojsk., karta czł. PKK, karta na broń, list, wieczne pióro: fotografia (AM 469), por. (WO str. 7), (bez imienia), ppot. st. sp. piech. (LZK)

Stopnicki Zygmunt, kpt. (LZK-S)

Strada Ludwik, ppot. (LZK)

Strada Władysław, ppot. piech. (LZK)

Strawiński ppot. (LZK)

Strawiński Tadeusz, por., dr med., 1898, s. Mikołaja i Amory (LZK)

Strenkowski Jerzy, kpt., dowód. osob., jego żony: Strenkowska, Warszawa, kwit. depoz. (AM 2232), leg. żony: Maria, obrazek Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej, tkany na jedwabiu (WO 2232 str. 36), Strakowski — kpt. (LZK), Strenkowski — ur. 9.1.93 (ROR 34 str. 355)

Strożak ppot. (LZK)

Stróżewski Witold, ppot., 2 dowody osob., karta szcep. 2935, łańc., 4 odnaczenia, 3 pocztówki, notatnik (AM 638)

Strus Filip, ppot., 2 listy, pocztówka z nadawcą: Regina ur. 1911, syn Jana i Adeli (LZK)

Strus, Poznań, Scharnhorst Str. 10, medalik z łańc. (AM 3904),

Struziak Franciszek, oficer, ur. 28.10.02 w Damrowa, zam. Grudziądz, Szkoła Kawalerii (AM 808), (bez imienia) wachmistrz (LZK)

Strużewski Witold, ppot. pil. (LZK)

Strzech Franciszek, prof. gimn., ur. 1908, ppot., leg. urzęd., pocztówka (AM 3605)

Strzynowicz Jan, ppot. art. (LZK)

Strzynowski Leopold, w mundurze, list, ks. oszcz. PKO, dla Ireny Strzałkowskiej w Bohatyrzowicach — Lunna (AM 3364)

Strzelbicki Marian, ppot. inż., ur. 3.1.08 w Kamionok, zam. Warszawa, ul. Grochowska 323, leg. ofic. rez., ks. oszcz. PKO, karta zwoln., karta mob., pocztówka, karta szcep., metryka służbu (AM 3652), por. kaw. (LZK)

Strzelecki Stanisław, ppot. art. (LZK)

Strzelecki Tadeusz, syn Floriana (WO 1995 str. 30), Strzałekki kpt., ofic. ks., karta szcep. (AM 1995)

Strzesak Jan, ur. 23.10.97 (RO 32 str. 285), (bez imienia), kpt. (LZK), Strzusiak — kpt., pocztówka, gwizdek (AM 1566), list z nadawcą: Maria Strzusiakowa, Tarnów, ul. . . . szekowska 128 (WO 1566 str. 44)

Stube Alfons, ppot., ofic. ks., 2 pocztówki (AM 605), Stupe(?) (WO str. 9), Stube — ur. 1.3.03 (ROR 34 str. 96)

Studnicki ppot. (LZK)

Stypinski Marian Wiktor, pchor. (LZK)

Stypinski Wikold Marian, ppot., rozkaz wymarszu, cygar. nieszka gwiazdki mundurów (AM 654)

Sucharski Czesław, ppot. rez. (LZK)

Sucharski w mundurze, list, pocztówki, karta szcep. 1861 (AM 1630), syn Stanisława (WO 1630 str. 21)

Suchodolski Tomasz, pchor. plut. (LZS-K)

Suffczyński Tadeusz, ur. 30.8.89 (ROR 34 str. 365), Zuffczyński — por., prawo jazdy, wizytówki, kalend. kiesz., notatnik (AM 2511)

Sukienik Zdzisław, por., ur. 6.9.12, karta mob., list, zegarek kieszonk., notatki, kalend. kiesz., medalik (AM 3212), (bez imienia), ppot. piech. (LZK)

Sulek Bronisław, — Sulek, w mundurze, ur. 1904, zaśw. ze starostwa, karta szcep. 2289, przekaz pocztowy, list (AM 1007), odneczek poczt. ze spemblem Koziełsk 19.2.1940, adres: Sonia Konstantynówna, Białystok, ul. Fabryczna 33/23 (WO 946 str. 13), Sulek — ur. 5.4.04 (ROR 34 str. 174)

Sulkowski kpt. mar. (LZK)

Sulkowski — Sulkowski — (?) ppot., częśc. leg. ofic. z fotografią, list, kartka z adresami, znak tożs. (AM 2146), Sulkowski (WO 2146 str. 34)

Sulkowski Zygmunt, por. rez. (LZK)

Sulocki Stanisław, por. 1894, s. Leona i Józefa (LZK)

Sulowski Zygmunt, — Zulfowski — w mundurze, ur. 1902, znak tożs., 2 pocztówki, 3 listy, z nich jeden z nadawcą: S. Nawrot, Warszawa, ul. Marszałkowska 40 (AM 3384), Sutowski — por. 1902, s. Tadeusza i Zofii (LZK)

Sumien Michał kpt. (LZK), Sumen — syn Stanisława, pocztówka, list (AM 101)

Summa ppor. (LZK)

Surmiński Alfred, w mundurze, ofic. ks., karta szcep. 2224, ks. oszcz. PKO, list, złoty krzyżyk (AM 1802), złoty krzyżyk z wrytym napisem: „Marycinie w dniu 5. maja 27“ (WO 1802 str. 25), insp. Str. Wieg. (LZK-O-K)

Surszczyński Karol, por. (LZK)

Susiński Józef, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Susmann Ezechiel, por. apt., dyplom doktorski, karta szcep. 3913, list, pocztówka (AM 1306), nierozpoznane zwłoki w mundurze (WO 1306 str. 16), Edward — ppor. rez. apt. (LZK)

Sutarszewicz Zenon, kapral piech. (LZK)

Suzin kpt. (LZK)

Suzin Henryk, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., kwit list (AM 2602)

Swoboda Stanisław, ppor., pocztówki (AM 3890)

Sworowski Władysław, por. 1893, s. Romana i Agaty (LZK)

Sykora Kamil, ppor. art. (LZK)

Sykora Kamil, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Sylbersztajn Karol, dr, ur. 13.11.97 (ROR. 34 str. 225), Sylberstajn — ppor., leg. ofic., karta szcep., kwit depoz. (AM 2442)

Sylwestrowicz Bohdan, ppor. (LZK)

Symanski Kazimierz, ppor., leg. urzęd., list (AM 3821)

Syniowski Grzegorz, (bez imienia), kpt., pocztówka z Brześcia, dzienniczek, łańc. z medalikiem (AM 1023), Syniowski (WO 952 str. 13), Syniowski — ur. 9.5.99 (ROR. 34 str. 275)

Synoradzki Telesfor, dr, Koźmin, ul. Borecka 4 tel. 74, ks. oszcz. PKO, ks. oszcz. Kasy Oszcz. m. Poznań na jego nazwisko, leg. odznacz., karta szcep. 1164 (AM 894), (WO 876 str. 12), Synoracki — ppor. rez., dr med. (LZK)

Sypniewski Marian, por. (LZK)

Syrop Fryderyk, por., prawo jazdy (AM 3552)

Syski Henryk, por., ur. 1903, znak tożs., prawo jazdy leg. urzęd. (AM 3922), ppor. inż., 1902, s. Henryka i Anieli (LZK)

Szabajkiewicz Antoni, ppor. (LZK)

Szablowski Stanisław, mjr., karta szcep., telegram (AM 1993), mjr. KOP., 1899, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK), Szablowski — (WO 1993 str. 45)

Szablowski Roman, ppor. piech., inż. (LZK), Szablowski — w mundurze, koperta (AM 3448)

Szachowicz Zygmunt Andrzej, w mundurze, metryka ślubu, karta szcep. (AM 3828)

Szafkowski Witold, ppor., koperta ze znacznikiem poczt. litewskim (WO str. 4)

Szafran Franciszek, kpt., dr., Warszawa, ul. Filtrowa 68, leg., karta na broń, wizytówki, ofic. ks., dzienniczek (AM 770), ur. 16.2.90, dr (ROR. 34 str. 253)

Szafranski Jan, w mundurze, wizytówki, karta szcep., pocztówki, listy (AM 2387), Kier. Oddziału Spółdz. „Społem“ w Brześciu n/B. (WO 2387 str. 40)

Szafranski Maksymilian, sierżant (LZK-O-S)

Szajda Piotr, 2 wizytówki na nazwisko: Piotr Szajda (AM 661)

Szajkowski Czesław, w mundurze, dowód osob., pocztówka, karta szcep. (AM 3231)

Szajnowski Jan, stopnia nie ustalono, szczegółów brak (WO str. 9), ppor. art. (LZK)

Szajowski por. piech., inż. (LZK)

Szalast Jan, pocztówki, karta szcep., rysunek ołówkowy, list: „kochany Ojciec!...“ (AM 1624), rys. z podpisem: Rutkowski 25.1.40 (WO 1624 str. 21)

Szalenberg ppor. rez. piech. (LZK)

Szalewicz mjr sap. (LZK)

Szalewicz Władysław, ppłk. (LZK), dr, ur. 14.5.75 (ROR. 34 str. 301)

Szalkiewicz Konrad, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2942)

Szalkiewicz Aleksander, ppor., ur. 4.5.95, zam. Warszawa, ul. Głogera 3 m. 2, ks. oszcz. PKO, karta mob., karta czł., list (AM 4062), ppor. rez., 1895, s. Aleksandra i Franciszki (LZK)

Szarkiewicz Andrzej, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szarowicz Kazimierz, ppor., wizytówka, list, pocztówka (AM 4054)

Szastak Eugeniusz, ppor., zam. Warszawa, ul. Złota 55, ur. 1908, znak tożs., pocztówka, list, karta rejestr. na motocykl PKW (AM 3100), por. sap. (LZK)

Szatkowski Franciszek Ksawery, — Szolkowski — por., znak tożs., Bydgoszcz, ur. 1892 (AM 3061), Szatkowski — ur. 20.7.91 (ROR. 34 str. 14)

Szatkowski Jan, kpt. sap. (LZK)

Szaulinski Piotr, plut. piech. (LZK)

Szczawinski Dominik, chorąży st. st. (LZK)

Szczabelek Czesław, pchor. art. (LZK)

Szczeciński Kazimierz, ppor., ofic. ks., wizytówki; karta mob., kartka z adresami, medalik, monogram (AM 1119), (WO 1009 str. 14), (LZK)

Szczelanowicz Zenon ppłk. lek. (LZ. K-S)

Szczeklik Jan por. lot. (LZK)

Szczekowski Kazimierz, mjr dypl. (LZK), Szczechowski — w mundurze, pocztówka, kalendarz, kiesz. z notatkami (AM 1231), Szczekowski — ur. 14.3.900 (RO. 32 str. 73)

Szczeniowski ppor. (LZK)

Szczeniowski Władysław, ppor., wizytówka na nazwisko: Szczeniowski Władysław, wizytówka na nazwisko: Adela Przestępnik Ratibor u Corwy (AM 3141)

Szczepanik (Szczepanek) — imię nieczytelne, ppor. (WO 117 str. 19)

Szczepanik Ryszard, ppor., znak tożs., list (AM 3008)

Szczepanik Hussakowski Zygmunt, w mundurze, zam. Mościska, wezwanie sądowe, polisa ubezpiecz. z pismem, karta szcep., 4 odznaki pułkowe (AM 3191)

Szczepanik Roman, por. lot., wojsk. prawo jazdy, karta szcep., pocztówki, odznaka pułkowa, medalik (AM 2981), por. pil. 1909, Poznań (LZK)

Szczepkowski Jerzy, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szczerba Marian, ppor., pocztówki z nadawcą: Stefania Szczerbowa, Prokocim koło Krakowa, ul. Słowackiego 13, leg.

urz., dowód osob., karta członkowska (AM 3735), ppor. rez. 1909, 12 p.p. (LZK)

Szczerbiński Marian, ppor. (LZK)

Szczerbiński Kazimierz, mjr, pismo służb., karta szcep. 1369 (AM 1837)

Szczerbiński Tadeusz, mjr dypl. (LZK)

Szczerczyk Zbigniew, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Szczegolewicz Franciszek, kpt., s. Stanisława, karta szcep. (AM 2510), (LZK)

Szczęśny Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szczęśny Włodzimierz, ppor. rez. art. (LZK)

Szczotka Andrzej, w mundurze, dowód osob. (AM 2819)

Szczubelko Czesław, por. (LZK)

Szczuka Bolesław, rtm. (LZK)

Szczuka Stanisław, cywilny, części dowodu osob., medalik (AM 3143), ppor. (LZK)

Szedowski Bolesław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., 3 pocztówki -- z nich jedna z nadawcą: Szedowska, Warszawa, ul. Tamka 5 m. 19 (AM 3099)

Szemieta Władysław, por. (LZK)

Szeniawski Witold, por., leg. ofic., list, 2 pocztówki z nadawcą: Warszawa, ul. Poznańska 38 (AM 3878), por., 1889, s. Michała i Anny (LZK)

Szenkier oficer zawodowy (LZK)

Szepelski Konrad, dr med., por., leg. urzęd., ks. oszcz. PKO (AM 1671), por. lek. (LZK), prof. Akad. Stomatol., Warszawa (WO 1671 str. 22)

Szeplarski Marian, ppor. (LZK)

Szeps Józef, ppor. lek., ur. 15.7.98, leg. ofic. rez., karta szcep. 2 pocztówki (AM 3630), por. lek. (LZK)

Szeptycki Andrzej, por. (LZK), (bez imienia) -- w mundurze, leg. szkolna, karta szcep., 2 odznaki kawalerskie (AM 3301)

Szerner ppor. piech. (LZK)

Szerowski Stanisław, kpt., ur. 4.5.99, ks. oszcz. PKO., krzyż (AM 1449)

Szerszeń Grzegorz, kpt. art. (LZK)

Szerszeń Jerzy, ppor., karta mob., leg. ofic. rez., fotografie, karta mob., paszport zastępczy (AM 2726), certyfikat wydany w dniu 14.10.39 przez Poselstwo Rzpłitej w Kownie (WO 2726 str. 50)

Szewczuk kpt. piech. (LZK)

Szewczyk Jan, kpt., karta szcep., list, rys. ołówkowy (AM 2222), syn Michała (WO 2322 str. 38), kpt. (LZK)

Szewczyk Konstanty, por. rez. (LZK), w mundurze, pocztówka, część listu (AM 2712), Szeńczyk (WO 2712 str. 50)

Szewczyk Tadeusz, por. (LZK)

Szkliruc Józef, (LZK)

Szklarski Zygmunt, por. 1893, s. Franciszka i Zofii (LZK), inż., ur. 1.4.93 (ROR. 34 str. 176), Szklarszewski -- por., karta szcep. 393 (AM 2306)

Szukup Kazimierz, kpt. (LZK-S)

Szuka Stanisław ppor., karta szcep., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2398), (LZK)

Szlachetko ppor. rez. (LZK)

Szlachta Alojzy, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., leg. urzęd., pocztówka, notatnik, rżaniec (AM 3607)

Szlamieński Filip, przy zwłokach znaleziono fotografię wyblakłą z nazwiskiem Szlamina Filip, i dowód osob., oraz kopertę listu wysłanego do Kozielska ze stemplem poczt. Warszawa 30.XI.39 (WO str. 4), Szlamieński -- kpt. panc. (LZK)

Szletyński Stefan, por., leg. urzęd., mies. karta, leg. służb., list (AM 2836), kpt. 1896, s. Mikołaja i Zofii (LZK)

Szlemko Sylwester, kpt., leg. ofic., wojsk. prawo jazdy (AM 2274), Szlenko (bez imienia), kpt. art. plot. (LZS), Szlenko -- ur. 22.8.04 (RO. 32 str. 220)

Szmagier Jan Stanisław, -- Szmagier -- ppor., naucz., leg. urzęd., leg. odznacz., zaśw., wizytówka (AM 1815), Szmagier -- ur. 2.1.08 (ROR. 34 str. 104)

Szmalesz Boruch, w mundurze, kwit, odcinek poczt. (AM 687)

Szmalstych Józef, w mundurze, leg. szk., leg. uniwers., wizytówka (AM 4009), ppor. art. (LZK)

Szmer Szymon, dr med., w mundurze, dowód osob., ks. oszcz. PKO., dyplom doktorski, pocztówki, list (AM 3820), Szmer lub Schmerner, dr med., por. lek. (LZK), Schmerner -- dr, ur. 17.1.02 (ROR. 34 str. 225)

Szmidt Maks, pchor. piech. (LZK)

Szmidt Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Szmoniewski Stanisław, por., leg. sport., leg. odznacz., karta szcep., leg. urzęd., medalik, odznaka pułkowa (AM 3558)

Szumurło Witold, w mundurze, pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 2941)

Szmykowski Tadeusz, kpt., leg. odznaki 67 p.p., pismo wojsk., wizytówka, karta z zapiskami (AM 2552)

Sznajder Tadeusz, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szokoł Antoni, kpt., ur. 10.12.08, znak tożs., ofic. leg. zaśw., zdjęcie Roentg. (AM 1945)

Szota Stefan, ppor. (LZK)

Szotnicki Aleksander, ppor. (LZK)

Szotnicki Michał, ppor., ur. 1897, znak tożs., karta mob., dowód osob., ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 3682), (LZK)

Szonert Jerzy, w mundurze, 4 listy z nadawcą: Szonert St., Grodno, ul. Napoleona 16 (AM 642), Szonest (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK), Szonert -- ur. 11.4.03 (ROR. 34 str. 59)

Szopa Karol, kpt., karta szcep. 3097, 2 lek. zaśw. (AM 1355)

Szorniak ppor. (LZK)

Szostak Eugeniusz Andrzej, por. 1907, s. Andrzej i Heleny, pułk sap. w Modlinie (LZK)

Szostak Stanisław, ppor., ur. 2.12.06, naucz., wieś Żuki Górne, poczta Hermanowice, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urzęd., rozliczenie poborów, list (AM 4013)

Szostkiewicz Leon, ppor., inż., ur. 1906, leg. służb., dowód osob., karta szcep., 3 pocztówki, notatnik (AM 3710)

Szoweryński Tadeusz, ppor., mgr farm. (LZK)

Szpaczynski Kazimierz, nacz. Str. Ogn., lat 45 (LZK)

Szpakowski Jan, por. rez. (LZK), w mundurze, pocztówki, odznaka (AM 2395)

Szpecht Jan, ppor. zawod. 42 pp. (LZK)

Szpignowicz Aleksander, ppor. rez. 1909, s. Eustachego i Stanisławy (LZK), (WO 1786 str. 25), Spiganowicz — w mundurze, pocztówka, kartka (AM 1786)

Szpilewski kpt. STRA (LZK)

Szpilewski Gustaw, ppor. art. (LZK), ur. 10.3.02 (ROR. 34 str. 63), Szpilewski — w mundurze, metryka ślubu (AM 3936)

Szczec. ppor. (LZK)

Sztark Edward Alojzy, ur. 10.7.98 (ROR. 34 str. 30), Stark Edward Alfons, ur. 10.7.98, por., ofic. ks., metryka chrztu, list, 3 pocztówki, wieczko rzeźbione (AM 369), Sztark Edward, por. piech. (LZK)

Szteklor Henryk, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, wizytówki, notatnik (AM 2947), (LZK)

Sztembarch Józef, (bez imienia) wiceprokurator, różne kwity (AM 3402), Sztymbart (bez imienia), ppor. pil. (LZK)

Szttern Manuel, lek. ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. Zw. Lek., zaśw., 2 recepty in blanco (AM 3602)

Sztukdrayer Stanisław, ppor. rez. piech. (LZK.S)

Sztukowski Józef, rtm. (LZK)

Szubiniowski Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Szulakowski kpt. piech. (LZK)

Szulakowski Maciej, w mundurze, list (AM 3861), ppor. (LZK)

Szulakowski Wacław, por., Łódź, ul. Zagajnikowa 48 m. 4, wizytówka, leg. ofic., kartka z zapiskami (AM 3372)

Szulborski Marian Bronisław, ppor. 1908, 114 pp. (LZK), (bez imienia), w mundurze, karta szczep. 1124 (AM 1279), (WO 1113 str. 16)

Szule Janusz, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., karta szczep., list (AM 3268), pchor. (ppor.) 1909, s. Wacława i Zofii (LZK)

Szulczynski Maksymilian, por., ur. 1901, znak toż., fotografie, listy, ofic. ks., dowód osob., różaniec, 3 medaliki (AM 1061), (WO 972 str. 13)

Szulecki Zygmunt, burmistrz m. Dąbrowica, por., ur. 1890, zwłoki w cywilu, ofic. ks., pismo urzędowe, karta szczep. 2190 (AM 951), (WO 913 str. 12), (bez imienia) burmistrz (LZK)

Szulikowski Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szullman Józef, ur. 3.2.93, kpt. lek. PKU Hrubieszów (ROR. 34 str. 745), Szullmann — kpt., dr med. Tomaszów Lub., wizytówka, 2 listy, 7 pocztówek, spinki, 1 złoty ząb (AM 987), (WO 937 str. 13), (LZK)

Szuldziński rtm. (LZK)

Szumanowski Stanisław, w mundurze, inż., ur. 4.5.97 w Kołomyży, dowód osob. (AM 3114)

Szumielewski Jan, ppor. (LZK)

Szumigajski Włodzimierz, por. (LZK)

Szumielewski Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Szumilata Witold, ppor., ur. 4.2.07, sekr. Zarządu Miejskiego

w Lucku, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd. (AM 2770), ur. 14.2.07 (WO 2770 str. 51), Szumiata — ppor. art. (LZK)

Szumski Adam, urzędnik (LZK)

Szumski Józef, cywilny, karta szczep. 1870, list pisany przezeń w Kozielecu (AM 874), (WO 861 str. 12), rtm. (LZK)

Szurlej Henryk, por., rozkaz wyjazdu, część leg., list, ks. oszcz. PKO (AM 2774)

Szurlej Jan, kpt., ks. oszcz. PKO, karta na broń, karta szczep., medalik z łańc., monogram (AM 2399), kpt. art. (LZK)

Szuszkiewicz Antoni, pchor. (LZK)

Szuszkiewicz Rafał, kpt., adres paczki poczt. (AM 2165)

Szuszkiewicz Rafał, (Szuszkiewicz), kpt., bityty wizytowe (AM 4025), kpt. (LZK)

Szwab Jan, kpt. (LZK)

Szwaba Tadeusz, 1899, kpt., s. Kazimierza i Władysławy, DOKŁódź (LZK.S)

Szwabowicz Walenty, ppor. piech. (LZK)

Szwantner Józef, w mundurze, list, pocztówka (AM 2937)

Szwarc Klaudiusz, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szwed Albin, ksiądz (bez imienia) — (LZ.O.K), Albin, ur. 9.7.90 (ROR. 34 str. 404)

Szwedek Antoni, ppor. (LZK), ofic. ks. leg. urz. państw., obrączka z monogramem MD. 10.4.39 (AM 427)

Szwedowski Bolesław, ppor. (LZK)

Szwedowski Bolesław, ppor., zam. Szczakowa, wizytówka, leg. ofic. rez., 2 zaśw. (AM 3651)

Szydł Wiktor, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szydła Tadeusz, ppor. KOP. (LZK), por. ur. 1906, znak toż., leg. ofic., metryka ślubu, pocztówki (AM 3640)

Szydłowski Edward, por., dowód osob., 2 medaliki, karta szczep. (AM 651)

Szydłowski Henryk, dr. ur. 15.10.84, mir lek. (ROR. 34 str. 214), (bez imienia), mjr lek. (LZK), Sedłowski — lek. mjr, ur. 1884, pismo z Urz. Pow., 2 listy, koperta, dyplom doktorski w jęz. ros. (AM 1040), Sedłowski (WO 963 str. 13)

Szydłowski Jerzy, w mundurze, kwit depoz., monoki (AM 2697), rtm. (LZK)

Szydłowski Mirosław, mjr, leg. ofic. rez., krzyż i leg. Virtutu Militari, karta na broń, wizytówka, karta szczep., notatnik (AM 3475), (LZK)

Szydłowski Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szyfler Józef, kpt., dowód osob., pocztówki, fotografie, nadawczyni i pocztówki: Buluska F., Tiefenbach, Kreiss Schrimm, Polska (AM 69), kpt. lot. (LZK)

Szyke Stanisław, kpt., karta szczep. 2179 (AM 3129), (bez imienia) — ppor. piech. (LZK)

Szymankiewicz Zdzisław, ppor., 1896, s. Zygmunta i Stanisławy, 11. dyw. art. (LZK), ur. 26.5.96 (ROR. 34 str. 142), Szymankiewicz — officer rez., ur. 26.5.96 w Sosnowcu, s. Zygmunta i Stanisławy, księgowy, zam. Warszawa, (WO str. 3)

Szymanowski - Korwin Tadeusz, ppor. (LZK)

Szymański Czesław, ppor. (LZK)

Szymański Edmund, (WO 583, str. 45), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Szymański Edward, ppor., zaśw. Zarządu m. Wilna, list. 2 pocztówki, medalik z łańc. (AM 3731), ppor. sap. (LZK)

Szymański Ireneusz, w mundurze, leg. ofic., karta szcep. 1134, metryka ślubu (AM 3228)

Szymański Józef, ppor. 45 pp., ur. 29.5.09, leg. ofic., pocztówka, odciinek poczt., karta szcep. 589, medalik (AM 941), (WO 906 str. 12), por. (LZK)

Szymański Karol Stanisław, ppor. lek., 1895, s. Karola i Stanisławy, 4 Szpital, (LZK)

Szymański Kazimierz, podoficer, 1902, 6 Baon (LZK)

Szymański Ludwik, kpt. lek. (LZK)

Szymański Szymon, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Szymański Tadeusz, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szymański Tomasz, kpt., 1896, 52 pp. Złoczów (LZK)

Szymański Zygmunt, ppor., 2 zaśw., karta meld., leg., karta mob. (AM 1736)

Szymczak Piotr, papierosnica z grawurą, łańc. ze medalikiem (AM 1333), kpt. (LZK)

Szymczak Tadeusz, kpt., 1911, s. Antoniego i Władysławy, inżynier, Łódź (LZK)

Szymczyk Łazarz, ppor., apt., znak tożs., karta mob., dowód osob., karta szcep. (AM 2694), ur. 1918 (WO 2694 str. 49), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Szymkiewicz Zygmunt, mjr lek., pismo MSWojsk. Wydz. Zdr. (WO str. 3)

Szymkowski Wacław, ppor. (LZK)

Szypowski Antoni Włodzimierz, mjr. świad., karta na broń, wizytówka, ks. do modl., karta czł. PCK., przepustka, rozkaz mob., karta z adresami (AM 468), (bez imienia), mjr (LZK)

Szysko Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)

Szyszkowski Tadeusz, por., kwit depoz., fotografie, karta szcep., medalik (AM 2160)

Szyszkowski Witold Stanisław, ppor., dr med., ur. 25.96, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urz., rozkaz wyjazdu, 3 wizytówki, 2 pocztówki, karta mob., karta szcep., odpis świad. (AM 3791), ppor. rez., 1896, s. Witolda i Heleny (LZS)

Ścieśński Kazimierz, ppor. dr, 1895 (LZK), dowód osob., leg. służb., kartki z z. notatnika (AM 1028), (WO 955 str. 13)

Ściżalski Michał Władysław, kpt. int., 1880, s. Karola i Franciszki (LZK)

Ślaski Jan, mjr, 1895, s. Stanisława i Marty (LZK), (WO str. 9), ślaski — 2 leg., wizytówka, zaśw., etui z fotografiami, medalik (AM 618)

Ślaski Kazimierz, kpt. sap., inż. (LZK)

Ślaski, ppor. (LZK)

Śledziński Henryk, ppor. lek., ur. 30.12.99, znak tożs., 2 pocztówki, wizytówki (AM 3512), (bez imienia), ppor. lek. (LZK)

Ślesicki Antoni, ppor. (LZK)

Śleszyński Tadeusz Grzegorz, ppor., 1898, s. Stefana i Marty, 80 pp., Słonim (LZK), list z nadawcą: Śleszyńska Anna, Wołkowsk ul. Wileńska, 2 listy, pocztówka, notatnik (AM 1106), (WO 1000 str. 14)

Ślęzak, kpt. (LZK)

Ślęzak, por. (LZK)

Ślęzak, ppor. (LZK)

Ślifort Tadeusz, kpt. art. (LZK)

Śliwa Zygmunt, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Śliwiński, rtm. (LZK)

Śliwiński, por. rez. (LZK)

Śliwiński Antoni, mjr br. panc. (LZK)

Śliwiński Jan, kpt. Świński, 2 listy, medalik (AM 2518), nie-rozpoznany kpt. (WO 2518 str. 46), kpt. piech. (LZK)

Śliwiński Józef, por. (LZK)

Śliwiński Marian, nierozpoznany — kilka kartek z notatkami, wizytówka z nazwiskiem: Śliwiński Marian, oraz wizytówka: Franciszek Piekarski, mjr., — paszport, karta szcep. 3335 (WO 1701 str. 45)

Śliwiński Michał, ofic. rez., apt., żona: Janina, zam. Płock (WO str. 3)

Śliwiński Wojciech, plut. piech. (LZK)

Śliwka Karol, ppor., ofic. ks., kwit, karta szcep. 3134, wizytówki (AM 537), por., Koniaków (LZK)

Śliwonik Jan Wacław, — Wacław, por., ur. 1899, leg. urz., dowód osob., pismo urzędowe, karta szcep. (AM 3184), Jan Wacław — ur. 1.1.99 (ROR. 34 str. 195)

Ślusarek Stefan, ks. wojsk., karta mob., list, zaśw. Szpitala Woj. 703 (AM 897), J. Stefan, ppor. (WO 978 str. 12), (bez imienia), ppor. — (LZK)

Śmiatowski Stanisław, ppor., listy i pocztówki, fotografia, różaniec (AM 1368)

Śmiatowski Adam, por., odznaka pułkowa, karta szcep. (AM 3216)

Śmigiełski Antoni, Śmigiełski — ppor., rozkaz wyjazdu, pismo służb., karta mob. (AM 4037), Śmigiełski — ur. 2.4.04 (ROR. 34 str. 128)

Śmigiełski Zygmunt, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., list, karta mob. (AM 2930)

Śniady Franciszek, w mundurze, leg. urz., karta szcep., listy, mały notatnik z nazwiskiem: Dr Wincenty Śniady, Bydgoszcz, ul. Hitlera 30 (AM 3836)

Śniegocki Stanisław, ur. 1902, ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 114)

Śramski Adam, referendarz w Poznaniu (WO 2275 str. 37), Śramski — ppor., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urz., prawo jazdy, wizytówki, karta szcep. 1033 (AM 2275), Śramski — ur. 15.12.09 (ROR. 34 str. 107)

Sredziński Mieczysław, por. rez. (LZK)

Światkowski Jan, ur. 25.1.93 (RO. 32 str. 31), Światkowski — pplk. (LZK)

Świątek Karol, ppor. 1911, s. Antoniego i Agnieszki, adwokat (LZK)

Świboda Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Świderski Czesław, por., leg. ofic., 2 listy, medalik (AM 2154)

Świderski Kazimierz, pplk., mies. karta jazdy, karta szcep., list (AM 3506), pplk. dypl. (LZK)

Świderski Tadeusz, przy zwiokach Jerzego Bychowiec znale-

ziona również 1 leg. ofic. na razwisko: Tadeusz Świdzki (AM 4106)

Świerczewski Sylwiusz, por., 1904 s. Franciszka i Jadwigi, 2 baon pion. (LZK), Sewerusz — ppor., 2 wizytówki, koperta, okulary (AM 459)

Świerk Józef, w mundurze, zam. Włodzimierzec, pow. Sarny, odznaka 53 pp., leg., wizytówki, karta szcep., 2 listy, różaniec (AM 790), ppor. (LZK)

Świerkowski Kazimierz, por., leg. ofic., zapiski, rozkaz woj. skowy (AM 3004)

Świerszcowski kpt. (LZK)

Świdziński Wincenty, por., 1907 s. Ignacego i Stefani, DOK, Lublin (LZK)

Świdziński Wincenty Konrad, por., części dowodu osob., 2 listy, pocztówka, złoty medalik, różaniec, karta szcep. 2513 (AM 1655)

Świeżyński Władysław, por., 1898, s. Kazimierza i Marii, 30 Dyw. Piech (LZK)

Święciecki Roman, ppor. lot. (LZK), ppor., wizytówki, fotografia, list, leg. Virtuti Militari, karta szcep., metryka chrztu (AM 550/a)

Święciecki Władysław, ppor. (AM 3968)

Święciecki Bernard Józef, por. lek., karta mob., ks. oszcz. PKO., prawo jazdy, fotografie (AM 3618)

Świętochowski Stanisław, por. (LZK)

Świnarski Czesław, w mundurze, ur. 1896, ks. oszcz. PKO., (AM 3778)

Świrniak Józef, kpt. rez. lek., 1900, s. Grzegorza i Marii (LZK)

Świrski Franciszek, w mundurze, karta szcep. 3353, list (AM 2695 lub Śmirski (WO 2695 str. 49)

Świrszewski Marian, kpt., karta mob. (AM 2041)

Świrski Tadeusz, mjr (LZK)

Świszczewski Karol, ppor. (LZK)

Świtaj Mieczysław, ppor. (LZK), w mundurze, 4 pocztówki karta szcep. (AM 1016), (WO 949 str. 13)

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Tabęcki Romuald, Tapecki — por., list, karta z jego nazwiskiem (AM 3998), Tabęcki — dr, ur. 26.8.91, por. san. (ROR. 34 str. 219)

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Tackowski Ezebiusz Stanisław, ppor. rez., 1912, s. Wincentego i Józefa (LZK), Tackowski — ppor., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., karta szcep., prawo jazdy, metryka służby (AM 3181)

Tajchen Ludwik, por. kaw. (LZK)

Talarczyk Ignacy, chor. (LZK), (bez imienia) Talarczyk —

kartka apteki A. Kozakiewicz, Dubno (Wołyń), karta szcep. (AM 309)

Talerman Józef, por. rez. 1893, Wilno (LZK)

Tan Czesław, por. (LZK)

Tanenbaum Jakub, dr ppor., lek. (LZK-S)

Tarach Zdzisław Tadeusz, ppor. art., 1909, s. Ludwika i Zofii (LZK) Taras — ppor., ur. 8.10.09, ofic. ks., (AM 850), Trz . . . (WO 845 str. 11)

Tarkowski kpt. (LZK)

Tarnawski kpt., karta z adresem: Stanisław Tarnawski, Kowno, Legionów 249, list, pudełeczko z drzewa (różbione), (AM 1937), Tarnowski lub Tarnawski — (WO 1937 str. 28)

Tarnowski Julian, por. rez. piech., 1908, s. Jana i Julii, 32 pp. (LZK)

Tarnowski Roman, kpt. sap. (LZK)

Tarnowski Juliusz Walerian Jan, dr, ur. 25.2.01 (ROR. 34 str. 124), Julian — sędzia, wizytówki, listy, fotografia, medalik (AM 1537)

Tarnowski Zygmunt, pchor., karta szcep., koperta (AM 2554), pchor., 1900, s. Władysława i Marii (LZK)

Tatarka Alfred, kpt., 1897, s. Aleksandra i Julii (LZK), Tatarka — ofic. rez., ur. w Bochni, zona Julia, zam. Gólków pod Warszawą (WO str. 3), Tatarka — kpt., telegram z nadawcą: Stanisław Tatarka, Gódków koło Warszawy, notatnik, kalendarz, list (WO str. 3)

Taterman Józef, ofic. rez. (LZK)

Tatkowski Alojzy, por., leg. służb., 2 pisma urzędowe, 2 odznaki, notatnik (AM 3214)

Tatoń Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Taube por. (LZK)

Tchórzewski Andrzej, st. strz., pchor. piech. (LZK)

Teichen Henryk, por., leg. ofic., wizytówka, 5 pocztówek, 2 listy, karta na broń, złoty medalik z łańc. (AM 719), Teichen — por. (LZS), Teichen — ur. 5.8.04 (RO. 32 str. 264)

Tejchert Mieczysław, ppor., apt., ur. 1898, zam. Warszawa, znak toż., pisma gwar. na samochód „Fiat”, karta rejestr., prawo jazdy, pocztówki, list, telegram, kwit zastawowy (AM 3089), Teichert — ppor. san. wet., 1897, s. Jana i Marii (LZK), Teichert — mjr., ur. 11.2.98, ppor. apt. (ROR. 34 str. 233)

Teletycki M., w mundurze, 2 rachunki — z nich jeden w blano, Delaticki M., Brześć n/B., ul. Dąbrowskiego 25, 2 zapisane kartki, medalik z łańc. (AM 4002), Teletycki — (ROR. 34 str. 270)

Tellermann Józef, ppor., pismo z 3 p. art. plot. ciężk., dowód osob. 15604, 3 fotografie, listy, pocztówki, notatnik (AM 929), (WO 898 str. 12)

Tenczyński Wacław, por., karta mob., leg. ofic. rez., list, pocztówka (AM 2923)

Tendorf Teofil, chorąży (LZK)

Terz Kazimierz, por., kartka (AM 2491)

Terpiac Józef, kpt., dyplom Korpusu Kadetów Lwów, leg. ofic., 4 pocztówki, dzienniczek (AM 867), (WO 857 str. 12)

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Tęczyński Karol, por. (LZK)
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Tomaszewski Jan, ppor. (LZK)
Tomaszewski Józef, ppor., ofic. ks., karta, szcep. 3155, pismo firmy „Pissa” z Warszawy, pocztówka, papierosnica (AM 735). (LZK)
Tomaszewski Kazimierz, cywilny, część koperty, karta z zapiskami (AM 1862), por., 1912, s. Kazimierza i Leontyny, 42 pp. (LZK)
Tomaszewski Roman, ppor., ur. 14.5.01, ks. oszcz. PKO., 2 listy, pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 2586), 1901, s. Witolda i Heleny (LZK)
Tomaszewski Stanisław, mjr, 2 p. panc., ur. 13.2.99 w Opolu, zam. Modlin, ul. Poniatońskiego 221, lek. ofic., ks. oszcz. PKO., notatnik, medalik z łańc. wojsk. prawo jazdy, 3 leg. odznacz. (AM 1647), mjr. KOP. — (LZK)
Tomaszewski Tadeusz, s. Stanisława, w mundurze, karta, adres: Andrzejewski Stanisław, notatnik (AM 1834), ppor., 1912, s. Stanisława i Feliksi, 45 pp. (LZK)
Tomaszewski Witold, w mundurze list, pocztówka (AM 1182), (WO 1052 str. 15), ppor. (LZS)
Tomaszewski Władysław, kpt., 1896, s. Władysława i Wincetyny (LZK)
Tomaszewski Zygmunt, por. art. (LZK)
Tomczyk Wiktor, ppor. (LZK), w mundurze, naucz. ginn. w Kielcach, leg. urz. państw. 2761, karta szcep. 2 gwiazdki w pułkarskiej (AM 534)
Topolewski Stefan, w mundurze, różne kwity, łańc. do zegarka (AM 1133), (WO 1019 str. 14), (bez imienia), ppor. rez. (LZK)
Topolnicki Edward, w mundurze, kalend. kiesz., 3 pocztówki, ks. do modl. (AM 561), ppor., c.k.m. (LZK)
Toporowski Antoni, kpt., karta szcep., telegram, list, zaśw. (AM 2590), kpt. st. st. (LZK)

Toporowski Władysław, por., s. Henryka, list (AM 3923), Toporkowski — por. (LZK), Toporowski — ur. 27.6.89 (ROR. 34 str. 20)
Torczyński Stanisław, w mundurze, ofic. ks., mały notatnik, karta z nazwiskami, list, spinki (AM 1541), 1902, s. Franciszka i Marii, adwokat (LZK)
Torlinski Leon, ppor. (LZK)
Towseck pchor. (LZK), Tobetal Antoni — w mundurze, różne pocztówki, 2 listy, rozkaz wojskowy (AM 1211 str. 199), Tobetal — (WO 1073 str. 15), Towstik, zamiast — jak poprzednio — Tobetal (WO 1211 str. 45)
Tracewski Wincenty, ur. 14.12.10 w Radomiu, w mundurze, dowód osob., znak tożs. (AM 520), Tragewski (Targowski), (WO str. 8), ppor. art. (LZK)
Trachel Stanisław, por., karta szcep. 889, wizytówki (AM 1665) Treichel — por. lot. (LZK)
Trąbaczewski por. (LZK)
Treger Kazimierz, por. lot. (LZK)
Trejgel Włodzimierz, Trejgier — w mundurze, znak tożs., z napisem: Grodno 1896, karta szcep., medalik z łańc. (AM 3283), Frejgel (bez imienia), ppor. rez. (LZK), Trejgel — ur. 25.10.96, ppor. (ROR. 34 str. 37)
Trepka Antoni, por., dowód osob., 2 listy, odznaka (AM 686), ur. 1884, s. Gustawa i Heleny (LZK)
Trepkowski Czesław, ppor. mar., 1908, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK), ppor., ros. karta, karta szcep. 673 (AM 1373), s. Stanisława (imię nieustalone), 3 pocztówki, list (WO 1373 str. 20)
Trębaczewicz Czesław, por. art. (LZK)
Trebiński Henryk, por. rez., 1898, s. Wiktora i Antoniny (LZK)
Trochimeczuk Józef, por. K.O.P. (LZK), Trochimeczuk — por., ur. 27.12.08 w Oszczów, ks. oszcz. PKO., list, kartki z zapiskami (AM 2222), Trochimeczuk, ur. w Ostrzewie, zam. Bydgoszcz, ul. Gdańska 51/5 (WO 2222 str. 35)
Trochimowicz Wacław, ppor. lek., ur. 7.9.08, zam. Góra Kalwaria, leg. ofic., znak tożs., ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 3794), por. lek. (LZK)
Trocki Jan, por. lek., ofic. ks., karta mob., karta na broń, prawo jazdy, 2 listy (AM 1190), (WO 1058 str. 15), (bez imienia), ppor. lek. (LZK)
Trojan Stanisław, mjr, leg. osob. z dobrze zachowaną fotografią, metryka ślubu, metryka chrztu jego syna, wizytówka, plik dobrych fotografii (AM 7), mjr (LZK)
Trojanowski ppor. (LZK)
Trojanowski Aleksander, dr fil., w mundurze, ur. 3.5.07 w Wrobleńcu, dyplom doktorski, dowód osob., notatnik (AM 965), (WO 924 str. 12)
Trojanowski Jan, ppor. (LZK)
Trojanowski Sylwester, kpt., pocztówki i listy, krzyż Virtuti Militari (AM 2772), karta od Bohdana Trojanowskiego (WO 2772 str. 51), kpt. P.P. (LZO)
Trojanowski Karol, ppor., ur. 24.9.95, leg. ofic. rez. dowód osob., 3 różne leg., leg. urz., wizytówki, fotografie (AM 3673)

Tromszczyński Wiktor, kpt. aud., s. Zygmunt i Marii (LZK-S)

Troszyński Jan, kapral (LZK)

Truskolaski Paweł, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Truskolaski Witold, por., 1900, s. Franciszka i Marii (LZK)

Truss Wiktor Zygmunt, Fruss — mjr, leg. ofic., karta mob. (AM 1832), Truss — ur. 6.3.83, mjr st. sp. (ROR. 34 str. 360)

Truskowski Czesław, Truskowski — ppor., leg. szk., 2 listy, leg., karta szcep. (AM 1675), Truskowski (WO 1675 str. 22)

Truskowski Witold, kpt. topogr. (LZK)

Trzebiński Tadeusz, ppor., ur. 2.4.04, leg. ofic. rez., koperta (AM 3759)

Trzeciak Mieczysław, dr kpt. (LZK)

Trzepta Maksymilian, oficer, ur. 26.9.05, leg. ofic. rez., ks. oszcz. PKO., notatnik (AM 2813)

Trzynski, kpt. SPP. (LZK)

Tsacz Mieczysław, por., mtes. karta tramw., leg. Wyższ. Szk. Techn., leg. bibliot. (AM 3725)

Tucholski Tadeusz, ppor. rez., 1898, s. Bolesława i Zofii (LZK), dr. w mund., prof. Politechniki Warszawskiej, leg. urz., wizytówki talizman (słot), medalik (AM 3804)

Tuleja Tadeusz, w mundurze ur. 21.11.10, leg. urz., karta na broń, ks. oszcz. PKO., metryka ślubu, wizytówka (AM 2805)

Turchalski, kpt. (LZK)

Turka, karta szcep. 1926, medalik z łańc. (AM 1489)

Turkiewicz Jan, por., ks. wojsk., telegram, ks. oszcz. PKO. Nr 817936 C (AM 305), ppor. art. (LZK)

Turski Jerzy, w mundurze, ofic. ks., pocztówka, 2 listy (AM 1780), łapka niedwładka — zabawki dziecięcej (WO 1780 str. 25), oficer rez. (LZK)

Tustanowski Stanisław, prawnik, cywilny, leg. urz., metryka urodz., leg. Zw. Adwok. (AM 3853)

Tustanowski Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Tuta Ignacy, por., 1903, s. Franciszka i Antoniny (LZK)

Tutschek Adolf, ppor., 4 pocztówki z nadawcą: Gg. Tutschek, Sterbruch, pow. Kempen, Warthegau, — 2 dyplomy naucz. (AM 3049)

Twardochleb Adam, mech. lotn. (LZK)

Twardowski Tadeusz, ppor., deklaracja celna na 1 pakiet z ad. resem: Kozielek. 7.3.40, listy, pocztówki (AM 598)

Twarkowski Maciej, por. (ppor.) 1895 (LZK)

Twora Stanisław, por. lek. (LZK-S), Tuora — dr med., por., 2 zaśw. w jez. niem., list (AM 3599)

Tylewski Antoni, por., 1902 (LZK)

Tyłowicz Jan, w mundurze, ur. 1.10.13, zam. Grudziądz, ul. Marszałka Focha, ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 3067), ppor. (LZK)

Tyrk Walery, ppor., urz., ur. 9.2.09, zam. Warszawa, ul. Zamajskiego 43 m. 6, ks. Kasy Oszcz., dowód osob., karta na broń (AM 1024), (WO 953 str. 13)

Tysza Henryk, ppor. 1907 (LZK)

Tysza Tadeusz, ppor. 1883 (LZK)

Tyszkiewicz Aleksander, kpt. (LZK), Tyszkiewicz, kpt., rozkaz

wyjazdu, leg. ofic., karta szcep. 2866, baretki, fotografie (AM 1364), Tyszkiewicz (WO 1364 str. 17)

Tyszkiewicz Longin, 1914, Wilno (LZK)

Ulrichs Otto, ppor., odznaka z legitymacją, listy, fotografie (AM 1476), por. (LZK)

Ulasiewicz Kazimierz, karta szcep., znak tożs. (AM 517) (WO str. 8)

Ulasiewicz Włodzimierz, w mundurze, 2 listy (AM 2383), Ulasiewicz Władysław (Włodzimierz), (WO 2383 str. 45)

Umlastowski Franciszek, w mundurze, zam. Wilno, ul. Belini 30 m. 2, świad. lek. 2 wizytówki, fotografia (AM 2622), ppor. 1891 (LZK)

Unger Jerzy, ppor., 1912, s. Stefana i Zofii (LZK)

Uniskiewicz Stanisław, ppor., 1905 (LZK)

Ura Wacław Józef, por. (LZK)

Urban Antoni, w mundurze, 5 listów (AM 723)

Urban B. A., w mundurze, kartka w jez. ros.: Urban B. A. (AM 1104)

Urban Stanisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3992)

Urbanik Antoni, ppor., prac. Państw. Banku w Gdańsku, ofic. ks., pismo Banku, dowód osob., 2 wizytówki, karta szcep. 2248, 2 listy (AM 866), (WO 856 str. 12)

Urbanik Stefan, ppor., ur. 1913, znak tożs. (AM 2466), ppor. 1891 (LZK)

Urbanik Józef, kpt. (LZK)

Urbanik Zygmunt, kpt., 1900 (LZK)

Urbanowicz, por. (LZK)

Urbanowicz Adam, ppor. 1911 (LZK)

Urbanowicz Hilary, przod. P.P. (LZK)

Urbanowicz Władysław, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, 2 listy, fotografia, ołówek (AM 769), ppor. (LZK)

Urbanowicz Wiktor, w mundurze, wizytówki, leg. ofic. rez., ppor. 1891 (LZK)

Urbanowicz z monogramem UW (AM 3098)

Urbanowicz Alojzy, por. (LZK)

Urbanowicz Erwin, por. (LZK)

Urbanowicz Eugeniusz, Urbanowicz — por., list w jez. niem. imienia), ppor. (LZK)

Urbanowski Bronisław, por., leg. ofic., metryka ślubu (AM 201) mjr (LZK)

Urbanowski Jan Jerzy, kpt. lek., 1885, s. Witolda i Kazimierzy (LZK)

Urbanowski Ryszard, w mundurze, naucz. w Staranie, leg. urz. karta czł. (AM 3220), por. (LZK)

Urbanowski Wiktor, lek., w mundurze, leg. Zw. Lek., prawo jazdy, karta rejestr. samochodu (AM 1804)

Uryk Marek, ppor. lek. (LZK), Uryk Marek, mjr, zam. Lwów (WO str. 3)

Ursyn-Zamarajew Jan, kpt., leg. ofic., karta szcep., 2 pisma na wojsk., medalik z łańc., listy i pocztówki (AM 3390), rtm. (LZK)

Uruski Bazyli, ppor., 4 pocztówki, list, medalik (AM 404)
 Usinowski Klemens, oficer, leg. ofic., pocztówki, karta szcep.
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 Uszyński, pchor. (LZK)
 Uzdowski Kazimierz, por., leg. ofic. rez., dowód osob., leg.
 urz., karta mob. (AM 2656)
 Veltze Karol Wacław, kpt., 1892 (LZK)
 Verstaendig Zygmunt, ppor., ur. 13.5.900, znak tożs., leg.
 ofic. rez. (AM 3576)
 Voelpel Rudolf, por., 1910, s. Jakuba (LZK-S)
 Wabia - Wabiński Stanisław, Wabiński — Warszawa —
 Marienstadt 3, por., kalend. kiesz. z nazwiskiem Wabiński Sta-
 nisław, połowa znaku tożs. z nazwiskiem Krupko Czesław (AM
 3613), — ur. 27.4.900 (ROR 34 str. 195)
 Wabiszczewicz Piotr, inż., ur. 23.1.14, w mundurze, ks. oszcz.
 PKO. (AM 1844), Wabiszewicz — inżynier, zam. Stolin, ul.
 Król. Bony 4, ur. 23.1.1904 (WO 1844 str. 26), Wabiszewicz —
 ppor., 1904 (LZK)
 Wacul Stefan, (?) telegram: „Stefciu! napisz nam jak Ci się
 wiedzie. Rosina“ (AM 179)
 Wagner, ppor., 1896 (LZK)
 Wagner Mieczysław Stanisław, ppor., ur. 8.8.04, zam. Lublin,
 dowód osob., świad. szk., kartka z jego nazwiskiem, fotografie,
 2 listy i kalend. (WO str. 3)
 Wagner Jerzy, ppor. (LZK)
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 garniczka, medalik (AM 848), (WO 844 str. 11)
 Wajdenfeld Adam, ppor. lek., 1906 (LZK)
 Wajnrib J., 2 zaśw. (Kozielek), In. J. (imiona) — (WO 2428
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 Wajs Bronisław, ppor., dowód osob., karta czł. ZOR., kalend.
 kiesz., prawo jazdy, fotografie, wizytówka, list (AM 1458)
 Wajsfajsz Szmul Sz., (?) ppor., ur. w grudniu 91, leg.
 ofic. rez., paszport (AM 2517), dr. ur. 20.12.91, ppor. san. (ROR
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 Walania Edward, kpt., 1899, s. Jana i Terezy (LZK)
 Walesek Bronisław, por. (LZS-K)
 Walczak Adam, ppor., (LZK)
 Walczak Florian, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2752)
 Walczak Paweł, por., naucz., leg. urz., fotografia, karta
 szcep. (AM 2065), naucz. w Stawie (WO 2065 str. 32), ppor.
 rez., 1895, kier. Szkoły (LZK)
 Walczak Stanisław, ppor., 1912 (LZK)
 Walczak Stefan, w mundurze, pocztówki (AM 2219), poczt-
 ówka z nadawcą: Wincenty Walczak, miniaturka świętego w bła-
 szanym etui (WO 2219 str. 35), ppor. (LZK)
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 skiego o parlamentariuszu, 3 pocztówki, list do niego (AM 2543),
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 Waligóra, por. (LZK)
 Walkiewicz Stanisław, w mundurze, ur. 21.7.01 w Warszawie,
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 Wallig Franciszek, ppor., wizytówki, pismo z Minist., karta
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 pow. Kobryn (WO 2640 str. 48), por. rez. piech. (LZK)
 Walsarz Antoni, mjr (LZK)
 Walusiński Jerzy, Walusiński — ppor., leg. sport., leg.
 odznacz., karta szcep., pocztówka (AM 3498), Walusiński (bez
 imienia), ppor., art. (LZK)
 Wanat Józef Henryk, ppłk., ur. 13.2.94, części leg. odznacz.
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 Wanatowicz Bolesław, w mundurze, ur. 1913, znak tożs. (AM
 1897), por. (LZK)
 Wania Edward, ppłk., wizytówki (AM 4030), (LZK)
 Wanke, w mundurze, karta szcep. 512, 2 pocztów-
 ki w jez. ros., notatnik (AM 2029)
 Wanus Ryszard, kpt. rez., s. Jana i Karoliny (LZK)
 Wapolewski Stanisław, w mundurze, pocztówka listy, foto
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 Warchał, por. (LZK)
 Warchał Czesław, por. piech. (LZK)
 Warchał Ludwik, pchor. piech. (LZK)
 Warchał Andrzej, por., list z nadawcą: Warchołówna Fran-
 ciszka, Wolnia, poczta Nisko, pow. Kraków, medalik (AM 485)
 Wardak Józef, podoficer (LZK)
 Warmiński Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)
 Waryszak Wacław, por. (LZK-O-S)
 Wasgird Obgierd, por. rez. piech. (LZK)
 Wasiak Jerzy, ppor. pil. (LZK)
 Wasiak Józef, plut. KOP. (LZK)
 Wasielek Jan, plut. piech. (LZK)
 Wasiewicz Bronisław, Wasiewicz — por., leg. ofic. rez., karta
 czł. (AM 3476), Wasiewicz — ur. 21.9.98 (ROR 34 str. 169)
 Wasilewski Czesław, ppor. (LZK)
 Wasilewski Jerzy, w mundurze, medalik z łańc., list (AM
 1849)
 Wasilewski Leon, ppor., świad. szk., 2 leg., notatnik (AM
 3044), 1910, s. Aleksandra i Barbary (LZK)
 Wasilewski Marian, kpt. KOP., 1896, s. Stanisława i Antoniny
 (LZK)
 Wasilewski Romuald, oficer, stud. i asystent farm., zam.
 Siedlice, ul. Skorupki 26, część leg. ofic. (AM 4084)

Wasiuk Michał, por., zam. Białystok, ul. Kaszubska 3, 2
karty podatkowe, pocztówki (AM 2072)
Wasutynski por. (LZK)
Waszkiewicz Józef, kapral (LZK)
Waszkiewicz Zdzisław Andrzej, ppor., dowód osob., wizytów-
ki, fotografia kobieca (AM 1916)
Waskowski (Woskowski), plk. (LZK)
Watten Stanisław, por. rez., 1904, s. Ignacego i Cecylii (LZK),
Watten, w mundurze, 2 kwity (AM 1419), Watten — ur. 1.3.04
(ROR. 34 str. 107)
Wawer Stefan, ppor. lot., karta szcep. 2961, wizytówki (AM
1932), (LZK)
Wawrzyniak Bolesław, por., pocztówka, karta szcep. 2 wi-
zytówki (AM 721), Wawrzykiewicz — (WO str. 10), Wawrzyk-
iewicz — (LZK)
Wawrzyniak Kazimierz, pchor., 1910 s. Leona i Zofii, 54 pp
(LZK)
Wawrzyński Józef, (?) por., karta szcep. 3375, wizytówka
(AM 1938), wizytówki z nazwiskiem Rudolf Zeman, Wodzis-
ław Śląski, ul. Dworcowa 4 (WO 1938 str. 28)
Wawrzyński Antoni, naucz., w mundurze, leg. urz., list, ró-
żaniec (AM 2597)
Wawrzyński Hipolit, por. rez. kaw. (LZK)
Wawrzyński Józef, w mundurze, pocztówka, listy, modlitew-
nik (AM 1501)
Wawrzyński Władysław, Wawrzyniec — mjr. leg. wizytów-
ka (AM 855), Wawrzyński (bez imienia), mjr (LZK), — ur.
15.5.90 (ROR. 34 str. 326)
Wawrzynowicz Tadeusz, Wawrzynowy — w ubraniu cyw., ur.
16.9.11, paszport wojsk., dowód osob., fotografia, karta mob. (AM
4098), Wawrzynowicz — sędzia grodzki (LZK)
Wawrzynowicz Urban Antoni, ppor. rez., 1905, s. Henryka
i Marceliny (LZK)
Wazgird Olgierd, por. piech. (LZK)
Was Bolesław, por., ofic. ks., pismo (aeronaut.), pocztówka
(AM 1451), por. art. (LZK)
Wasik Jan, kpt., ur. w Karsy, pow. Opatów, podanie do knhda
obozu Kozielek (AM 4088), ur. 1894, s. Tomasza i Jadwigi (LZK)
Wasowski Julian, 1876 (LZK)
Wasowski Stefan Franciszek, ppłk. lek., leg. ofic., pocztówka,
znasz., dowód osob. (AM 1335), dr ppłk. (LZK)
Wator Józef, kpt., dr. leg. odznacz., karta szcep. 4060, list,
pismo Kasy Oszcz. we Lwowie, wizytówki (AM 1821), kpt., se-
dzia (LZK)
Wawozniak Teodor, ppor., pocztówki, medalik, różaniec (AM
1826), (bez imienia), ppor. (LZK)
Wazy Jerzy, w mundurze, leg. urz., leg. podr. służb., pis-
mo Min. Kolei, 2 fotografie, listy, pocztówka, część leg. ofic. rez.
(AM 3108)
Wcisło Feliks, w mundurze, leg. urz., wizytówka, karta szcep.
3413 (AM 1374), por. (LZK)
Wdówka Adam, ppor. (LZK)
Wdówka Henryk, kpt. art., DOK. Lublin (LZK-S)

Weber Aleksander, por. rez. (LZK)
Weber Antoni, mjr (LZK-S)
Weber Rudolf Tadeusz, kpt., leg. ofic., 4 pocztówki, 2 tele-
gramy, pismo urzędowe (AM 948), (WO 911 str. 12), (LZK)
Węgliński Kazimierz, ppor., karta z adresem, karta szcep.
z Kozielek, notatnik z różnymi adresami, pocztówka z nadaw-
cą: J. Damperska, Poznań, ul. Graniczna 15 (AM 8), Węgliński
(WO str. 5)
Weidenfeld Abraham, Wajdenfeld Abram — w mundurze,
dr med., dowód osob., 3 listy (AM 758), (bez imienia), kpt.
(LZK), Weidenfeld — dr, ur. 15.10.88 (ROR. 34 str. 216)
Weinbach S., dr med., w mundurze, wizytówki (AM 2513)
Weinert ppor. (LZK)
Weingarten Witold, por. (LZK)
Weinstok ppor. (LZK)
Weinzieher Jakub, Weinzieher — ppor. lot., dr med., wizytów-
ki, pocztówki, fotografie (AM 613), Weinzieher — (WO str. 9),
Wajnzicher Jan — ppor. lek. (LZK)
Weiss Bronisław, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Weiss Czesław Antoni, por., ofic. ks., 2 własne fotografie
(AM 1928), Wajs — por. LZS)
Weit Witold, sierż. pchor., lek. dent. (LZK)
Wejtko Ksawery, Wejtko — rtm. sł. st. (LZK), Wejtko —
ur. 9.1.99 (ROR. 32 str. 165)
Weller Józef, dr, por. lek. (LZK)
Welsch Antoni, mjr (LZK)
Wendrowski inż. ppor. (LZK)
Wenelczyk Antoni, kpt. art., 1891, s. Walentego i Eleonory
(LZK), kpt. karta mob., części leg. ofic. (AM 2013)
Wenge Marian, oficer, znak tożs., listy, pocztówki, medalik
z łańc. (AM 2054), ur. 26.3.17 (WO 2054 str. 31)
Werbel Witold, por. art. (LZK)
Werek Piotr, ppor., sekr. Zarządu m. Poznań, leg. urz.
państw., karta czł. Zw. Strzel., 3 pocztówki, odznaki mund., cy-
garniczka (AM 710), Warecki — (WO str. 10), Werlecki — ppor.
(LZK)
Werner Jan Marian, kpt., prawo jazdy, pocztówka, list, wi-
zytówki (AM 1325), kpt. geogr., 1904, s. Stanisława i Janiny
(LZS)
Wesolowski Bolesław, por., listy, papierosnica, pocztówki (AM
2206), por., 1888, s. Franciszka i Franciszki (LZK)
Wesolowski Michał, ppor. piech. (LZK)
Wesolowski Stanisław, ofic. rez., paszport zagr., karta szcep.
1723, kartki z zapisami (WO 1400 str. 20)
Westerki Wacław Mieczysław, ppor. rez., 1910, s. Stanisława
i Heleny (LZK), Westerki Mieczysław, pocztówka, karta
szcep., list jego adresowany do Marii Michniewicz, Pabianice,
ul. Barska 12 (AM 48)
Wetula Józef, mjr (LZK-S)
Wetzer Zygmunt Aleksander, pocztówka (AM 152)
Węclaw Władysław, Wacław — oficer, ofic. kr., leg. służb.,
list, pocztówka (AM 1511), Węclaw — leg. Państw. Zakł. Tele-

szczęp. 2023, medalik z łańc., pierścionek damski, notatnik (AM 985), (WO 936 str. 13)
Wielonki Tadeusz, ppor. piech., 1911, s. Czesława i Sabiny, 76 pp. (LZK)
Wielopolski Jan, por. kaw. (LZK)
Wielunski Zygmunt, ppor., 1908, s. Michała i Wandy (LZK)
Wienias Jan, lat 50 (LZK)
Wieniewski Adam, kpt. (LZK)
Wieniewski Adam, kpt. (WO 884 str. 19)
Wierzbicki ppor. (LZK)
Wierzbicki Ryszard, w mundurze, zam. Lublin, ul. Sadowa 10 m. 6, leg. ofic., ks. czł., okulary, złote zęby, medalik z łańc. (AM 1220), (WO 1080 str. 15)
Wierzbicki Witold, ppor., ur. 5.10.09, ofic. ks., karta szcep. 3290, karta na broń, fotografie, 2 notatniki, wizytówka (AM 1292), (WO 1121 str. 16)
Wierzejski Bronisław Krystyna, ppor. (LZS), Wierze ppor., paszport (AM 1891)
Wierzejski Stanisław, por., leg. (AM 2764), prac. Zakł. Leczn. Wychnow Rodziny Kolej. w Rabce (WO 2764 str. 51)
Wierzejski Stefan, por. lek., ur. 2.9.01 Siedlce, adres: Warszawska, ul. Jasieńskiego 616, ks. oszcz. PKO., karta mob., karta szcep. (AM 1359), (WO 1359 str. 17), ppor. rez. lek. (LZK)
Wierzyński dr. por. (LZK)
Wierzyński Stefan Alojzy, oficer, ks. ofic., wyciąg z Banku Gosp. Kraj. naramiennik bez oznak (AM 225), ppor. rez., 1900, s. Karola i Antoniny, Szpital Wojsk. (LZK)
Wiesniewski Antoni Zdzisław, por., leg. ofic., karta czł. Ligi Kol., 2 pocztówki, list (AM 3386)
Więckowski Franciszek, ppor. rez. (LZK)
Więckowski Jan, ppor. piech. (AM 2793)
Więckowski Władysław, wizytówki, karta szcep. (AM 2793), karta czł. ZOR., metryka ślubu, wizytówki, karta szcep. (AM 2793)
Więckowski Kazimierz, ppor., ur. 25.1.02 w Kamieńsku, ofic. ks., leg. urz., 2 karty czł., karta na broń, dwa listy (AM 1428)
Więgorowicz Eliaz, Hersz, Hirs-Oszerowicz, lek., ks. ofic., 5 pocztówek, dowód osob., blok notesowy z nadrukami: Dr med. E. Więgorowicz (AM 352), (bez imienia), kpt. lek. (LZK), — dr. ur. 21.10.81 (ROR. 34 str. 304)
Wiliamowicz Ryszard, w mundurze, leg. urz., karta szcep. 3217, pocztówka (AM 2037), por. (LZK)
Wiliamowski Stanisław, plk. lek., dowód osob. (WO str. 3)
Wileczek Jan, mjr (LZK)
Wileczek Piotr, ppor., list, karta z jego nazwiskiem, lusterko metalowe (AM 296), por. int. (LZK)
Wileczyński Henryk, Wilszyński — w mundurze, zam. Katowice, ul. Kopernika 3 m. 4, karta sportowa, różne pisma (AM 1417), Wilczyński — ul. Kopernika 34 (WO 1417 str. 18), ppor. (LZK)
Wiliński Władysław, mjr (LZK)
Wild Józef, w mundurze, ur. 23.12, s. Karola, dowód osob., pocztówka (AM 1698), mierzniczy (WO 1698 str. 23)

i Radio Techn. (WO 1511 str. 43), Węclaw — ur. 27.5.05 (RO. 32 str. 124)
Węclawski Tadeusz, por. br. panc. (LZK), ppor. br. panc. ur. 1898, znak toż., medalik (AM 1291), (WO 1120 str. 16)
Węgrzynowski Stanisław, st. mar. (LZK)
Węgrzynowski Jan, ppor. art. (LZK)
Wężyk Władysław, st. wachm. żand. (LZK)
Wiacek kpt. rez. (LZK)
Wiacek Antoni, zam. Korzec, Wołyn, ul. Staroklasztorna 35 (WO 215 str. 19), ppor. (LZK)
Wiacek Wojciech, mjr, 1896, s. Antoniego, 12 pp. (LZK), mjr, leg. ofic., leg. odznac., ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 2263)
Wieliński Walenty, w mundurze, karta szcep. 2834, fotografia (AM 2226), s. Walentego, na jednej fotografii napis: „kochanemu Włodczkowi na pamiątkę Ibsia — Bydgoszcz, 22.8.39“
Wichrowski Stefan, w mundurze, wizytówki, 2 pocztówki, medalik z łańc. (AM 1457)
Wichrowski Tadeusz, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2240)
Widacki Stanisław, plk. piech. (LZK)
Widacki B., por. pil. (LZK)
Wideman Bolesław, ppor. pil. 1917, s. Jerzego i Ksenii (LZK)
Widnicki Ferdynand, prawnik, ppor., 2 wizytówki (AM 3076)
Widerszal Marcell, Wyderzal — kpt. inż., zam. Warszawa, ul. Królewska 41, wizytówki, fotografie (AM 4101)
Widerszal Marcell, Wyderzal — ppor., tymcz. leg. wystawiona w Modlinie 31.8.39, kwit. wpłaty składki czł. (AM 4123), Widorszał Józef Artur, Jerzy — kpt. art. (LZK), — ur. 8.3.04 (RO. 32 str. 213)
Wiecheć Karol, w mundurze, koperta (AM 671)
Wieczorek Aleksander, ppor., inż., wojsk. prawo jazdy, karta mob., rozkaz wyjazdu, wizytówki, fotografie (AM 4097), inż. chem., por. (LZK)
Wieczorek Antoni, naramiennik bez oznak, lusterko, medalik, koperta z nadawcą: Warszawa, ul. Fabryczna 30 m. 4 (AM 425), dr. kpt. 1889, s. Antoniego i Julii (LZK)
Wieczorek Jan, por. art., wizytówki, metryka urodz., metryka ślubu, leg. ofic., karta szcep. 922 (AM 3193)
Wieczorek Marian, w mundurze, karta szcep., rys. ołówkowy, łańc., monogram MW (AM 2102)
Wieliński ppor. (LZK)
Wieliński Władysław, ppor. piech. (LZK), pror., koperta, karta szcep., krzyżek z łańc. (AM 3700)
Wieliński Mieczysław, por. SPRA (LZK)
Wieliński Stanisław, kpt., wizytówki, pismo Urz. Skarb., leg. Zw. Of. R. (AM 1950), kpt. piech. (LZK)
Wieliński Jerzy, por., leg., 2 wizytówki (AM 2817)
Wieliński Stanisław, ppor., ur. 21.6.13, leg. ofic. rez., 2 pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 3485), ppor. (LZK)
Wieloch Adolf, naucz., wizytówki, leg. urz. państw., karta

Wilecki Alfred Zbigniew, kpt., leg. ZOR., leg. dziennikarska (AM 2023), redaktor Pol. Ag. Public. w Warszawie (WO 2023 str. 31)

Willecki Bertold Ludomir, kpt., wizytówki, karta szcep., pióro wieczne, odznaka (AM 2133), kpt. art. (WO 2133 str. 33), (LZK)

Wilik Kazimierz, kpt., ofic. leg., rozliczenie poborów, kartki pocztowe, notatnik (AM 1389), Wilken (?), (WO 1389 str. 17)

Wilik Piotr, por., 2 leg. odznacz., karta na brn, wizytówki, list, 2 odznaki pułkowe, plakietka (AM 3028)

Wilkoń Franciszek, mjr piech. (LZ-), (bez imienia), mjr. kwit depoz. (AM 2163)

Winciewicz Edward, w mundurze, leg. urz., wizytówka, leg. odznaki sport., banknoty 5-złotowe zapisane. notatkami (AM 4105)

Windman ppor. lek. (LZK)

Winiarski Ignacy, w mundurze, 2 wizytówki, 2 kwity (AM 3864)

Winiarz Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Winiarz Władysław, ppor. art. (LZK)

Winkler Emil, por. (LZK-S)

Winkler Wincenty, ppor., karta z adresem, karta szcep. z Kozłiska (AM 31), Slinkier (WO str. 5)

Winkowski Henryk, por. rez. piech., 1897, s. Juliana i Marii, adwokat, (LZK), adwokat, dowód osob., 2 listy, wizytówka (AM 347)

Winkowski Jan, Winkowski — por., 2 listy, 2 pocztówki, karta szcepienia 3062, różaniec (AM 1390), Winkowski — (WO 1390 str. 17)

Winograd Henryk, por. art. (LZK), w mundurze, ur. 1906, znak tożs. (AM 2700)

Winowski Karol, kpt., wizytówka, leg. ofic., blok notesowy, różaniec (AM 1224), (WO 1083 str. 15)

Winsche Dionizy, ppor. KOP. (LZK)

Winsze Ryszard, ppor., wizytówki, karta szcep., pismo (AM 1967), kawalek pisma firmy Sapotański w Warszawie (WO 1967 str. 29)

Winter Józef, por., 1900, s. Józefa i Marii (LZK)

Wirszyło Edward, kpt. lot. (LZK)

Wirszyło Ludwik, Wirszyło — mjr, dr med., pismo Mgtu m. Warszawy, list, karta szcep., karta mob., (AM 2327), ur. 8.9.80, wizytówka na nazwisko Irena Wirszyło, Warszawa, ul. Spokojna 15/36, (WO 2327 str. 38), Wirszyło — mjr lek. (LZK), dr, ur. 25.8.80 (ROR. 34 str. 376)

Wirszyło Tadeusz, Wirszyło — por., 2 pocztówki, 2 listy — z nich jeden na 4 stronie, z daty 8.9.39 (AM 233), Wirszyło — por. rez. br. panc. (LZK-S)

Wirzyński Stefan, ppor. (LZK)

Wisieka Paweł, w mundurze, list z nadawcą, karta szcep. (AM 3964)

Wisiocki Jan, ppor., ur. 1912, znak tożs. (AM 3137), ppor. art. (LZK)

Wisniewski Romuald, Wiśniewski — kpt., karta szcep. 1193,

leg. ofic. (AM 1798), syn Aleksęgo (WO 1798 str. 25), Wisniewski — kpt. sap. (LZK), ur. 17.7.92 (ROR. 34 str. 351)

Wisniewski Jerzy, rtm. (LZK)

Wisniewski Marian, rtm. (LZK)

Wisniewski kpt. lot. (LZK)

Wisniewski ppor. rez. (LZK)

Wisniewski Adam, por. (LZK-S)

Wisniewski Adolf, kpt. piech. (LZK)

Wisniewski Alfred, w mundurze, leg. urz. państw., karta szcep., ręcznie zapisana kartka (AM 1163), (WO 1036 str. 14)

Wisniewski Artur, ppłk., 1889, s. Antoniego i Józefa (LZK)

Wisniewski Marian, kpt., ur. 15.5.02 w Bochni, ofic. leg., me-tryka urodz., fotogr. rodzinne, świad. W.S.W. dla Int. (AM 1927)

Wisniewski Marian, w mundurze, karta szcep., telegram, pocztówki, list (AM 2022), Wiśniewski — syn Franciszka (WO 2022 str. 31)

Wisniewski Stanisław, kpt., karta płaćnica (WO 884 str. 20)

Wiśniewski Wacław Jakub, w mundurze, list, ołówek (AM 3633)

Wiśniewski Władysław, por. (LZK)

Wiśniewski Zdzisław, kapral (LZK)

Witeszczak Stanisław, ppor., dowód osob., list z nadawcą: Witeszczak Stefania, Zamość (AM 205)

Witkiewicz Jan, ur. 1.6.09, ppor., ks. wojsk., ks. oszcz. PKO. (AM 117), por. (ppor.), 1909, s. Jana i Henryki, inż. archit. (LZS)

Witkowiak Wojciech, kpt., Poznań, Górna Wilda 13 m. 15, karta czł. PCK., leg. odznacz., papierosnica, list, pocztówka, re-dalik z tańc. (AM 1811), kpt. lot. (LZK)

Witkowski por., leg. ofic., pismo wojsk. z przydzia-łem do Szpitala Woj. 504 (AM 2134)

Witkowski Pol. Państw. (LZK)

Witkowski Marek, ppor. (LZK)

Witkowski Marian, w mundurze, pocztówki, koperta (AM 2869), pocztówki i list od Anny Witkowskiej z Warszawy (WO 2869 str. 54)

Witłinski Edward, kapral art. 1896, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK)

Witula Józef Włodzimierz, ppor., ofic. ks., wizytówki, pocz-tówka, odznaka strzeleca, papierosnica, tańc. do zegarka (AM 1468)

Wittman Kazimierz, por. lek., zam. Kraków, ul. Kopernika 23, pismo Szkoły Sanit., część dowodu osob., rzeźbione wieczko z drzewa (AM 1087), (WO 986 str. 14)

Witulski Stefan, mjr, 1894, s. Jakuba i Stanisławy (LZK)

Wiza Cezary, por., ur. 27.8.99, leg. ofic. rez., paszport, dowód osob. (AM 3152), ppor. rez., 1899, s. Józefa i Johann (LZK)

Wizbek Henryk, por., 1912, s. Stanisława i Ludwika (LZK)

Wizbe... — por., leg. ofic., odznaka pułkowa (AM 3373)

Wizimski Władysław, ppor. (LZK)

Wizłowski Jerzy Maurycy, ppor. rez., 1903 (LZK)

Wiekliński Czesław, ppor. (LZK), Czesław Marian Feliks,

ppor., leg. ofic., ks. ofic. (AM 1888)
 Wilbe Henryk, (AM 3375)
 Własiak Jan, ppor. (LZK)
 Własienko Włodzimierz, cywilny, pocztówka z nadawcą: Maria Własienko, Wilno, Jasnowa 40 (AM 243), ppor. (LZK)
 Waszycki Mikolaj, kpt. si. st. (LZK-K-O)
 Wodarczyk ppor. si. st. (LZK)
 Wołek Edmund, por., 2 pocztówki, kartka z apteki, podanie z Koziełska różne kartki z zapiskami (AM 3985), por. (LZK)
 Wołek Józef, por. (LZK)
 Wostowski Hieronim, ppor., dowód osob. z fotografia, wizytówka na nazwisko Hieronim Wostowski, Nowogródka (AM 176)
 Wnuk Jakub, dr. kpt., ur. 31.5.04 Wysokie, zam. Warszawa, ul. Rozbrat 20-18, leg. ofic. z fotografią, pocztówka, wizytówki, fotografie (AM 4121)
 Wnuk Michał, ppor., stała karta jazdy, pocztówka, wizytówka (AM 3939)
 Woch Czesław, ppor., 7 pocztówek (AM 1726), por. farm., 1895, s. Karola i Katarzyny (LZK)
 Wochanka Maurycy, kpt. rez. (LZK)
 Wodźniczki Stanisław, por. (ppor.) — (LZK)
 Wodźniczki por. kaw. (LZK)
 Wodźniczki Stanisław, por., pocztówka, odcinek poczt., notatnik, połowa znaku toż. z nazwiskiem Heller Czesław (AM 1694)
 Wodźnicki Mateusz, w mundurze, karta szcep., pocztówka, łańc. z krzyżykiem (AM 3238)
 Wojakowski ppor. (LZK)
 Wojaszyk Jan, ppor., 1910, 45 pp. (LZK)
 Wojciech Stefan, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Edward, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Eugeniusz, kpt. (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Franciszek, ppor., ofic. ks., karta szcep. 13000 (AM 1462)
 Wojciechowski Józef, w mundurze, dowód osob., karta szcep., listy (AM 4100), ppor. (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Karol, kpt., ofic. leg., medalik (AM 1057), (WO 971 str. 13)
 Wojciechowski Maksymilian, por. mar., (LZK-K-S)
 Wojciechowski Ryszard, por. lot. (LZK-K-S)
 Wojciechowski Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Witold, por. rez. (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Władysław, por., leg. ofic., list, rys. karykatur (AM 3858)
 Wojciechowski Zygmunt, ofic. mar. wizytówka karta szcep., fotografie, kwit pocztowy (AM 3403)
 Wojciechowski Zygmunt, ppor., 1914, s. Józefa (LZK)
 Wojciechowski Kazimierz, ppor., ur. 26.1.12, zam. Chelm Lubelski, ul. Kolejowa 74, dowód osob., ks. oszcz. PKO., karta szcep. 2085, fotografie (AM 1956), ur. 1912, znak toż. (WO str. 45)

Wojcieszek Stanisław, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (nieczytelna), list, leg. urz. (nieczytelna) (AM 3266)
 Wojcieszonek Edward, w mundurze, pocztówka, 2 listy, plakietka (AM 3419), por. (LZK)
 Wojciuk Józef, kpt. (LZK)
 Wojciuk Stefan, ppor. (LZK)
 Wojda Włodzimierz, ppor. KOP. (LZK)
 Woida Czesław, pchor. (LZK)
 Woidat Adolf, bank. ks. wkład. (AM 158)
 Wojdat Stefan, ppor. (LZK)
 Wojewodzki ppor. (LZK)
 Wojkow Gabriel, — Wojkan — kpt. lek. (LZK), Wojkow — dr., ur. 19.6.02 (RO. 32 str. 334)
 Wojnarowski Andrzej, ppor., 1908 (LZK)
 Wojnat Stefan, ppor. (LZK)
 Wojnicz Franciszek, ppor., 2 listy, karta szcep. (AM 3266), ppor. rez., 1904, s. Jana i Anny (KOP) — (LZK)
 Wojnicz Jan, (LZK)
 Wojnicz Stefan, ofic. si. st. (LZK)
 Wojnowski mjr, list (AM 1948)
 Wojtala Jan, ppor. (LZK)
 Wojtunik Józef, kpt. (LZK)
 Wojtkiewicz por. (LZK)
 Wojtowicz mjr (LZK)
 Wojtowicz Alojzy, por., leg. ofic., pismo służb., kwit (AM 3477)
 Wojtowicz Szymon, notatnik — w nim 3 nazwiska: Osiniński Wacław, ppor., Wojtowicz Szymon, Rzażewski Aleksander — ks. do modli, list (AM 240), ppor., 1900, s. Gracjana i Małgorzaty (LZK)
 Wojtowicz Władysław, ppor. (LZK)
 Wojtuszkiewicz Jacenty Bohdan, — Wojtuszkiewicz — leg. kolej., leg. urz., leg. czł. Zw. Inż. Kolej., listy, pocztówki (AM 2156), Wojtuszkiewicz (WO 2156 str. 34), por., 1908, s. Władysława i Izabelli (LZK)
 Wojtych Kazimierz, por. (LZK)
 Wojtyniak Czesław, ksiądz, plk. (LZK)
 Wolanik Aleksander, ppor., 1897 (LZK)
 Wolanski por. (LZK)
 Wolanski Czesław, por. (LZK)
 Wolanski Eugeniusz, — Wolawski, ppor., leg. kolej., karta mob., list, 2 pocztówki, spinki (AM 1825), Wolanski — ur. 4.10.03 (ROR. 34 str. 53)
 Wolf Emil, oficer, dowód osob., cygarniczka (AM 209)
 Wolński Józef, por., 4.1.90, karta mob., karta szcep., karta zwoln. ze Szpitala (AM 2382)
 Wolk Wincenty, por., pocztówka, list, 3 odznaki (AM 2564)
 Wolkenberg Karol, kpt., leg. ofic., pocztówka, gazeta z 6. kwietnia 1940 z Kijowa (AM 2809), Wolkenberger, kpt., 1895, ur. Lwów (LZK), Wolkenberg, ur. 15.7.95 (RO. 32 str. 288)
 Wolkowiak Józef, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., leg. odznacz., leg. sport. (AM 2948)
 Woltiewicz Józef, leg. na rower, weksel, notatnik (AM 3369)

Wolski Bolesław, 2 pocztówki, list, karta szczepek. 2 telegramy (AM 231), ppor. (LZK)

Wolski Kazimierz, ppor., 1895 (LZK)

Wolski Zefiryn, por. 1891 (LZK)

Wolski Zygmunt, por., wizytówki, listy (AM 3174)

Wolynski Antoni, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, monogram (AM 3776)

Wolągiewicz Antoni Józef, — Wolągiewicz Antoni Stefan — ppor., ur. 22.3.98, leg. urz., świad. odejścia z Wyższej Szk. Techn. w Gdańsku, świad. gimn., zaśw., listy, dowód osob., karta czł. (AM 3813), — ur. 22.3.98 (ROR. 34 str. 43)

Wolągiewicz Florian, ppor. (LZK)

Wolk Wincenty, por., 1906 (LZK)

Wolodkiewicz Piotr, kpt., pocztówka z 9.3.40 z nadawcą: N. Marian Kuna, Warszawa, ul. Krucza 47 a (AM 259), (LZK)

Wolosianka Michał, dr med., kpt., leg., wizytówka, kwity, świad. szczepek. 1777 (AM 106), kpt. (LZK)

Woloszczuk Teodor, por. (LZK)

Wolowski Teofil, por. (ppor.) — (LZK)

Wolyniewicz Karol, por., 1895, s. Samuela i Antoniny (LZK)

Wolyniewicz Jerzy, cywiliński, 2 pocztówki, 2 karty szczepek. (AM 2189), Wolyniewicz (WO 2189 str. 34)

Wolynski Jan, por., 1902, s. Juliana i Heleny (LZK)

Woronicz Jan, ppor., 1917 (LZK)

Worono Konstanty, mjr P.P. (LZK)

Woronowicz Edward, por. (LZK)

Woronowicz Jan, lat 45 (LZK)

Woropaj Tadeusz, por. (LZK-S)

Woropaj Anatol, ppor. (LZK)

Worzech Wincenty, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Worzech Jan, ur. 10.8.93, 3 leg. osob., metryka urodz., 2 fotografie, karta szczepek. 4161, niemiecki list, naramiennik bez oznak lanc. z medalikiem (AM 384), ppor., Jaworzec (LZK), — ur. 11.8.93 (ROR. 34 str. 33)

Woydyno Józef, kpt. (LZK)

Woynilowicz Erazm, — Wojnilowicz — kpt., s. Leona i Pełagii, 78 pp. (LZK), — ur. 25.6.91 (RO. 32 str. 48)

Woźniak Eugeniusz, ppor. rez., 1911 (LZK)

Woźniak Edmund, ppor., karta mob., leg. urz., karta szczepek. zegarek na rękę (AM 2335)

Woźniak Edward, st. post. P.P. (LZK)

Woźniak Józef, kpt., dr, rozkaz awansowy, 2 metryki urodz., notatnik (AM 1322)

Woźniak Marian, por., leg. urz., leg. ofic. rez., kwit depoz., wizytogram, monogram, krzyżek (AM 2239), dyr. Państw. Liceum Pedagog. w Trokach (WO 2239 str. 36), por. (LZK)

Woźniak Tadeusz, dr, kpt. (LZK)

Woźniak Zygmunt, por., 2 pocztówki, list, wizytówki, lanc. do zegarka z wisiorkiem (AM 650)

Woźniakiewicz Mieczysław, ppor., 1909 (LZK)

Woźniakiewicz Stanisław, w mundurze, (bez nazwiska), pocztówka (AM 1433), (WO 1433 str. 45)

Woźniczka Władysław, — Wazniczka — ppor., część ofic. ka.,

notatnik (AM 1067), Woźniczka (WO 976 str. 13), por. (LZK)

Woźny Ignacy, — Woźny — w mundurze, leg. urz., kilka listów z nadawcą: Or Woźny. Gostynin, pow. Konin, Warthegau, pismo urzędowe z Poznania, wizytówka, medalik, karta szczepek. (AM 1960), mjr prawa (WO 1960 str. 29), por. (LZK)

Woźny Kazimierz Henryk, dr por., Gdynia, ul. Świętojańska 108, przepustka na wyjazd, kartka z notatkami (AM 1068), ppor., ur. 21.12.03 w Hildesheim, urzędnik (WO 977 str. 13)

Wójciak Piotr, dr med., por., części leg ofic. rez., leg. urz., wizytówka (AM 3198)

Wójciak Aleksander, ppor. (LZK)

Wójcik por. lek. (LZK)

Wójcik Franciszek, ppor., 1896, s. Wincentego i Katarzyny (LZK)

Wójcik Józef, mjr, ofic. leg., pocztówki (AM 2730), mjr (LZK)

Wójcik Józef, kpt. (LZK)

Wójcik Józef, rim., 1897 (LZK)

Wójcik Stanisław, mjr (LZK), mjr, część ofic. leg. (AM 1219), (WO 1079 str. 15)

Wójcikiewicz Zbigniew, urz. państw. w Poznaniu, ppor., leg. urz. państw., karta na broń, karta szczepek. 729, list z adresem. cwikler, przekaz pocztowy na nazwisko Zofia Wójcikiewicz, Poznań, ul. Dąbrowskiego 25a (AM 964), (WO 923 str. 12)

Wójtowicz Marian, ppłk., wizytówki, kalendarz, kiesz., karta szczepek, medalik z lanc. (AM 496), ppłk. (LZK)

Wójtowicz Wacław, w mundurze, list, 2 pocztówki (AM 1784)

Wójtowicz Władysław, ppor., 1906 (LZK)

Wójtowicz Zygmunt, ppor., 3 listy, medalik (AM 2052), 3 listy z nadawcą: Zofia Wójtowicz, Warszawa, ul. Kaliska 1 m. 23, medalik z napisem: „Aleja Szucha 1925 r.” (WO 2052 str. 31)

Wrabecki Stefan, ppor., pocztówka z nadawcą: J. Wrabecka, Warszawa, ul. Złota 59a (AM 203)

Wracek mjr, list z nadawcą: Józefa Wracek, Końskie (Koresz), ul. Staroklaszorna 35 (AM 215)

Wretowski Jan, ppor., leg., karta szczepek. 2049, wizytówka, fotografia (AM 1430)

Wrocławski Michał, ppor., 1906 (LZK)

Wroczyński Czesław, dr med., kpt., 1889, s. Czesława i Jadwigi (LZK)

Wroczyński Witold, ppor., ur. 10.5.96, karta mob., dowód osob., list z datą Koziełsk 3.4.40, odznaka pułkowa, telegram (AM 2760)

Wrona kpt. (LZK)

Wrona Stefan, ppor. (LZK)

Wroniak Stanisław, ppor. (LZK)

Wronka Mieczysław, w mundurze, karta szczepek z adresami (AM 4113), (bez imienia), kpt. (LZK)

Wronski Antoni, por. (LZK)

Wróbel Kazimierz, ppor. (LZK)

Wróbel Kazimierz, wachmistrz, (LZK)

Wróbel M., znak tożs., koperta (AM 161)

Wróbel Piotr, ppor. (LZK)

Wysocki Zygmunt, w mundurze, leg., pismo z pułku, pocztów-
ka, kartka z nazwiskiem, kalend. kiesz. (AM 2596)
Wyszkowski vel Wierzchowski Wiktor, ppow., leg. odznacz.,
karta mob., kartka czł. ZOR., ks. oszcz. PKO., list z nadawcą, znak
tożs. (AM 2249), list z nadawcą: Zofia Wyszkowska, Łódź, ul.
Orlicz - Dressera (WO 2249 str. 36), Wyszkowski (bez imienia),
por. piech. (LZK)
Wyszogrod Stanisław, Wyszogrod — por., pocztówki, wieczne
pióro, kartka z adresami (AM 2706), Wyszogrod (WO 2706
str. 50)
Wysomiński Zygmunt, ppow., znak tożs. (AM 2983), (bez
imienia), ppow. (LZK)
Wyszynski Juliusz, ppow. (LZK)
Zabłocki Eugeniusz, ppow., inż. elektr., ur. 1904, leg. ofic.
rez., 3 leg., 2 fotografie, wizytówki (AM 2816)

Zaborowski Stanisław, ppow., 27 p. ul. (LZK)
Zaborowski Zdzisław, ppow., (LZK)
Zachar Rudolf, por. (LZK-S)
Zacharewicz Walerian, st. post. P.P. (LZK)
Zachariasiewicz Ignacy, kpt. piech. (LZK), por. z Krakowa,
dowód osob. (AM 648), Charasiewicz (?), (WO str. 9)
Zacharzewski Olgierd, ppow., list, pocztówka, okulary (AM
1155), (WO 1033 str. 14), (bez imienia), ppow. (LZK)
Zachert Konstanty, mjr, pocztówka, listy z nazwiskami (AM
2567)
Zachert Konstanty, por. rez. (LZK)
Zachert - Okrzanowski Wiktor Hugon, — Hugon — kpt., pocz-
tówki, list, karta szcep. (AM 1229), (WO 1086 str. 15), Wiktor
Hugon — ur. 24.10.90 (ROR. 34 str. 241)
Zachert - Olszyc Konstanty, por., karta szcep., wojsk. zaśw.,
karta z zapiskami (AM 3742)
Zackiewicz Jan, ppow., ur. 1914 w Penyloania, metryka urodz.,
karta mob., pismo służb., listy, telegram, recepta (AM 3068),
wojskowy, ur. 1914 z Ameryki (LZK)
Zadora - Ciszewski por. (LZK)
Zagajewski Karol, ppow. art. (LZK)
Zagórski Kazimierz, ppow., ur. 4.10.13, leg. urz., karta mob.,
(AM 3293)
Zagrodzi por. (LZK)
Zahorodny Jerzy, ppow. (LZK)
Zahraj Teodor, ppow. (LZK)
Zajac Jan, sierżant (LZK)
Zajac Józef, ppow. art. (LZK)
Zajac Józef, leg. kolej., wizytówka, pocztówka z nadawcą:
Anna Zajac, Lwów, ul. Pilichowska 7 (WO str. 4)
Zajac Stanisław, w mundurze, list, różaniec, medalik z łańc.
(AM 2847), ppow. (LZK)
Zajac Stanisław Antoni, w mundurze, ur. 3.5.98, ks. oszcz.
PKO., pocztówka, list (AM 2905)
Zajęcki Józef, mjr, apt., pismo Sapit. Woj. 504, ros.
zaśw., fotografie, karta szcep. 3532, grzebień, gotówka 1000
złoty (AM 280), (bez imienia), mjr (LZK)

Wróbel Wiktor, — Wru Wiktor, por., 2 pocztówki
z Wilna, ul. Wielna 27 (AM 234), Wróbel — por. (WO 234
str. 19)
Wróbel Witold, ppow. (LZK)
Wróbel Zygmunt, ppow. (LZK)
Wróblewski Edmund, kpt., dowód osob., 2 listy — z nich je
den od Alfonsa Klitsche, Schoenberg, Warthburgstr. 36 (AM
1327), (bez imienia), kpt., 1898 (LZK)
Wróblewski Edmund, ppow., znak tożs., leg. ofic. rez., leg. urz.,
list, medalik z łańc. (AM 2381)
Wróblewski Jan Ignacy, — Ignacy — ur. 5.8.03 w Tarnowie,
zam. Tarnów, officer, ks. wojsk., kalend. kiesz., notatnik, dowód
osob. (AM 237), Jan Ignacy, (WO 237 str. 19), Jan Ignacy —
ur. 5.8.03 (ROR. 34 str. 63)
Wróblewski Kazimierz, por. (LZK)
Wróblewski Marian, ppow., karta szcep., 2 fotografie (AM
2101)
Wróblewski Wojciech, ppow. pil. (LZK)
Wstęgielewicz Antoni, por. (LZK-S)
Wstęgielewicz Fabian, por. (LZK)
Wujastyk ppow. (LZK)
Wyborski por. (LZK)
Wyczesany Marceł, w mundurze, 2 listy (AM 3105), (bez
imienia), ppow. (LZK)
Wydra Roman Kazimierz, officer, leg. ofic. rez., wieczne pióro
(AM 2755), (bez imienia), ppow. (LZK)
Wykpiż Stanisław, — Wykpiż — w mundurze, 3 pocztówki,
4 listy, karta szcep. 484, nadawca poczt.: Helena Wykpiż, Bia-
łystok, ul. Podlesna 3 m. 5 (AM 542), Wykpiż — (WO str. 8)
Wykowski Mirosław, ppow., 1904 (LZK)
Wykpiżowski Jerzy, ppow. (LZK)
Wyłga Leon, ppow. (LZK)
Wytychowski Zenon Tadeusz, kpt. KOP., 1899, s. Michała
i Antoniny (LZK)
Wyrobek Kazimierz, ppow., ur. 13.2.10, Kraków, 1 zaśw., pocz-
tówka, 2 pisma służb., z 24 p.a.l. (AM 1994), ppow. 24 p.a.l.
w Jarosławiu, (WO 1994 str. 30), ppow. rez. (LZK)
Wyrobiec Stanisław, kpt. KOP. (LZK), ur. 7.8.93 (RO. 32
str. 58)
Wyrożebski Mieczysław, — Wyrosnoski — w mundurze, kar-
ta szcep., kartka z zapiskami (AM 3399), Wyrożebski — ur.
21.6.02 (ROR. 34 str. 170)
Wyrykowski Henryk, mjr (LZK)
Wyrykowski Mieczysław, naucz., leg. urz., fotografie (AM
3311), ppow. art. (LZK)
Wyśkiel Zbigniew, ppow., 1912, s. Edwarda i Zofii (LZK),
ppow., ks. ofic., 2 fotografie (AM 1491)
Wysocki por. (LZK)
Wysocki Józef, ppow., zam. Warszawa, ul. Elektoralna 17,
karta na pływalię, ks. ofic., karta szcep. 2660, pocztówki i listy
(AM 1120), (WO 1010 str. 14), ppow., (LZK)
Wysocki Kazimierz, kpt., (LZK)

Zajczkowski Jan, ppor. (LZK)
 Zajczkowski Roman, inż. dróg i mostów, dowód osob., wizytówka (WO str. 3)
 Zajczkowski Tadeusz, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Zajczkowski Władysław, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, list (AM 2061), adwokat, 1907, s. Tadeusza i Ireny (LZK)
 Zajc Stanisław, w mundurze znak toż. (AM 1831), por. art. (LZK)
 Zakrzewski Bolesław, por., inż., 1908, s. Władysława i Marianny (LZK)
 Zakrzewski Stanisław, kpt. (LZK)
 Zakrzewski Władysław, kpt., leg. ofic., dowód osob., listy i pocztówki (AM 2776)
 Zakrzewski Wojciech, ppor., leg. urz., leg. ofic. rez. kalend. kiesz. (AM 2408)
 Zalasik Jan, ppor. (LZK)
 Zalasik Mieczysław, w mundurze, karta szczep., kartka (znaleziona w terenie, nie przy zwłokach) — (AM 553)
 Zaleski Edward, ppor., 1896, s. Michała i Marii (LZK)
 Zaleski Jan, — Zaleski — por., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, recepty poczt. (AM 2333), dr. ur. 18.1.02, zam. Złoczów, ul. Niecała 6 (WO 2333 str. 38), dr. ur. 18.1.02, Zaleski — (ROR. 34 str. 44)
 Zaleski Stanisław, mjr dypl. (LZK-S)
 Zaleski Szymon, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., 1 zaśw. (AM 3928)
 Zaleski Wincenty, inż., w mundurze, leg. urz., wizytówki, cygaretki (AM 3815)
 Zalewski Czesław, w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Międzynarod. Czerw. Krzyż, list, karta szczep., notatnik (AM 2964)
 Zalewski Edward, ppor., 2 pocztówki, medalik z lanc. (AM 1687)
 Zalewski Jan, kpt. (LZK)
 Zalewski Jan, oficer, rez., dr. 1902, s. Jana i Marii (LZK)
 Zalewski Jerzy, kpt. lek. (LZK), dr. med., kpt. lek. wizytówki, prawo jazdy, znak toks., ks.uszcz. PKO., pocztówka, plakietka (AM 1615)
 Zalewski Tadeusz, por., karta szczep., telegram, medalik z lanc. (AM 2637)
 Zalewski Tadeusz, w mundurze, pocztówki z nadawcą: Zalewska Maria, Warszawa, ul. Siennicka 9 m. 1 (AM 2666)
 Zalewski W., ppor. (LZK)
 Zalobinski Adam, telegram, pocztówka, naramiennik bez dystrykcji (AM 109)
 Zaleski Jan, por. (LZK)
 Zaleski Karol, por. (LZK)
 Zaleski Tadeusz, ppor. rez. (LZK)
 Zaluska Jan, plk., ur. 25.6.89, zam. Lublin, ks.uszcz. PKO., wizytówki, krzyż Virtuti Militari (AM 3488), (bez imienia), plk. (LZK)
 Zaluski Stefan, ppor. (LZK)
 Zamarski Adam, Tadeusz, kpt., karta na broń, wizytówka, 3 listy, pocztówka, zaśw., odznaka mundurowa, cwikter (AM 846), kpt., 1893, DOK. II. (LZK)

Zambrzycki Stanisław, inż. por., okulary, 4 pocztówki, szyro-ryk (AM 911), (WO 890 str. 12), bez imienia, por. (LZK)
 Zaniewski Wacław, por. (AM 3917), (bez imienia), por., (LZK)
 Zaniowski Wiesław, rtm., s. Włodzimierza i Leonii (LZK)
 Zapala mjr (LZK)
 Zapolski Jerzy, plk. st. sp. (LZK), plk., podanie o zwolnienie do komendanta w Moskwie, list, plakietka (AM 1588)
 Zapolski Stanisław, por. rez. lek. (LZK)
 Zaprutkiewicz Karol Leon, mjr, wizytówka, okulary (AM 1477), Zaprutkiewicz (WO 1477 str. 19), (bez imienia), mjr. piech. (LZK)
 Zaremba (LZK)
 Zaremba Jan, ppor. (LZK)
 Zaremba Mieczysław, mjr, leg. ofic. (AM 3526)
 Zaremba Piotr, Zaremba — w mundurze, ur. 5.11.06, zam. Wilno, ul. Makowa 17 m. 19, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urz., 2 pocztówki, karta szczep. (AM 3769), Zaremba (ROR. 34 str. 180)
 Zaremba Władysław, w mundurze, karta szczep. 2184, świad. lek., fotografie (AM 2014), syn Władysława (WO 2014 str. 30), wiceprokurator (LZK)
 Zarzybnicki Henryk Kazimierz, — Zarzybnicki — 4 pocztówki, karta szczep. 800, 2 listy, lista imienna 33 oficerów (AM 653), Zarzybnicki — (WO str. 9), ppor., 1908, s. Józefa i Heleny (LZK)
 Zasztowi Herman, w mundurze, ur. 4.1.05, dowód osob. 5 listów z nadawcą: Zasztowi Anna, Świętawola, pow. Pińsk (AM 2430), Zasztow German, Święta Wola, ujezd Kosów, pow. Pińsk (WO 2430 str. 45), ppor. (LZK)
 Zatchej Leopold, ppor. (LZK)
 Zatchej Walerian, ppor. sap. (LZK)
 Zatoński Konstanty, ppor. piech. (LZK)
 Zatoński Stanisław, w mundurze, karta szczep. 427, części ko-perty z nadawcą: Zatoński Zygmunt, Wolonin obok Wąrszawy (AM 2778)
 Zawadowicz Władysław, por. (LZS-K)
 Zawadzki Józef, w mundurze, wizytówki, 2 pisma (AM 3538), ppor. art. (LZK)
 Zawadzki Marian, kpt., 1879, s. Walentego (LZK), — Zwadz-tówka, — kpt., lotnik, dowód osob., wizytówki, 2 pisma służb., pocztówka, okulary, medalik (AM 740)
 Zawadzki Stanisław, 2 listy, 4 pocztówki z nadawcą: Zofia Zawadzka, Warszawa, ul. Zielna 7, ks. do modl. (AM 823)
 Zawadzki Stanisław, 1903, s. Aleksandra i Stanisławy (LZK)
 Zawadzki Stanisław, por., 1904, s. Ludwika i Anny (LZK)
 Zawadzki Tadeusz, pchor. art., 1916, 5 Baon, Wilno (LZK)
 Zawadzki Teofil, oficer, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob. (AM 3075), Zawadzki Wacław, ppor. (LZK)
 Zawasiński Jerzy, ppor. (LZK)
 Zawodziński Tadeusz, w mundurze, list, pocztówka z nadaw-cą: Stefania Zawodzińska, poczta Piaseczno (AM 3379), por. lek., docent Uniw. (LZK), dr. ur. 26.6.96 (ROR. 34 str. 223)
 Zaworotnik Jerzy, ppor. rez. piech. (LZK), — Jur — w mun-

durze, zam. Lwów, ul. Henninga 19, listy i pocztówki, notatnik (AM 3875)

Zawrotnik Stefan, ppor. piech. rez. (LZK)

Zaworski mjr kaw. (LZK)

Zawrzet Leon Benedykt, — Zabrzeż — kpt. (LZK), — ur. 18.5.99 (RO. 32 str. 200)

Zbiłowski Jan Komuś, w mundurze, architekt z Poznania. dowód osob., leg. urz. (AM 4069)

Zborowski Władysław, — Zworowski — por., ur. 1.4.06 w Poznaniu, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, okulary (AM 2986), — ur. 4.1.06 (ROR. 34 str. 161)

Zborowski Zdzisław Stefan, ppor., ofic. ks., pocztówka, listy, różaniec (AM 1562), por. art. (LZK)

Zbroja Zygmunt, 77 pp. (LZK)

Zbyszewski ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zbytowski ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zdanowicz Władysław, por., 2 leg. ofic., leg. urz. (AM 3388)

Zdanowski mjr art. (LZK)

Zdanowski Henryk, por., list, pocztówka, fotografia, hańc. (AM 1772), por., 1907, s. Henryka i Julii, 25 p. ul. (LZK)

Zdeb Marcin, por., wizytówka, leg. cz. strzelecka, 2 listy (AM 2364), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zińczewski Roman Józef, znak tożs. z napisem: Bochnia 1910, koperta, wizytówka (AM 163), kpt. KOP. (LZK)

Zdroja ofic. lek. (LZK)

Zduńkiewicz Jerzy, oficer, dr med., asyst. Uniw. Warsz., ur. 23.8.03, zam. Warszawa, ul. Grochowska 138 m. 4, ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urz., znak tożs., wizytówki, recepty in blanco z adresem, list, pocztówka (AM 1754), por. lek. (LZK)

Zdzieborski Franciszek, oficer (LZK)

Zdzieborski Wacław, kpt. (LZK)

Zdzitowiec Bolesław, w mundurze, zaśw. na nazwisko Zdzitowiec Bolesław, różne kwity, pocztówka (AM 1117), nierozpoz. nane zwłoki, w mundurze, leg. na nazwisko Zdzitowiec Bolesław (WO 1008 str. 14)

Zecer Zygmunt, ppor. art. (LZK)

Zegadło Jan, w mundurze, leg. ofic. rez. (nieczytelna), lista z nazwiskami, karta szcep., notatnik (AM 3856)

Zelba Feliks Józef, ppor., leg., ur. 17.2.911, leg. ofic. rez., karta cz. ZOR., fotografie, pismo Szpit. Woł. (AM 3873)

Zelski kpt. br. panc. (LZK)

Zeman Rudolf, ppor., ur. 1.10.98, ks. oszcz. PKO, 3 listy, 2 odznaki pułkowe, różaniec (AM 3362), ppor. (LZK)

Zemanek kpt. (LZK)

Zembik kpt. (LZK)

Zembowicz Władysław, por. (LZK-S)

Zembruski Konrad, plk., leg. Virtuti Militari, pocztówka z Czerw. Krzyża, telegram w jęz. ros., cwikier, odznaka Piłsudskiego (AM 1444), plk. dypl. kaw. (LZK)

Zemler Hugo, mjr P.P. (LZK)

Zemojtel Leopold, — Zomojtel — w mundurze, ofic. ks., 3 pisma Banku Polskiego (AM 936), (WO 902 str. 12), Zemojtel — ppor. art. (LZK)

Zenkner Jan, ppłk. lek. wet. (LZS-K)

Zennerman Józef, ppor., ur. 30.7.93 w Krakowie, zam. Lublin, 2 ks. oszcz. PKO., leg. urz., dowód osob., metryka urodz., karta szcep., wizytówki, list, złoty hańc. do zegarka (AM 3120)

Zensielewicz w mundurze, część pocztówki (AM 2735), nierozpoznany wojskowy, znaleziono skrawek koperty (WO 2735 str. 50)

Zerbe Franciszek, kpt. z Poznania, znak tożs., 3 pocztówki, list w jęz. niem., medalik (AM 1100), (WO 997 str. 14), — (bez imienia), dr por. (LZK)

Zerwiak Jan, ppor., dowód osob. (nieczytelny) (AM 3564)

Zeydo Wł., dr med. (LZK)

Zygielski Roman Józef, w mundurze, leg. urz., karta szcep., skiego z Nieswieża, ul. Rudawska 4 (WO 2437 str. 41)

Zichacki Władysław, ppor., leg. urz., leg. ofic. rez., karta tramw. (AM 3952)

Zieljewski Stanisław, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zielenkiewicz Bolesław, por. piech. (LZK),... (imienia nie odczytano) — (WO 1339 str. 45)

Zielinski ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zielinski Antoni, kpt., 1896, DOK. (LZK), ppor., karta szcep., rozkaz wyjazdu, — Zielinski (AM 2674), Zielinski — (WO 2674 str. 49)

Zielinski Czesław Stefan, ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 3801), por. rez. lek. 1903, Ubezp. Społ. (LZK)

Zielinski Franciszek, ppor. dr (LZK-S)

Zielinski Marcin, w mundurze, 2 karty cz. Zw. Lek., karta szcep., wizytówka na nazwisko: prof. dr Zielinski Marcin (AM 3903), kpt. rez. lek. (LZK)

Zielinski Piotr, kpt. art. ciężk. (LZK)

Zielinski Rudolf, oficer, 2 pocztówki, notatnik, odznaka ofic. rez. (AM 1749)

Zielinski Stanisław, mjr, ofic. leg., odznaka pułkowa, 2 listy, pocztówka, fotografia, 3 monogramy ZS., świnka szczęcia, cwikier (AM 800)

Zielinski Tadeusz, kpt., kwit. Urz. Starb. (AM 1591), kwit. Urz. Starb. w Jarostawiu (WO 1591), kpt. rez. art. (LZK)

Zielinski Zygmunt, mjr, 1893, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZK)

* Ziemia kpt. (LZK)

* Ziemia Władysław, w mundurze, prawo jazdy, 3 pocztówki (AM 4010)

Ziemia Zygmunt, w mundurze, pocztówka, list (AM 1778) list z nadawcą z Krakowa, ul. Siemiradzkiego 20a m. 7. (WO 1778 str. 25)

Ziemiński Marian, kpt. zaw. san. (LZK-S)

Ziemiński Stanisław, ppor., pismo służb. z pułku ul., prawo jazdy, karta szcep. (AM 3315)

Ziemiński Ignacy, oficer, leg. szk., notatnik, 2 pocztówki, krzyżyk, medalik (AM 1276), Ziemia — (WO 1111 str. 16), (bez imienia) — por. piech. (LZK)

Ziemiński Józef, por. rez. (LZK)

Ziemski Józef, ppor., karta szcep., odcinek poczt., różaniec (AM 2576)

Zienkiewicz Jan, por. dr. ur. 25.9.97, zam. Wilno, ofic. ks., odznaka Sek. Sanit., notatnik, fotografia, karta szcep. 3960, wizytówki (AM 1304), Sienkiewicz (WO 1304 str. 16), Zienkiewicz — por. lek. (LZK)

Zięcina Józef, w mundurze, pocztówka, kalend. kiesz., koper ta z nadawcą: Zięcina Natalia, Warszawa, Gołędzinów, ul. Gersona 40 (AM 2630)

Ziętalski Lucjan Michał, ppor., ks. ubezp. społ., leg. ofic. rez., pismo, karta czł. Zw. Aptek. (AM 3625), (bez imienia), ppor. apt. (LZK)

Ziętek Wincenty, w mundurze, leg., karta szcep., znak tożs. (AM 3808)

Zimodro Stanisław, w mundurze, 3 listy z nadawcą: Stanisław Zimodro, lwieniec, pow. Wołowski (AM 530), — Zimodrach — ppor. (LZK)

Zimpel Franciszek, por., ur. w styczniu 94, leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2446)

Ziółkowski Jan Leon, ksiądz, kapelan polowy w stopniu mjr., wizytówka, leg. odznaki KOP., 2 modlitewniki, 2 fotografie, papiernica z drzewa, różaniec, 2 łańc. na szyję (AM 487), ks. mjr. kapelan (LZK)

Ziółkowski Jan, ppor., leg. odznaczk., leg. ZOR., modlitewnik, list, fotografie, zapalniczka (AM 2311), ppor. 8 p.a.l. (WO 2311 str. 38)

Ziółkowski Jerzy, ppor. lot. (LZK)

Ziółkowski Władysław, por. (LZK)

Znajdowski Wacław, kpt. (LZK)

Zodrow Maksymilian, kpt., ur. 16.6.83, leg. ofic., karta mob. wizytówki, medal 10-lecia st. wojsk., różaniec, okulary, odznaka pamiątk., łańc. do zegarka (AM 760), — Zedrow (WO str. 11), Zodrow — kpt. (LZK)

Znajdowski Wacław, w mundurze, pismo handlowe (AM 2795)

Zolanowicz ppor. (LZK)

Zrinczak Jan, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki z Węgier (nieczytelne) (AM 1748), Zrinczak lub Trinczak — (WO 1748 str. 45), ppor. (LZK)

Zubierbier Dyonizy, por. lek. (LZK)

Zubik Heliodor Henryk, w mundurze, ur. 3.7.12 w Mordach, dowód osob., odznaka pułkowa, karta szcep. 818, mały kal. kiesz. z notatkami (AM 1283), Zabik, ur. w Mielcu (WO 1115 str. 16)

Zubrzycki Leon Ludomir, ppłk., 3 różne leg., karta na broń, karta meldunk., odznaka pułkowa (AM 1842), (bez imienia), ppłk. dypl. piech., st. sp. (LZK)

Zuch Władysław Kazimierz, kpt., Kalisz, ul. Łódzka 29, prawo jazdy, przepustka, 2 pisma Kasy Chorych, dowód osob. (AM 949), (WO 912 str. 12)

Zuchowski Ludwik, Zuckowski — ppor., leg. ofic. rez. (AM 2670), — ur. 7.10.99 (ROR. 34 str. 51)

Zachowski Zygmunt, por., znak tożs., ur. 22.11.02, leg. ofic. rez., karta mob., 2 zaśw. (AM 3997)

Zusman Zygmunt, cywilny, dowód osob., kwit depoz. z Wę-

zenia Lwowskiego, pocztówka, wizytówka, papierosnica (AM 2153)

Zusman Edward, (LZK)

Zwierkowski Łukasz, mjr. rachunek, wizytówki, notesik (AM 3)

Zwierczowski Roman, w mundurze, karta szcep. 561, pocztówka, leg. urz. państw., pugłares z monogramem PWK 1929, bielizna ze znakiem 2 B-9/390, zapalniczka (AM 835)

Zwikelson por. lek. (LZK)

Zwojszczyk Stanisław, kpt., 2 listy, odznaka pułkowa (AM 1324), Zwojszczyk — (WO 1324 str. 16), Zwojszczyk — kpt. st. (LZK)

Zwykielski Maurycy, — Zwikieński. (bez imienia), kpt. lek. (LZK), — dr. ur. 27.10.83 (ROR. 34 str. 217)

Zybelski Józef, dr med., Brześć n/B., ul. 3-go Maja 35 m. 2, dowód osob., dyplom doktorski, pismo urzędowe, wizytówka znak tożs., naramiennik bez oznak (AM 333), — por. lek. (LZK)

Zybelski Józef, ppor. art. (LZK)

Zybelski Zbigniew, dr. ppor. (LZK)

Zych kpt. art. (LZK)

Zydel Franciszek, — Sydel — w mundurze, 5 pocztówek z nadawcą: Irena Sydel, Wilno, ul. Piewna 5, 2 listy, notatnik (AM 940), Zydel — ul. Piłna 6 (WO 905 str. 12), — ppor. (LZK)

Zymcha Roch, ppor. lek., leg. ofic., telegram (AM 3738)

Zyśko Adam, — Zysko — ppor., ur. 1909, ofic. ks., pocztówka (AM 879), Zyśko — (LZK), Zyśko (bez imienia), 6 p.a.c. (LZS)

Zaboklicki Stanisław Julian, kpt. p.a.c. (LZK)

Zak Jan, kpt., karta szcep. 958, kwit depoz., fotografia z napisami, monogram (AM 2231), syn Jana (WO 2231 str. 36), kpt. art. (LZK)

Zarczyński Jan, ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zarnowski strzelec z cenzusem (LZK)

Zarski mjr br. panc. (LZK)

Zbikowski Stefan, ppor., leg. odznaczk., pismo, list (AM 3639), por., s. Jana i Józefa (LZK)

Zebrowski por. (LZK)

Zebrowski Aleksander, kpt., ur. 27.2.93, zam. Łódź, ul. Sztetlinga 18, dowód osob., metryka ślubu, 2 listy, świad. przynal. państw. (AM 1793)

Zebrowski Władysław, ppłk. st. sp. (LZK)

Zegestowski Władysław, inż., ppor., leg. ofic. rez., prawo jazdy, karta na broń, przepustka, listy, fotografia dzieci, medalik w złocie, różaniec własnej roboty (AM 2888), Zelewski (WO 2888 str. 54)

Zelazowski Stefan, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, list (AM 2354), ppor. (LZK)

Zelazowski Kazimierz, ppłk., srebrna papierosnica z proporcjami wszystkich pułków Bryg. Kaw. (rel. kpt. Kl. i ppłk. M.), (bez imienia) ppłk. (LZK)

Zgoll Henryk, ppor., zam. Katowice, leg. urz., pocztówka, karta szcep. (AM 2594)

NAZWISKA JEŃCÓW, KTÓRZY FIGURUJĄ W WYKAZIE
STAROBIELSKA WOBEC ODPOWIEDNIEJ ADNOTACJI, DO-
KONANEJ NA LIŚCIE BIURA OPIEKI NAD RODZINAMI
WOJSKOWYMI DOWÓDZTWA POLSKICH SIŁ ZBROJNYCH
W ZSRB:

Aleksandrowicz Antoni, ksiądz, major (LZS-K)
Arkie Kazimierz Marian, ppor. piech., mr., syn Bolesława
i Marii (LZS-K)

Barszcwski Franciszek, kpt., 1908, s. Stanisława, Stolpce
(LZS-K)

Bąkowski - Jaxa Jerzy, por. rez., syn Gustawa i Marii, Tczew
(LZS-K)

Bielec Józef, por. rez. (LZS-K)

Bielewicz Witold, por. st. st. (LZS-K)

Boehm Edward, ppor. (LZS-K)

Byra Jan, kpt. (LZS-K)

Chądzyński Bronisław, por. rez. lat 43 (LZS-K)

Chmielewski Kazimierz, rtm., (LZS-K)

Chmielewski Marian, rtm. (LZS-K)

Czajkowski Zenon, ppor. (LZS-K)

Czeremski Stanisław, kpt. (LZS-K)

Czeremski Edward, ppor., 1912, 70 pp. (LZS-K)

Dembinski, ppor. art. (LZS-K)

OPIS NIEROZPOZNANYCH ZWŁOK KATYŃSKICH

AM 111. — list, kalendarzyk kieszonkowy dla lekarzy, ska-
tulka drewniana, szczyrtek w etui (Boleńawicz Marian ppik.)

AM 121. — WO str. 4. — notatnik zapisany do 22. marca
1940. wybiła fotografia z datą 4.IV. 1940

AM 252. — kapitan, receptis telegramu: Wilno, Dobrowolska —
ze stemplem: Kozielek 12.3.40.

AM 435. — w mundurze, bez odznaka, kartka z apteki Korski
w Kowo, ul. 3. Maja 96 — tel. 42.

AM 437. W, ppor., Lwów, karta reje-
str na samochód Nr 43191 „dwie obligacje 5% Pożyczki Państw.
z r. 1924, każda nom. wart. 50 zł., (Nra 3194977, 3194978), 13
fotografii, 2 złote monety 10-cio koronowe.

AM 488. — kapitan, medalik - pamiątka pierwszej Komunii
św. 1.7.12. karta szcep. 1679, kartka z adresem: Ostrowice, Żu-
towska 23a.

AM 552. — w mundurze, karta szcep. 2487, fotografie chłop-
czyka około 3-letniego na koniu oraz na wielbłądzie.

AM 566. — WO str. 8. — w mundurze, oficer, karta z imiona-
mi jego dzieci: Zosia, Maryś, Boguś, — medalik.

AM 575. — WO str. 8. — oficer, monogram JS., list z Łodzi
z daty 3.2.40 (lub 3.1.40), 3 fotografie, ks. wojsk., medalik, spinki.

AM 588. — porucznik, list w jęz. niem.: „Stasiku!“
1940 „Drogi Panie Stasiku!“ list w jęz. polskim: „Stasiku!“

AM 630. — kapitan, antoni, kalend. kiesz., w nim
notatka: „wyjazd z Putiwele 1. listopada 1939 — przybycie do

Zmijewski Tadeusz, Zmiejewski — ppor., pocztówki (AM
3194), — ppor., 1915, s. Bronisława i Anieli (LZK)

Zmudziński Leopold, w mundurze, wizytówka, 3 pocztówki.
list (AM 3312), ur. 1899, por. art., Lwów (LZK)

Zochowski Edmund, por., ur. 1898, zam. Piekary, Szkoła
Powsz. 6, karta mob., leg. urz., karta czł., list (AM 4001)

Zoładkiewicz Edward, pchor. (LZK)

Zoładkiewicz Michał, pchor. (LZK)

Zołędziowski Bolesław, Zaledziowski — w mundurze, karta
szcep., fotografia (AM 3910)

Zołnierowicz Józef, ppor., apt., karta mob. (AM 3339), (bez
imienia), ppor. (LZS)

Zołobinski Adam, kpt. (LZK)

Zółtowski Jerzy, por. sap., 1902, s. Michała i Józefiny (LZK)

Zółtowski Marcell, por. kaw. (LZK), por., zam. Głuchów p.
Czemplin, część ofic. ks., wizytó /ka, leg. Virtuti Militari (AM
1142) (WO 1025 str. 14)

Zółtowski Marian Andrzej, ppor. kaw. (LZK)

Zółtowski Stefan, ur. 13.3.02 w Kargowo, ppor., ks. ofic. (AM
130), por. kaw. (LZK)

Zółtowski Władysław, w mundurze, ur. 9.4.910, album fotogr.,
wizytówki, dowód osob., prawo jazdy, medalik z łańc. (AM 3889)

Zubrowski Wacław, w mundurze, pocztówka z nadawcą: Zub-
rowska Zofia, Czestochowa, ul. Narutowicza 36, metryka urodz.
dziecka, karty meld., kwit. kasowy, medalik z łańc. (AM 3675)

Zuchowicz Józef, — Zuchobicz — por., pismo MSWojsk., leg.
ofic. (AM 3884)

Zuchowski, por. lek. (LZK)

Zuk Henryk, w mundurze, urz. kontr. Minist. Komunik., leg.
urzęd. państw. plakietka z Matką Boską (AM 784), żuk lub żak
(WO str. 11)

Zuk Jan, kpt. art. (LZK)

Zukowski Ryszard, por. (LZK)

Zulawski Kazimierz, ppor., zam. Warszawa, ul. Kopernika 30,
leg. ofic. rez., telegram, pocztówka, karta szcep., zaśw., wizy-
tówka (AM 3165), ppor. rez., 1901, s. Ludwika i Jadwigi (LZK)

Zurakowski Stanisław, w mundurze, pocztówka, obrazek świę-
ty (AM 1266), Zubrakowski — (WO str. 16), ppor. art. (LZK)

Zuralski Tadeusz, w mundurze, znak toż., koperta, medalik
(AM 676), Góralski (?), (WO str. 10), Żuralski (bez imienia),
por. dr (LZK-O) docent ginekologii z Poznania

Zurawieński Jan, ppor. rez., karta mob., karta szcep. 2 listy
od matki, spinka do mankieta (AM 893), (WO 875 str. 12)

Zuromiński Marian, ur. 3.4.10 w Tarnowie, dowód osob. (nie-
czytelny), świad., metryka urodz., naramiennik bez oznak (AM
287)

Zyczynski Henryk, ppor., prof., leg. urz., 2 pisma wojskowe.
przepustka, pocztówka (AM 2797), ppor. rez. (LZK)

Zyła Wilhelm, ppor. piech. (LZK), w mundurze, pocztówki,
list (AM 3097)

Zyromski Julian, mjr lek. (LZK)

Zywiecki Ryszard, (LZK)

Kozielecki 3. listopada 1939", wyblakła fotografia z napisem: "Panu Towoli, aby się Tobie nie nudziło, 5.1. . . . (?)". 2 medaliki, 2 święte obrazki, modlitwa.

AM 692. — WO str. 9. — . . . ksik, mjr, st. kier. Referatu, nauczyciel, dowód ofic. Nr 8/39, karta szcep. 1812.

AM 711. — major, złoty pierścień z onyksem, na nim wygrawerowany herb.

AM 716. — w mundurze, pugłares z monogramem EM, cygarniczka z wytłum napisem: "Kozielecki — 1940 — EM", okulary, papierosnica blaszana.

AM 742. — WO str. 10. — podporucznik, Warszawa, Nowy Świat 12 lub 72 m. 25, ks. ofic., odznaka piechoty.

AM 748. — WO str. 10. — R. . . . biewski, kpt., pocztówki z nadawcą Porębski, Warszawa, ul. 3 Maja 14 m. 1a — u Kozłowskiego (wzgl. Kłosowskiego), dzienniczek.

AM 774. — WO str. 11. — w mundurze, wyblakła fotografia z dedykacją: "Kochanemu Siasiovi (wzgl. Jasiovi) — żona i córka Krysi".

AM 810. — kapitan, pólowa pocztówki z nadawcą: kowska Michalina, Baranowice, ul. Markowa", stała karta od kina "Teatr Apollo", rzeźbione wieczko: "Kozielecki", medalik z łańc.

AM 825. — kapitan, 5 figurek — (słonie).

WO 830 str. 20. — list od żony, zaczynający się od słów: "Kochany Władku! . . ." (w tekście listu adres: Teodozja Schneider, Warszawa, ul. Sowie 3/81).

AM 831. — WO 831 str. 11. — w mundurze, koperta ze stemplem: Piotrów 3.1.40.

AM 896 — WO 878 str. 12. — podporucznik, telegram od pani Wrabłowska (wzgl. od Wróblewskiej), 2 listy.

AM 903. — WO 883 str. 12. — podporucznik, pugłares z monogramem, fotografia z dedykacją: "Kochanemu Koledze — Władek — Kozielecki 7.12. 39".

AM 906 — WO 886 str. 12. — w mundurze, obrączka ślubna 8.8.33, notatnik.

AM 918. — kapitan, odcinki pocztowe ze stemplem: Bochnia 5.5.39, notatnik.

AM 908. — WO 887 str. 12. — podporucznik, wyblakła fotografia z dedykacją: "Dubno — 5.7. — Tęsknię — Marysia" ("Toskoar — Marysia").

AM 925. — puste metalowe pudełko na papierosy z napisem Wasilewska Antonina, Kopryń, Polna 31. — Kobryń (WO 896 str. 12)

AM 926. — podporucznik, 4 kwity z adresem: ul. Emil Plazer 101, lusterko kieszonkowe.

WO 933 str. 13. — kapitan, papierosnica z grawurą: "Lida", wyblakła fotografia, moneta pamiątkowa z datą 1813 - 1913, medalion na łańcuszku.

AM 937. — w mundurze, notatnik z adresami, pugłares z monogramem E.P., pilniczek do poznaki, talizman.

WO 937 str. 19. — los Nr 29397 — 3-ciej klasy Loterii Państw. z roku 1939 nabyty w kolekturze Langiera w Warszawie, ul. Marszałkowska 121.

WO 980 str. 20. — podporucznik, 2 medaliki, 4 recepty z nazwiskiem Leonard Silewicz.

AM 989. — WO 939 str. 13. — w mundurze, los loteryjny Nr 8782 z kolektury Wolańskiego w Warszawie, odcinek poczt. ze stemplem 3.9.39 na nazwisko Jądawga Augustynowicz, Warszawa, karta z adresem: Jania , Warszawa, Podwale 20 m. 7 karta szcep 1718.

AM 1022. — w mundurze, 15 rubli w złocie, 3 małe złote monety arabskie, rosyjska pamiątkowa moneta 300-lecia domu Romanowych, 2 polskie monety pamiątkowe.

AM 1029. — podporucznik, list z 3.10.39, gazeta z 12.2., (medalik z łańc.

AM 1034. — podporucznik, odcinki poczt. na nazwisko Baranowska Teodora, papierosnica, notatnik.

AM 1045. — WO 965 str. 13. — kapitan, recepta z firmą Apteki Szczesniejszej A., Krasnystaw, tel 47, wyblakła fotografia z adresem: Warszawa, inż. Mzak (Mazak), Saska Kępa, ul. Walecznych 46.

AM 1047. — kapitan, notatnik, polska gazeta z 1.4.40.

WO 1047 str. 45. — kapitan, adres na kartce wśród notatek: Szulczyński, Poznań — Nowe Miasto, Koenigsplatz 3.

AM 1053. — WO 970 str. 13. — w mundurze, wyblakła fotografia z dedykacją: "Mojej kochanej Marii z czasów młodości".

AM 1075. — WO 981 str. 14. — podporucznik, srebrna papie rośnica z monogramem IB — 9.8.36 (IR. — 2.8.36), różne fotografie, odznaka pchor. kaw., drewniany krzyżyk.

AM 1091. — WO 989 str. 14, w mundurze, medalion w kształcie serca z napisem: Jancec Lucjan 26.6.15.

AM 1097. — WO 994 str. 14. — w mundurze, onek 16. zef, ur. 3.6.1909 w Wilnie, ofic. ks., s. Bronisława i Malwiny, karta szcep., 2 pocztówki.

AM 1125. — w mundurze, srebrna papierosnica, list: Wrocław, 16.8. . . . (?), mały kalendarz, kieszonkowy.

AM 1159. — kapitan, wizytówka: Zakrzewska Lucyna, papierosnica z monogramem CJ (vide WO 1034 str. 14. — Ornatowski Stanisław, ppor.).

AM 1175. — WO 1045 str. 15. — porucznik, recepta dla p. Budzińskiego, różne zapisane kartki, część pocztówki, 4 medaliki, karta szcep. 3114.

AM 1180. — WO 1050 str. 15. — w mundurze, koperta z nadawcą: Porawa Helena, majątek Kursztyn pod Tazewem, złoty zab (wzgl. Proza?), maj. Bursztyn).

AM 1188. — w mundurze pocztówka z nazwiskiem: Leszys Jerzy, fotografie.

AM 1249. — WO 1100 str. 15. — podporucznik, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Bogdziejewiczowa Eugenia, notatnik z adresami, karta szcepienia.

AM 1262. — list z Strasburga z daty 16.1.40, recepta dra Bardacha z Kryniczy (tel. 369) z daty 18.2.937, 2 medaliki.

AM 1264. — WO 1106 str. 16. — w mundurze, list, część koperty z nadawcą: Idaszewski, Schrimm, Warthegau, ul. Wartheufer 1.

AM 1685. — WO str. 22. — mundurze, karta szcep. 3196, list od żony, wiersz podpisany przez płk. Halacinskiego, karykaty ołówkowe z napisem „Kozielsk — marzec 1940”, 2 medale.

AM 1699. — WO str. 23. — w mundurze, wizytówka na nazwisko: Wodzinowska Irka, ks. do modl., medalik z łańca, druga wizytówka z adresem Puławy — Rólna, Rynek.

AM 1708. — WO str. 23. — w mundurze, wyblakłe fotografie dwie z napisami: 1) „Niech Cię Bóg strzeże — kochająca Cię Stacha”, 2) „Kochanemu Rodzicowi pamiątka pobytu Toruń 8... — kochająca Lolek”, medalik z łańca.

AM 1719. — WO str. 23. — podporucznik, fotografie, pocztówka, wieczne pióro, wyblakła fotografia z napisem: „Irena i Leonard Stajmanowie — 26.12.38”.

AM 1756. — WO str. 24. — w mundurze, karta szcep. 3196, poczt., wizytówka, a nazwisko: Oeconomides Ernst, Dresden A. 19, Augsburgstr. 57., (wzgl. Jean Oeconomides).

AM 1838. — WO str. 26. — w mundurze, list częściowo nieczytelny, z daty 9.1.40., rozpoczynający się od słów: „Kochany Juleczku!... — w dalszej treści: ...mimo że ja do Sobkowa wróciłam po trzech dniach ... — dalej: ... „Garnisier wiesz nie uciekał, Kabuczyński jest na Węgrzech ...”, notatnik z zapiskami.

AM 1860. — WO str. 27. — w mundurze, wizytówka: dr med. Witold Kępiński (wzgl. Kempinski), Warszawa, Senatorska 24, wizytówka: Stefania i Stanisław Gutowsky, fotografie, karta szcep.

AM 1861. — WO str. 27. — major, pocztówka z nadawcą: Z. Lalocka (wzgl. Z. Łotocka), Warszawa 32, ul. Gdańska 2 m. 25, list.

AM 1867. — WO str. 27. — w mundurze, kalendarz - notatnik, karta z adresem: Toruń, Wielkie Garbary Nr 17 m. 1.

AM 1936. — WO str. 28. — cywilny, list z Krakowa z 28.12.39, podpisany: Wera z dziećmi, szkapierz i medalik.

AM 1979. — WO str. 29. — major, leg. ofic. MSWojsk., (nieczytelna), karta z zapiskami. list z Gniezna datowany 21.7.1939: „Drogi nasz Bolku!”.

AM 1980. — kapitan, medalik z łańca, pierścioneł na pamiątkę 15-lecia ślubu, notatnik.

AM 2005. — WO str. 30. — w mundurze, karta z adresem: Wanda Wiesłyowna (wzgl. Wirszyłowa), Warszawa, Saska Kęka, ul. Walecznych 25 m. 9.

AM 2016. — WO str. 30. — w mundurze, zniszczone fotografie z podobizną kobiety, z napisem: „Niech Cię Bóg ma w Swojej Opiece”, dwie wizytówki: 1) Stefan Popowicz, sędzia śledczy, Warszawa pl. Henkła 4/2, tel. 126.532, 2) Józef Spalony.

AM 2056. — WO str. 32. — w mundurze, notatnik, fotografie, rysunek - projekt ubikacji do sali w Sanikowicach z nieczytelnym podpisem „a dalej adres: Poznań, ul. Krzyżowa 3.

AM 2093. — WO str. 32. — cywilny, 2 kwity poczt., odcinek pocztowy z nadawcą: Kamila Dorn, Ostrów, Zach. Ukraina.

AM 2142. — WO str. 33. — podporucznik, notes, listy, minia.

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AM 1281. — podporucznik, karta z nazwiskiem por. Warke — „Proszę dla por. Warke przynieść jedną porcję z kuchni” — 28.10.39”, notatnik.

AM 1349. — WO 1349 str. 17. — w mundurze, papieróznica z grawurą: 28.9.39 — Tarnograd”, cygarnicza z wyciętym: „Kozielsk — 1940 — AP.”, medalik.

AM 1370. — WO 1370 str. 17. — podporucznik, list z Rawicza z 30.1.40. podpis: Piasecki Czesław (wzgl. Ila . . . eski (?) Czesław).

AM 1423. — WO 1423 str. 18. — podporucznik, część koperty, imię Edward, syn Feliksa, obrazek Dzieciątka Jezus, 2 zapiskane kartki.

AM 1425. — WO 1425 str. 18. — podporucznik, karta szcep. 761, rzeźbione wieszko, karta z adresem: Helena Kieszowska, Warszawa, ul. Marii Konopnickiej 5 m. 2 (tel. 869-20).

AM 1430. — WO str. 18. — porucznik, plakieta z napisem „Bartkowi — Jasiek, Kraków, 24.3.39”.

AM 1436. WO — str. 18. — podporucznik, wyblakła fotografia z napisem: Malerzyk (wzgl. „Amlezy”(?!), plakieta z napisem: „Z okazji awansu na podporucznika — Ostrów Mazowiecka 15.10.37”.

AM 1438. — WO str. 18. — w mundurze, list 7 adresem: Na maculewicz, Warszawa, ul. Szopena 14 m. 35, plakieta z napisem: „Z racji awansu na podporucznika — Ostrów Mazowiecka — 13.10.38”.

AM 1461. — WO str. 18. — oficer rez. marynarki, pphk. (?)

AM 1492. — WO str. 19. — w mundurze, 2 legitymacje, 2 wizytówki, fotografia, notatnik, weseł z nazwiskiem Jarecki Zbigniew Jerzy, wystawca: Maria Jarecka, Warszawa, ul. Grójecka 68.

AM 1543. — WO str. 43. — major, list, karta szcep. 894, notatnik, ołówek, łańca, z medalikiem, — (nazwisko nieczytelne), Adam, mjr, list z Grodna.

AM 1561. — WO str. 44. — w mundurze, list z nadawcą: Ty waleczak, Białski, pow. Kalisz, woj. Łódzkie, 2 medaliki na łańca, 2 listy.

AM 1572. — WO str. 44. — w mundurze, nieczytelny dowód tożs. pojazdu mechan. Nr 59473, prawo jazdy, mały ryngraf z Matką Boską i napisem: „W dowód wdzięczności i pamięci ofiaruje S. Rusa”, różaniec.

AM 1600. WO str. 20. — w mundurze, karta w jęz. rosyjskim z nazwiskiem Gajewski Wiktor, zegarek ki-sz., plakieta z Matką Boską (pamiątka z Częstochowy).

AM 1606. — WO str. 21. — w mundurze, 2 części napisu na paczce z adresem i nadawcą — adres: Franciszek syn Jana, Kozielsk, nadawca: Osterode, pow. Poznań różaniec, 2 różne spinki, łańca z medalikiem, (wzgl. Osterode — Poznański Franciszek, syn Jana).

AM 1619. — WO str. 21. — w mundurze, karta szcep. 1692, 2 medaliki, karta z adresem: Motyl Józef, Poznań, ul. Polna 28 m. 4.

AM 1651. — w mundurze, rosyjska gazeta w języku polskim z 27. marca 1940, rosyjska gazeta z 1. kwietnia 1940.

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turka św. Antoniego, srebrne votum w kształcie serca, karta szczerp.

AM 2147. — WO str. 34. — porucznik, list, rachunek dla KOP. w Ostrogu za wiankę róż na 10 zł. z datą 30.8.39.

AM 2187. — WO str. 34. — w mundurze, kwit na 500 zł. z nazwiskiem Garbniak.

AM 2192. — WO str. 35. — cywilny, chusteczka z monogramem haftowanym MJ.

AM 2197. — WO str. 35. — w mundurze, portmonetka z monogramem SS.

AM 2215. — WO str. 35. — kapitan, 2 kwity na nazwisko Buhaard, rachunek z 1.9.39 sklepu farb J. Wierzbicka, Wilno, Świętojańska 1, dla I. Komp.

AM 2217. — WO str. 35. — w mundurze, medal cywilny francuski, kalendarzyk z notatką: Nr tel. Henia Frankowskiego 65-58, karta z adresami, między innymi: Michał Nakiel, Lublin, ... Nr 3/5, medalik.

AM 2284. — WO str. 37. — w mundurze, list z dnia 23.1.40 treści: "Zbichurka najdroższy! Nareszcie z listu do probošcza mamy trochę wiadomości o Tobie", — dalej: "... Mieszkamy w Nowym Dworze, w dawnym mieszkaniu Kubarów nad piekarnią (ul. Przyrynek 9/10), — podpis: Gromadka - Bronka, Hania, Witek, Zbyszek", modlitewnik z notatkami.

AM 2302. — WO str. 37. — w mundurze, wizytówka z nazwiskiem: Dorok Firlej - Bielińska (wzgl. Dorota Firlej, Bielińska (?), nieczytelna karta szczerp. w Kozielsku.

AM 2324. — WO str. 38. — w mundurze, karta z adresami: 1) Stanisław Pogorzelski, wieś Kwiatków, poczta Kampinów, pow. Sochaczew, woj. Warszawskie, zięć por. Zielińskiego, 2) H. Babińska, Warszawa, ul. Marszałkowska 119/2, — kalendarzyk.

AM 2334. — WO str. 38. — kapitan, fotografia rodzinna (kobieta z dzieckiem), plakieta z napisem: "Oficerowi 8. DAPL" kartki z notatkami.

AM 2340. — WO str. 39. — w mundurze, karta szczerp., 2 podówki z dewizki do zegarka, proporczyk emaliowany.

AM 2341. — WO str. 39. — w mundurze, zastępcy bilon na 1 zł. wydany przez Spółdzielnię 13. Dyw. Artyl. Konnej, Kamionka Strum.

AM 2373. — WO str. 39. — w mundurze, notatnik — w nim karta z nazwiskiem: ppor. Władysław Kraciuk (Krąciuk).

AM 2384. — WO str. 40. — w mundurze, wizytówka z nazwiskiem Bogdan Sobiesiński, notatnik, list z 16.1.40 z Witaszyc, zawierający się od słów: "Tańczu kochany!..."

AM 2390. — WO str. 40. — podporucznik, dwie wizytówki: 1) Kazimierz Zapółowski, 2) Antoni Kornecki, fotografia, medalik, karta szczerp.

AM 2392. — WO str. 40. — w mundurze, ręcznie wykonana mapa, kalendarzyk własnej roboty zapisany do 23. kwietnia 1940.

AM 2424. — WO str. 41. — podporucznik, gwizdek w formie trupiej głowy na łańcuszku.

AM 2427. — WO str. 41. — ... chlewicz Jan, w mundurze, oficer rezerwy, leg. urzęd., (p. o. kier. Publ. Szkoły Powsz.

w Głowczynie, gm. Błędów, pow. Grójec — lotatka ołówkiem na odwrotnej stronie fotografii z legitymacji).

AM 2439. — WO str. 41. — porucznik, wizytówka z nazwiskiem: Kosmański Zdzisław, porucznik. (patrz: Kosmański Z. — AM (WO) 2105).

AM 2444. — WO str. 41. — w mundurze, karta szczerp. recepty, na nazwisko: Stefana Sacharewicz (adres nieczytelny).

AM 2463. — WO str. 42. — w mundurze, 23 połówek znaków rozpoznawczych poległych w okresie działań wojennych we wrześniu lub październiku 1939 żołnierzy, wzgl. zmarłych w obozie sowieckim. Nazwiska podane przez prasę.

AM 2476. — WO str. 42. — w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, gazeta sowiecka z 23. kwietnia 1940 r.

AM 2492. — WO str. 42. — w mundurze, list z nadawcą: Krystkowa (Kzystkowa) z Debicy, ul. Świętosław, woj. Krakowski.

AM 2509. — WO str. 45. — w mundurze, kwit poczt. z nazwiskiem: Emilia Wątkowska, Równe, Gruntowa 13.

AM 2544. — WO str. 46. — 2 wizytówki z nazwiskiem: Zeman Rudolf, 1 zaświadczenie — (patrz Zeman R. — AM 3362).

AM 2547. — WO str. 46. — major, odznaka, plakieta, 2 fotografie, miniatura świętego z wyrytą datą 4.3.1888.

AM 2608. — WO str. 47. — w mundurze, 3 listy z Białogostku, jeden z daty 18.1.40, zaczynający się: "Kochany Felu!..." (w tekście wspomniane imiona: Stas, Leszek), podpis: Maria, — drugi z 12.12.39, zaczynający się: "Kochany Tatusiu!...", — wizytówki na nazwisko: Szczepan Cerekwicki. (patrz Drzewicki Stefan — AM 3387).

AM 2626. — WO str. 48. — podporucznik, papierosnica srebrna z monogramem KF i dedykacją wyrytą wewnątrz: "W dniu Imienin — współpracownicy — 29.1.1929", odznaka.

AM 2636. — WO str. 48. — w mundurze, różne zapiski, pocztówka, fotografia z dedykacją: "Skoń Szw. głowę... (?) ja ku Tobie się nachyle, Szeplę tylko: kochasz Duszeko, I nie więcej, tylko tyle".

AM 2661. — WO str. 49. — porucznik, leg. szkolna 8170, karta szczerp. 54, odcinek poczt. z nazwiskiem Maria Sobczukowa (Sobczukowa), przepustka wydana w Warszawie 29.3.1939 r.

AM 2784. — WO str. 51. — cywilny, 2 listy z niem. obozu jeńców z podanym adresem: Germania, Fr. Kozl., Nr 1751 — Stalag II.c. IX/19 (Kozl.).

AM 2790. — WO str. 51. — podporucznik, duży metalowy monogram SH, krzyżyk z łańc.

AM 2803. — WO str. 52. — podporucznik, 2 wizytówki na nazwisko: 1) Kowalski Kazimierz — mgr. farm., 2) Ringel Paweł — adwokat.

AM 2815. — WO str. 52. — porucznik, monogram KK, proporczyk ulański czarno-czerwony.

AM 2826. — WO str. 52. — kapitan, 2 listy w jęz. niem., prawdopodobnie z Poznania, zaczynające się: "Kochany Marianno!...", kofcujące się: "...pozdrowiamy Cię — Martę i dzieci" — lista z nazwiskami z Kozielska, 2 rysunki ołówkowe, medalik, monogram JM.

AM 2834. — WO str. 53. — w mundurze, list wnuczki do dziadka z podpisem: Dżidusia, kalend. kiesz.
 AM 2838. — WO str. 53. — w mundurze, koperta z listu z nieczytelnym nazwiskiem, kończącym się na . . .łowa, Za-mość woj. Lubelskie i do Leopolda Li . . .ner w Brodach.
 AM 2867. — WO str. 54. — w mundurze, list z Świdawca z 27.12 39, zaczynający się: „Kochany Miesiu!”
 AM 2890. — WO str. 54. — w mundurze, medalik, telegram w jęz. ros. treści: „Zdrowa mieszka Szarkowszczyzna. — Bądź spokojny — Maria”.
 AM 2895. — WO str. 54. — w mundurze, list zastawny Nr 364570 Warsz. Twa Pożyczka, oddział w Łodzi z dnia 26.5.39 na lota brzoziak 17 g. próby 3 — na 55 zł., leg. ofic. rez., 2 od-znaki wojskowe, list.
 AM 2966. — cywilny, obrączka ślubna z literami Marysia 1937, medalik.
 AM 2977. — w mundurze, odcinek poczt. z nazwiskiem Kalina Gajewska, świętany, ul. Nowa 9.
 AM 3072. — 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Solka Halina, Rember-tów, ul. 11. Listopada.
 AM 3249. — podpuccznik, wizytówka z nazwiskiem: Karof Zofia stud. U.J. (na odwrocie adresy).
 AM 3279. — porucznik, recepta z nadrukami: Dr med. Żera Edmund, Warszawa, ul. Św. Barbary 6, lańcuszek z krzyżykiem
 AM 3294. — porucznik, list z Łodzi z 24.1.40: „Kochany Jur-ku!”, krzyżyk.
 AM 3302. — w mundurze, list z Poznania: „Kochany Pol-dziul!...“ (Podziul), pocztówki — z podpisem: „Maria”.
 AM 3329. — porucznik, list z Warszawy z 5.1.40 — z podpi-sem: „Twoja Włosna”.
 AM 3361. — w mundurze, pocztówki z nadawcą: Stefania Rozdowska, Wilno, ul. Kawalerska 31 m. 1.
 AM 3409. — w mundurze, recepta in blanco z nagłówkiem: Bromberg S. dr med., Lublin, ul. Krakowska, wizytówka z naz-wiskiem: Rubniewska, Warszawa, ul. Górczewska, karta szcze-pienia.
 AM 3473. — kapitan, dwa rachunki na nazwisko Jasiułka Franciszek.
 AM 3656. — . . . oguski Henryk, syn Eugeniusza, ppor., list z nadawcą: Rosińska Krystyna, pow. Opatów, gm. Podga-jsze, 2 odznaki pułkowe.
 AM 3724. — w mundurze, kartka z adresem: Kwiatkowska Maria, Remberów, ul. Okoniewska 22 m. 9, 1 zapisana kartka.
 AM 3846. — podchorąży (choraży) — pocztówka z nadawcą: Gasowski Władysław, Tomaszów Lubelski, ul. Wyspiańskiego 16, medalik, lańcuszek do zegarka.
 AM 3851. — Kul. . . Adam, Toruń, ul. Romana Dmowskiego 23, cywilny — fotografia, notatnik.
 AM 3857. — w mundurze, kwit ubezp. od ognia na nazwisko Maria Teofila Guwacka, 2 kwity pocztowe, recepta, medalik z łańc.

AM 3895. — w mundurze, pocztówki z nadawcą Bronisława Adamkówna, list.
 AM 4008. — w mundurze, list z Warszawy z 6.3.40: „Kocha-ny Leszku!” — z podpisem: Aleksander Burchart.
 AM 4055. — porucznik, kartka z adresem: Dziedzińska Helena.
 AM 4120. — Józef, kapitan, Liebenau, ul. Zam-kowa 6, życiorys w jęz. niemieckim, 3 listy

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str. 33 Chrzanowski Edmund — dodać: (AM 3667)
str. 47 Filonowicz Jan — dodać: (LZK)
str. 62 Haslak Andrzej — dodać: (AM 4043)
str. 156 Sławiński Michał — dodać: (AM 2089), (WO 2089
str. 32)

CZĘŚĆ DRUGA

OBÓZ W OSTASZKOWIE

PART II

CAMP AT OSTASZKOW

(Nazwiska zestawione na podstawie Listy Zaginionych Jeńców z obozów rosyjskich Kozelsk, Ostaszków i Starobielsk, sporządzonej przez Biuro Opieki nad Rodzinami Wojskowymi Dowództwa Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w ZSRR., uzupełnionej dodatkowym Spisem Biura Pomocy Rodzinom Wojskowym Dowództwa Wojsk Polskich na Środkowym Wschodzie).

Adamczyk, sierż. Pol. Państw.
 Adamczyk Józef, post. P.P., ur. 1913
 Adamowski Zygmunt, kom. P.P., ur. 1897
 Adamowicz Stanisław, post. P.P.
 Adamski Wincenty, ur. 1907 (1908?)
 Aftowicz Roman, kpt. P.P.
 Aksman, ppor. P.P.
 Aleksandrow Edmund, policjant, ur. 1914
 Alencynowicz Franciszek, ppor. rez. piech., ur. 1906
 Ambicki Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Ambrozinski Bronisław, post. P.P.
 Ameljanuk Mikołaj, kapral P.P.
 Amszej Antoni, sierżant. P.P.
 Andrzejczak Kazimierz, post. P.P.
 Ankaniec Roman, policjant, ur. 1913, syn Piotra i Bronisławy, N. Świętany
 Antosik Jakub, sierż. P.P., ur. 27.6.92, s. Józefa i Marianny
 Apatto, sierż. P.P.
 Apoznański Władysław, st. post. P.P., ur. 1896
 Arabski Jan, plut. P.P.
 Arciszewski Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Arendarczyk, st. sierż.
 Atlasik Wojciech, post. P.P., ur. 1887
 Aubrecht Wacław, ur. 1894
 Augustyniak Franciszek, kapral P.P., ur. 1894
 Baczynski Stanisław, plut. P.P., ur. 1904, Bielska Wola, pow. Sarny
 Badarycz Tadeusz, st. przod. P.P., 1897, dnia 19.9.39 aresztowany w Stanisławowie, dnia 27.4.40 wywieziony z obozu
 Bągiński Jan, sierż., 1902, s. Bolesława
 Bąjwoluk Paweł

Bakman Bronisław
 Bala Kazimierz, kpt. P.P., Kowel
 Balcer Jan, por. P.P. (1905)
 Banach Alojzy, post. P.P.
 Baran Andrzej, 1903
 Barczowski Edward, policjant, 1906
 Bargiel Romuald, kpt. P.P., 1898
 Barszński Jan, st. sierż. P.P.
 Barteczka st. post. P.P., Markowce, pow. Tłumacz, woj. Stanisławów
 Bartek Franciszek, kapral P.P.
 Bartosik Albin, 1884
 Baryga Ludwik, 1916
 Batkowski plut. P.P.
 Batorski Jan, 1893, s. Leona i Marii, Wieliczka
 Bąk Józef, kapral P.P.
 Bąk Wojciech, plut. P.P.
 Bednarski Stanisław, 1896
 Bednarz Piotr, st. post. P.P., syn Jana
 Belch Julian, post. P.P.
 Beldowski Józef, (Beltowski), por., 1888
 Bendkowski Jan, funk. P.P., 1914
 Berkowski Michał, st. post. P.P.
 Berlecza post. P.P.
 Bernacki Bolesław, 1895, s. Walentego
 Bernhardt Edmund, strażn. więz. (przod.), 1896, s. Wawrzyńca
 Bernyśiak Andrzej, Pol. Państw., 1909, Sarny
 Berski Ludwik, st. post. P.P.
 Betuk kapral P.P.
 Bezek post. P.P.
 Beznosik Borys, plut.
 Bezwiński Leopold
 Białecki Józef, Pol. Państw., 1912, s. Stanisława i Rozalii
 Białkowski Jan, 1892
 Białdzki Franciszek, 1901, s. Michała i Scholastyki
 Bibiło por. P.P.
 Bidziński Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Biechonski Jerzy, mjr P.P.
 Bielak Jan, post. P.P.
 Bielecki Jan, przod. P.P.
 Bielski Bolesław, post. P.P., Bileze Złote, pow. Borszczów
 Bielsko Andrzej, plut. P.P.
 Bienkowski Józef, 1900
 Bienkowski Władysław, plut. P.P.
 Bilot Jan,
 Blaszczyk Aleksander,
 Błonski Jan,
 Bogdanow sierż.
 Bogunowicz Antoni, przod. P.P.
 Bogusz Mieczysław, kapral
 Boguszewski Wacław,
 Bohdanowicz Stanisław, podoficer P.P., 1892, Sejny

Bojanowski Stanisław, post. P.P., 1912, Ciechanów
 Bojarski Władysław, 1898
 Bomba plut. P.P.
 Bomski Julian, przod. P.P., 1900
 Borkiewicz Feliks, przod. P.P., 1898, s. Antoniego i Heleny, Kalisz
 Borkowski plut. P.P.
 Borowski kpt. P.P.
 Borysewicz Zygmunt, plut. żand., 1914
 Borysewicz sierż. P.P.
 Borzym Józef, (Bozym) 1906
 Boehm kapral
 Brajbisz Michał
 Branicki Seweryn, plut. P.P.
 Braun st. sierż. P.P.
 Broda Jan, por. P.P.
 Brosz Juliusz Zbigniew, mjr aud., mr.
 Brycki Stanisław, st. post. P.P.
 Brydak Pol. Państw.
 Bryl Wojciech, st. post. P.P.
 Bryzgański Edmund, st. post. P.P.
 Brzezicki Michał, przod. P.P.
 Brzozowski kpt. P.P.
 Brzozowski Edward, s. Bolesława i Katarzyny, 1893
 Brzozowski Józef, st. post. P.P., Bogumił
 Buczkowski Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Buczyński Józef, kapral P.P.
 Budkiewicz Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Bugno kpt. P.P.
 Bukry Stanisław, kapral P.P.
 Bulski plut. P.P.
 Burchardt Wacław, por. piech.
 Burzyński Piotr, st. post. P.P.
 Bydliński Aleksander, chorąży K.O.P., ur. 1896
 Cabniecki kpt. Str. Gran.
 Chabrowski st. post. P.P.
 Charasinski Tadeusz, plut. piech.
 Chelmecki Tadeusz, kpt.
 Chelmiecki Józef, 1911
 Chodón Jan, przod. P.P., 1897
 Chołński Franciszek
 Chojan Władysław, policjant, 1894, Cmachowo, pow. Szamotuły
 Chomankowski Bolesław, plut. P.P.
 Chruszczewski kapral P.P.
 Chuba Antoni, kapral P.P., 1915, s. Jana i Marianny, Poznań
 Chudzik plut. P.P.
 Chwiała plut. P.P.
 Chwiedzko Antoni, st. sierż. P.P.
 Chybński sierż. P.P.
 Cichon por. P.P.

Cichura Władysław, funk. P.P., 1897
 Cieplak, kapral P.P.
 Cioch, kapral P.P.
 Ciołek Wilhelm, policjant, 1912, s. Józefa i Józefa, Lwów
 Coller Józef, post. P.P., Kowel
 Cupiał Jan, (Cupiar)
 Cwakliński Bolesław, por., 1906, z Dobromila
 Cygan Michał, kom. P.P.
 Czaclia Tomasz, policjant, lat 58, syn Marcina, Podwołoczyska
 Czadek Konstanty, por. P.P.
 Czapczyk, plut. P.P.
 Czarnecki Marian, kapral P.P.
 Czarnecki Stanisław, str. więz.
 Czarnożyński Adam, mjr P.P., wywieziony indywidualnie
 w grudniu 1939 wraz z kilkoma innymi.
 Czerski Władysław
 Czerzoł Stanisław
 Czerbniak, ppor. lek.
 Czerepiński Edward, sierż. P.P.
 Czermański Roman, st. post. P.P.
 Czerniak Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Czerwinski Eugeniusz, emeryt Pol. Państw.
 Czub Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Czuryk Józef, urzędnik wojsk. Stanisławów
 Czuryk Józef, plut. pchor., 1918, s. Kazimierza i Janiny
 Czuryk Kazimierz, post. P.P.
 Czyż Franciszek, kapral rez., 1896, Puzieniewiczze
 Cwirko Florian, plut. P.P.
 Dajczak Tomasz, st. post. P.P.
 Dakowski Kazimierz, str. więz., lat 33, Wilejka
 Danczuk Władysław, komisarz P.P., 1888, s. Jana i Katarzy-
 ny, Złoczów
 Daszkiewicz Tadeusz, lat 47, syn Leona
 Dawizłowski Piotr
 Dąbrowiecki Józef, st. post. P.P., lat 54, Stołpce, woj. Nowo-
 grodzkie
 Dąbrowski Jan, st. post. P.P., 1906, Śniatyn
 Dąbrowski Stanisław, plut. K.O.P., 1905, Brańsk, pow. Wi-
 lejka
 Dedusiak Borysław, por. lek.
 Dekert Karol, post. P.P., 1889, Horodenka
 Delimata Władysław, por.
 Denika Józef, st. post. P.P., 1903, Śniatyn
 Dereczyk, plut. P.P.
 Deszczyński Stanisław, st. post. P.P., 1901, Śniatyn
 Diduch, ppor. P.P.
 Dobrodziej, st. sierż. P.P.
 Dobrowolski Antoni, sierż. P.P.
 Doczał Karol, mjr Str. Gran., z Bydgoszczy
 Dołżał Józef, funk. P.P.
 Domagała Władysław, kapral P.P.
 Domański Aleksander, mjr P.P.

Domański Antoni Stanisław, plut., Pińsk
 Domański Kazimierz, kapral P.P.
 Domański Seweryn Łukasz, policjant, 1908, s. Stanisława
 i Teofili, Chojnów
 Drecki Kazimierz, ppor., s. Józefa i Stefani, Łączność, Lublin
 Droner Józef, sierż. P.P.
 Drozdowski Marian, por. P.P.
 Druszczyk Leon, st. przod. P.P.
 Drzeń Józef, plut. P.P.
 Dubiel Aleksander
 Duch - Duniewski Ludwik, komisarz P.P.
 Duchon, plut. st. st.
 Dybkowski, plut. P.P.
 Dyduśiak Leon,
 Dynysiewicz Bronisław, st. przod. P.P., 1900, s. Józefa i Józefa
 Dyr Edmund, mjr P.P.
 Dziuba, kapral
 Dzwonkowski Kazimierz, syn Ludwika
 Eitnerk Kazimierz
 Ekeun, plut. P.P.
 Ekiert Józef, cywilny, urzędnik P.P.
 Erenfeicht Jerzy, Pol. Państw., 1912
 Faber, kapral P.P.
 Faliński Leon, Pol. Państw.
 Fedyna Filip, komendant Post. Pol. Państw.
 Feifer Marian, Pol. Państw.
 Felsenhart - Skalski Janusz, mjr P.P., wywieziony indywidual-
 nie z obozu
 Fetliński Feliks, kpt. art.
 Fijałkowski Józef, Pol. Państw., 1892
 Fijolek, kapral P.P.
 Filipek, kapral P.P.
 Firlej Franciszek, sierż. P.P.
 Flisek Józef, post. P.P.
 Frackiewicz, 1904
 Frackowiak Jan, K.O.P.
 Fraczek Józef, sierż. P.P.
 Frella, kapral P.P.
 Fronczek Stanisław, policjant, 1895, s. Juliana i Marianny
 Frydrychowski Juliusz, por. P.P.
 Frysch Józef, 1899
 Fuchs Henryk, st. przod. P.P.
 Fudel Józef, st. post. P.P.
 Fuks Karol, pplk. P.P.
 Furmaniewicz, st. sierż.
 Furtak Antoni, Pol. Państw., 1897, s. Ignacego i Wiktorii
 Gaca Leon
 Gadziński, plut. P.P.
 Gadziński Stanisław, s. Józefa
 Galk, post. P.P.
 Gajewski Kazimierz, mjr

Gałzka Otto
 Gaika Zygmunt, kpt. P.P., 1896, Kielce
 Gales Jan, 1897
 Gan Franciszek, policjant
 Garbula Franciszek, 1889, Majdan
 Garusz kpt. P.P.
 Gaudzik Zbigniew, 1909
 Gawenda plut. P.P.
 Gawronski Leon, funk. P.P.
 Gawurski Stefan, por. P.P., (Kazimierz?), wywieziony indyw.
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 Gaska Józef, plut. P.P.
 Gąrowski Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Gdarek Józef
 Gerlitz Bohdan Antoni, 1917, s. Teodora i Marii, stud. Polit.
 Gliplak sierż. P.P.
 Glikich kpt. P.P.
 Glojc kapral P.P.
 Głasczak Antoni, st. post. P.P.
 Głogowski Wacenty, Pol. Państw., 1883
 Głowacki Władysław, post. P.P.
 Głowacz Aleksander, kom. P.P., 1894
 Głowacz Jan, podkom. P.P.
 Głowka Józef, plut. P.P.
 Gniazdowski Jan, oficer P.P., 42 lat, s. Ludwika i Wandy
 Godawski Wacław, mjr P.P.
 Goliżewski Władysław, Pol. Państw.
 Gołąb Józef, przod. P.P.
 Gonsior Michał, st. post. P.P., 1895, Opole
 Gorczyński Michał, Pol. Państw.
 Gorczyński Wiktor, plik. P.P.
 Gosz Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Gościński Tomasz
 Gozeliak Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Górczyński sierż. P.P.
 Górny Józef, kapral P.P.
 Górski Jan, kpt.
 Grabda Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Grabka Feliks, post. P.P., 1906
 Grabowski plut. P.P.
 Grabowski Marek, por. lek., 1898, s. Jana i Janiny, z Kalisza
 Grabowski Włodzimierz, mjr piech.
 Gracz Franciszek, st. przod. P.P.
 Grimm Alojzy, mjr P.P., szef wyszkolenia psów policyjnych.
 Grochowski Czesław, przod. P.P., lat 50, s. Antoniego i Józefy, Przasnysz
 Grodecki Szczepan, plut. P.P.
 Gromulski kpt. P.P.
 Grudewicz Lucjan, Pol. Państw., lat 43
 Gruszczyński kom. P.P.
 Gryc Czesław, Pol. Państw., 1898
 Gryzel Franciszek, funk. P.P., 1897
 Grzegorzewski Jan, plut. P.P.

Grzybowski Kazimierz, Pol. Państw., 1888
 Guba Aleksander, funk. P.P., s. Tomasz i Agnieszki
 Gwizdak Andrzej, lat 46
 Heja Julian, st. post.
 Hajduk Jan, plut. P.P.
 Hajduk Leonard, Wydz. Śledczy Pol. Państw.
 Hamierski Izidor, st. post. P.P.
 Hamski st. sierż. P.P.
 Has Karol, plut.
 Hasjan Jan, st. post. st. śledczej
 Hass Władysław, por. P.P.
 Hausa Nikodem, 1887
 Hawelka Józef, przod. P.P.
 Hawrylak Marcin, st. post. P.P.
 Hecht kpt.
 Heidrych Szczepan
 Herlik komisarz P.P.
 Herling kpt. P.P.
 Herr Aleksander, kpt. P.P., lat 55
 Hiarkiewicz Alojzy, kapral P.P.
 Hiżycki Edward, post. P.P.
 Hojha Sylwester, (Hojka), 1905 (1906)
 Horba Jan.
 Hryniewiecki Ludwik, st. sierż. P.P.
 Hudzicki sierż. P.P.
 Hupert Stanisław, 1913
 Husak Marek
 Huszcza Józef, Pol. Państw., Tarnopol
 Huszczo Julian, 1895, s. Andrzeja i Marii, KOP. Stolpee
 Huebner Karol, sierż. P.P.
 Hyk Jan, kapral P.P.
 Igielski Tadeusz
 Ignatowicz kapral P.P.
 Irla Stanisław, Pol. Państw., 1891, Bielsko
 Izba st. sierż. P.P.
 Iżewski Bolesław, plik. P.P.
 Jabłoński Stanisław
 Jach Antoni, 1900
 Jackowski Władysław, wachm. zand.
 Jadzko Jan, kapral P.P.
 Jakubowski Michał, przod. P.P., 1888
 Jakubiec plut. P.P.
 Jakubowski Józef, lat 60
 Jakubowski Stanisław, plut.
 Janiak Mamert, plut. P.P.
 Janisz mjr P.P.
 Jankowski Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Jankowski Karol, sierż. zawodowy
 Janowski Jan, przod. P.P.
 Janusik Stanisław, lat 48

Jarecki Jan, post. P.P.
 Jarka Józef, plut. P.P.
 Jarmoliński Zygmunt, kpt.
 Jarmoliński Henryk
 Jarmoliński Wacław
 Jarocki Jan, komendant post. P.P.
 Jarosz Józef, komisarz P.P., 1890, s. Jakuba i Wiktorii. Tar-
 nopol
 Jarzabek st. sierż. P.P.
 Jarzyński ppor. P.P.
 Jasiak kpt. P.P.
 Jasinski Bronisław, podkomisarz P.P.
 Jastrzębski kpt. P.P.
 Jaworski Józef, sierż. P.P.
 Jaworski Kazimierz, sierż. P.P.
 Jeczek Ludwik, kapral P.P.
 Jeleniewski Zdzisław
 Jernach plut. P.P.
 Jesiewicz kapral P.P.
 Jezewski pplk. P.P., zastępca kmdta Woj. Kmdy na
 Polesiu
 Jędrzejczak Antoni, post. P.P., 1890
 Jonezyk kapral P.P.
 Józefowicz Ludwik, ppor. P.P.
 Józwiak Jan, plut. P.P.
 Jurczak Piotr, kpt. P.P.
 Kabaciński Feliks, post. P.P.
 Kacprzak kapral P.P.
 Kaczarowski Stanisław, przod. P.P., 1900, s. Piotra, Białystok
 Kaczmareczyk Stefan, plut. P.P.
 Kaczmarek Franciszek, 1897
 Kaczor - Kaczorowski Albin, post. P.P., 1896
 Kaczorowski Jerzy, mjr P.P.
 Kadów kapral P.P.
 Kaim Stanisław, podoficer P.P., 1902, s. Nikołaja i Anny
 Kajcar Jan, kapral P.P.
 Kajzer Józef, plut. P.P.
 Kalinowski ppor.
 Kalinowski Stanisław, post. P.P.
 Kalota Szczepan, przod. P.P.
 Kamasiński kapral P.P.
 Kamiński Karol, st. przod. P.P.
 Kancierz Szczepan
 Kania Józef, st. post. P.P., 1902, Śląsk
 Kapelewski Marian, st. post. P.P.
 Karalczuk Jan, plut. P.P.
 Karas Stanisław, kapral rez., 1904
 Karasiński Adam, por. P.P.
 Karbownik Walenty, st. post. P.P.
 Karbowski Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Karczewicz Michał, 1900
 Kardas Jan, 1898

Karolak kapral P.P.
 Karpiec Andrzej, st. str. więz.
 Karpinski Józef, policjant, 1899, s. Waleriana i Heleny
 Karpinski Władysław, plut. P.P.
 Karłowicz Paweł, policjant, syn Izabeli, Borszczów
 Karwowski por. lek., syn profesora z Poznania
 Karwowski Bronisław, st. sierż. P.P.
 Karwowski Stanisław, lek. wojsk.
 Kasprzyk plut. P.P.
 Katajko kapral P.P.
 Kawczyński ksiądz
 Keller kapitan P.P.
 Kempinski Władysław, plut.
 Kempny Jarosław, 1912
 Kenc Stefan, przod. P.P.
 Kندیk Eugeniusz, por.
 Kiedrzyk Franciszek
 Kiedzikowski Józef, st. post. P.P., 1898
 Kierepka Jan, przod. P.P., 1901
 Kiszka sierż. P.P.
 Kleiman st. sierż. P.P.
 Kleinrak Władysław, st. post. P.P.
 Kleniato Bronisław
 Klima Jakub, przod. P.P.
 Klimaszewski Czesław
 Klimczak Józef, post. P.P.
 Klimczak Franciszek, st. post. P.P., 1900
 Klinke plut. P.P.
 Kłoczek Józef, plut.
 Klon sierż. P.P.
 Klonek sierż.
 Kłota plut. P.P.
 Klujs podkomisarz P.P.
 Kluszc Andrzej, podkomisarz P.P., 1892
 Klus Józef, st. post. P.P.
 Kłoda Maksymilian, przod. P.P., 1898
 Kmita kapral P.P.
 Kmita Józef, przod. P.P.
 Knyba Antoni, 1903
 Kobruski sierż. P.P.
 Kobryn st. przod. P.P.
 Kobus Jakub, st. sierż. P.P.
 Kocisz Zygmunt
 Kocur (Koczur) sierż. P.P.
 Koelme Alfred, komisarz P.P.
 Kolański plut. P.P.
 Kolański Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Koldowski por.
 Kołodziejczyk Mieczysław, przod. P.P.
 Kołodziejczyk Jan, st. sierż. P.P.
 Komasa Kazimierz, plut. piech.
 Komer sierż. P.P.
 Komosiński Kazimierz, plut.

Kompiński Wacław, urzędnik Pol. Państw.

Kosiński Roman, kapitan piech.

Kondracki Stefan, plut. P.P.

Konratowicz Aleksander, wachm.

Konieczny, kapral P.P.

Kopacz, ppor.

Kopeć, kapral P.P.

Kopowski Michał, policjant

Korczyk, post. P.P.

Kordas Józef przod. P.P.

Kordaszewski, plut. P.P.

Kornaś, st. sierż. P.P.

Korolczuk Aleksander, post. P.P.

Korpak, kapral P.P.

Korpiński Adam, kpt. P.P., 1908

Korubkiewicz Józef, st. sierż. P.P.

Korzec

Korzeński Bronisław, kapral P.P.

Korzeniowski Antoni

Kosiński Józef, ppor. P.P.

Kosił Włodzimierz, kapral P.P.

Kosiewicz Edward, ppor. P.P., 1883, s. Leopolda i Marii War-

szawa

Kosmala Antoni, plut. P.P.

Kossowski Michał, post. P.P.

Kostrubiec Wiktor, wachm. żand.

Kostrzewa Stanisław, ppor.

Kot Franciszek, st. post. P.P.

Kott Stanisław st. post. P.P.

Kowal Adam, przod. P.P.

Kowal Marcin, st. przod. P.P.

Kowalczewski Józef, kom. P.P.

Kowalczyk Jan, kpt. P.P.

Kowalczyk Józef

Kowalec, kapral P.P.

Kowalewski Tadeusz, post. P.P.

Kowalik Władysław, Pol. Państw., 1901

Kowalski Jan, kapral P.P.

Kozakiewicz Grzegorz

Koziełski, kapral P.P.

Kozioł, plut. P.P.

Kozioł, kapral P.P.

Koenig, plut. P.P.

Kper Franciszek, 1896

Krajewski Józef, kapral P.P.

Krajewski Ignacy, st. post. P.P.

Krakowski Kazimierz, policjant

Kramarz, kpt. P.P.

Kraun Michał, st. post. P.P., 1890, s. Andrzeja i Zofii

Krasnicki Karol, kom. P.P., 1908

Krawczyk Wawrzyniec, kapral P.P.

Krawczyk Wiktor, plut. P.P.

Krawczyński, kapral P.P.

Kremer, st. sierż. P.P.

Krip, plut. P.P.

Krippa Józef, st. post. P.P.

Kroczmal Wojciech, post. P.P.

Kroczała Henryk, kapral P.P.

Król Tomasz, 1890, s. Jakuba

Król Tomasz, sierż. P.P.

Królkowski Jan Henryk, por. P.P.

Krupko, kapral

Krusiewicz, kpt. P.P.

Krutowicz Antoni, st. przod. P.P., 1893, s. Floriana i Marii,

Stanisławów

Kryda Andrzej, kom. post. P.P., 1904

Kryśko, kapral P.P.

Krzeczowski Franciszek, st. przod. P.P.

Krzemiński Czesław, por. zand. (KOP.), 1906, s. Jakuba i Jad-

wigi

Krzesiński, por. P.P.

Krzeszowski Jan, funk. P.P., lat 49

Krzyślik Franciszek, plut. P.P.

Krzyżanowski Kazimierz, aspirant P.P.

Krzyżanowski Włodzimierz, por.

Kubaczka, kpt. P.P.

Kubasza, sierż. P.P.

Kubiak Ignacy, 1898

Kubiak Karol, por.

Kubik Stanisław, 1892

Kucharczyk Mikołaj, st. sierż.

Kuczyński Jan, przod. P.P., 1896

Kujawski Michał, 1907

Kukalski Jan, plk. emer.

Kulasiński Stanisław, st. post. P.P.

Kulczewski, por. P.P.

Kulczycki, kapral P.P.

Kulczycki Stefan, st. przod. P.P.

Kulesza Bronisław, sekretarz Gminy

Kulesza Henryk, ppor. kaw.

Kuliaba Marcin Marian, przod. P.P., Stanisławów

Kulik, plut. P.P.

Kulka, kapral P.P.

Kulaj Michał, przod. P.P.

Kumoter Stefan, post. P.P.

Kuna, st. sierż. P.P.

Kurkowski Antoni, kapral P.P.

Kurzajski, sierż. P.P.

Kurzwilski Leonard, por. P.P.

Kusiński Bolesław, mjr P.P.

Kusztit, plut. P.P.

Kutyłowski Władysław, st. sierż. P.P.

Kuźma Antoni

Kwapisz, por. P.P.

Kwiatkowski Kazimierz, 1902, Nieżywiec
Kwiatkowski Paweł, 1901, Pusieniewice
Kwiatkowski Franciszek, kapral P.P.

Lachendro Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Lampert Piotr, sierż.
 Langowski Franciszek, st. post. P.P., 1900
 Latawiec sierż. P.P.
 Latkiewicz Jan, komisarz P.P.
 Lech Stefan
 Lech Zygmunt, przod. P.P., 1906
 Leczkowski kapral P.P.
 Ledecki Józef, przod. P.P.
 Lemacki Bolesław, funk. P.P.
 Lenartowicz Karol, 1909
 Lepczyński Władysław, st. post. P.P., 1899
 Lesniak Jan, plut. P.P.
 Leśniewski Józef, kpt. Str. Gran., 1895
 Lewandowski kpt. P.P.
 Lewandowski Bolesław, funk. P.P.
 Lewandowski Edward, kpt. KOP., 1893, s. Adama i Walerii
 Lewandowski Eugeniusz
 Lewandowski Michał, kapral P.P.
 Lewicki st. post. P.P.
 Lipczak Ludwik, st. post. P.P.
 Lis Michał, plut. (przod.) P.P.
 Lisiecki Andrzej, st. post. P.P.
 Lisowiec Aleksander, 1904

Lisowski Jan, 1910
Litwinczuk Stanisław, plut. P.P.
Lorenc Michał, st. sierż. P.P.
Luch Alojzy, kapral P.P.

Łabniak kapral P.P.
 Łapinski Walerian, st. przod. P.P. z Białegostoku
 Łączyński sierż. P.P.
 Łotowski Lucjan, por. rez.

Łuczak Michał, przod. P.P., 1896, s. Antoniego i Józefa, Łaski.
 Łuczak Kępnio

Łuczka Piotr, policjant
 Łuczyński kapral P.P.
 Łuczywek Józef, st. sierż.
 Łukasiewicz Franciszek, post. P.P.
 Łukaszyk Władysław, Pol. Państw., Sambor
 Łukowski Filip, przod. P.P., Poznań
 Łusza Franciszek, post. P.P.
 Łuszczyzna Stanisław, kapral P.P.
 Łuszczyński Marian, st. przod. P.P., 1899, s. Wincentego i Antoniny, Tarnopol

Maciejewski Ignacy, komendant post. P.P., Golong
 Mackowiak Czesław, post. P.P., lat 35

Macurski plut. P.P.
 Madyjewski Henryk, por.
 Majcher st. sierż. P.P.
 Makowiecki Kazimierz, 1896
 Makowski Edward, kpt. Str. Gran.
 Malasiewicz Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Malinowski nacz. więzienia
 Malinowski Adam, przod. P.P.
 Malecki Florian, post. P.P.
 Małek Marcin, oficer Str. Gran., 1893 s. Antoniego i Antoniny

Manowski Tadeusz, kpt. lek., s. Stanisława i Anny

Marchewka Józef, st. post. P.P.
 Marciniak Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Marciniak Józef, kapral piech.
 Marcinkowski Marian, kapral P.P.
 Marcol sierżant. P.P.
 Marczak Wacław, post. P.P.
 Markiel Izidor
 Markiewicz Antoni
 Markiewicz Jan, por.
 Markiewicz Stefan, kapral P.P.
 Markiewicz Tadeusz, por. rez.
 Markocki Jan, 1900, st. post. P.P.
 Marszałek Henryk, 1905
 Martynski Jan, 1894
 Masłon ksiądz
 Mastalski Jan, 1892

Mateła Jan, 1890
 Materka Adam, kapral P.P.
 Matulewicz kapitan P.P.
 Matura kapral P.P.
 Matusik Konrad, post. P.P. — 1913
 Matys Tomasz, st. przod. P.P.
 Mazalo plut. P.P.
 Mazur Józef, por. (ppor.) — (LZO-S)
 Mazur Tadeusz, ppor.
 Mazurkiewicz kapral P.P.
 Maczynski kpt.
 Madrala kapral P.P.
 Mekta Wacław, (Metka), 1908
 Mendralba Artur, Pol. Państw., 1891, s. Walentego
 Menke Lucjan, por. P.P.
 Miaszkowski Zygmunt, st. post. P.P.
 Michalak plut. P.P.
 Michalak kapral P.P.
 Michalik st. sierż. P.P.
 Michalski Józef, st. post. P.P.
 Michalski Maks, Pol. Państw., 1893
 Michniewicz Józef, post. P.P., 1889
 Michno Ignacy, post. P.P., 1899
 Micura Mikołaj, st. sierż. P.P.
 Miczalski Kazimierz, Pol. Państw., 1902, s. Józefa i Antoniny

Migacz Władysław, post. P.P., 1893
 Migdatek, chorąży
 Mika Adam, kapral
 Mikler, plut. P.P.
 Mikołajczyk Józef, kapral P.P., 1902
 Mikuczewski Józef, ksiądz kapelan
 Mikula Dominik, kpt. P.P.
 Mikulski Wojciech, 1895
 Milczarczyk, mjr
 Milewski Jan, chorąży
 Milski, plut.
 Miller, st. sierż.
 Minczakowski Eugeniusz, 1907
 Miński Ignacy, kpt. P.P.
 Miozga, sierż. P.P.
 Mirowicz Karol, post. P.P., 1895
 Miskiewicz Włodzimierz, Pol. Państw., 1897, s. Jakuba i Agaty
 Mizera, post. P.P.
 Mojan, kapral P.P.
 Mokry Paweł, kapral P.P.
 Morawiec Władysław, post. P.P.
 Morawiec, plut. P.P.
 Morzejko Kazimierz, post. P.P.
 Moskatczuk, sierż. P.P., wywieziony indyw. z obozu
 w listop. 39
 Mosz, kapral P.P.
 Motykiewicz Adolf
 Mozolewski, plut. P.P.
 Mrówczyński Henryk, post. P.P.
 Mrówczyński Stanisław, post. P.P.
 Mukościej, st. sierż. P.P.
 Mull Stefan, 1897
 Murzak Jakub, st. sierż.
 Musiał Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Musielak Józef, st. post. P.P.
 Musielakowski Adam, st. przod. P.P., lat 52
 Mydlarz Władysław, plut. P.P.
 Mysłowski Cezary, str. więz., 1900, s. Franciszka i Broni-
 sławy
 Mystkowski Czesław, urzędnik P.P., 1899
 Myśliński Marian, post. P.P.
 Nadwiślański, plut. P.P.
 Nadzwyczajewski Michał, st. post. P.P.
 Najda Stefan, funk. P.P.
 Nakoneczny Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Nalwajko Karol, str. więz.
 Napierata, sierż. P.P.
 Nawrocki Stanisław, kom. P.P.
 Nawrot Edward, sierż. P.P.
 Nazarek Witold, przod. P.P.
 Nazarewicz Antoni, post. P.P.

Nickel, plut. P.P.
 Niedziela, por. P.P.
 Niedzielski Marian, ppłk. K.O.P., 1891, s. Teofila i Marii
 Niemczycki Marceł, przod. P.P., s. Wojciecha i Katarzyny
 Niestrata Władysław, 1900
 Niezbrzydki Władysław, post. P.P.
 Nitka Józef, kapral K.O.P.
 Niwicki Michał, przod. P.P.
 Niwiński Antoni, st. post. P.P.
 Niziniński Tadeusz, Pol. Państw., 1904, s. Stanisława i Anto-
 niny
 Noc Brunon
 Nocin Stanisław, plut. P.P.
 Nowa, st. sierż. P.P.
 Nowacki Jan, kapral P.P.
 Nowak, st. sierż. P.P.
 Nowak Bogusław, ppłk.
 Nowak Józef, podkomisarz P.P.
 Nowak Romuald, Pol. Państw., 1900, Bolechów
 Nowak Stanisław, plut. P.P.
 Nowakowski, kpt. P.P.
 Nowakowski Bolesław, plut. P.P.
 Nowakowski Stanisław, post. P.P.
 Nowicki Andrzej, Pol. Państw., 1885
 Nowicki Henryk, st. post. P.P., 29 lat
 Nowicki Jan, plut. P.P.
 Nowicki Stanisław, przod. P.P.
 Noworyta Ludwik, st. sierż. P.P.
 Nowosiadły, plut. P.P.
 Oborski Ignacy, aspirant P.P.
 Ochab Włodzimierz, 1900
 Ochwap, ksiądz
 Oginski, kapral piech.
 Olszanski Franciszek, Pol. Państw.
 Olszanski Witalis, ppłk. P.P., wywieziony indyw. z obozu
 Olszewski, por. P.P.
 Oldakowski Michał, ppłk. P.P., 1893, s. Józefa i Stanisławy
 Pol. Państw. Warszawa
 Orlicki Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Orłowski Henryk, kpt.
 Orłowski Jan, prof. gimn.
 Ostrowski, kapral P.P.
 Ostrowski Wacław, plut. P.P.
 Owsinski Józef, komendant P.P., 1898, Brody, woj. Tarnopol
 Pacoska Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Pacześniak Jan, 1896
 Pakulski Stefan, sierż., 1894, s. Mateusza i Michaliny
 Patczuski, plut. P.P.

Pampuch Zygmunt, por. P.P.
 Paned Mieczysław, chorąży, 1901
 Panek sierż. P.P.
 Papielewicz st. sierż. P.P.
 Papiet sierż. P.P.
 Parkot Mieczysław, kapral
 Paskowski Michał, plut. P.P.
 Paskowski Michał, post. P.P.
 Paskowski Michał, post. P.P. 1887 (8)
 Patro Stanisław, post. P.P., 1900, s. Józefa i Marii
 Pawełczuk Jan, przod. P.P., 1898, s. Kazimierza i Anny
 Pawełko Paweł, przod. P.P.
 Pawlak Jan, post. P.P., 1901, Poznań
 Pawlik Franciszek, por. P.P.
 Pawłowski Mieczysław
 Pazin Józef, Pol. Państw.
 Paz Józef, post. P.P.
 Pączek st. sierż. P.P.
 Peczynski Bolesław
 Penkala Karol, mjr. P.P.
 Peplowski Walenty, post. P.P.
 Perec Franciszek, kapral P.P.
 Petri Jan, pplk. P.P., naczelnik Urz. Śledczego w Łodzi
 Petri Władysław, por. P.P., mgr prawa (brat Jana)
 Pietrykowski Tadeusz, przod. P.P., 1894, s. Apolinarego i Zofii
 Pekala Stanisław, post. P.P.
 Piasecki plut. P.P.
 Piaskowski sierż. P.P.
 Piątkiewicz ppor. P.P.
 Piątkowski Antoni, ppor.
 Picilo Piotr, Pol. Państw.
 Piechota Stanisław
 Piekarski Aleksander
 Piekarz plut. P.P.
 Pierierko Leon, st. post. P.P.
 Pieslak Józef, aspirant P.P.
 Pietrasik plut. P.P.
 Pietraszek Stanisław, policjant
 Pietruszewski Piotr
 Piętka Jan, plut. zawodowy
 Piętka Wiktor, przod. P.P., 1894, s. Józefa i Wiktorii, z War.
 szawy
 Pigłowski Antoni, plut. P.P.
 Piotrowicz Wacław, plut. P.P.
 Piotrowski Karol, 1896
 Pisz Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Piwowarski Roman, kapral P.P.
 Pluta Wojciech, plut. P.P.
 Płotki Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Pniak Józef, Pol. Państw.
 Poczekaj Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Podbrożny Józef, ppor. P.P.
 Podgórski Antoni Kazimierz, post. P.P., 1912

Podgórski Stanisław, st. post. P.P., 1901
 Podraza Stanisław, st. post. P.P., 1900, Dubno
 Pohoski Michał, oficer P.P., 1886, s. Władysława i Marii
 Pokrant Artur, plut. P.P.
 Pokrzywiński Józef, przod. P.P.
 Polak sierż. (LZO-S)
 Polerski Zdzisław, kpt. P.P.
 Polński Henryk, Pol. Państw.
 Polak Karol, kapral P.P.
 Polawski Edward, post. P.P.
 Polom Leon, post. P.P.
 Pomorski st. sierż. P.P.
 Pontes Tadeusz, pchor. art.
 Popera kapral P.P.
 Popławski Edward, post. P.P.
 Porębski Stanisław, mjr. P.P.
 Porocny Lucjan, plut. P.P.
 Porwot kapral P.P.
 Pospiech plut. P.P.
 Poterał Jan, przod. P.P.
 Potopowicz Ludwik, st. sierż. P.P.
 Pozorski Franciszek, 1897, s. Augustyna
 Praszczuk Ludwik, post. P.P.
 Przechala kapral P.P.
 Presek plut. P.P.
 Probanaki Mieczysław, przod. P.P., 1895, Poznań
 Prorok Marian, str. więz.
 Prosiak Julian, kapral P.P.
 Przybylak plut. P.P.
 Przybyła Gerhard, kapral K.O.P.
 Przygoda Leon, kpt. P.P.
 Przygoda Władysław, kapral P.P.
 Ptasinski Stanisław, kapral P.P.
 Ptaszkowski Michał, kapral P.P.
 Puchalski Pol. Państw.
 Pucilo Piotr, Pol. Państw., 1887, s. Pawła
 Pukiewicz Bolesław, kapral zawodowy
 Puryński sierż. P.P.
 Pustkowski kapral P.P.
 Puszcz Leon, st. sierż. P.P.
 Puszczyński kom. P.P.
 Putmierz sierż. P.P.
 Rabacki Aleksander
 Raczkiewicz kapral P.P.
 Raczkowski Tadeusz, st. post. P.P.
 Radoniewicz Julian, mjr. P.P.
 Radzioch Józef, post. P.P.
 Rapalski Józef, przod. P.P.
 Raszke (Raszka) — st. sierż. P.P.
 Rausche Wilhelm, sierż. P.P.

Raźniecki kapral P.P.
 Reginczak Edward, post. P.P.
 Reimer Leon, st. przod. P.P., 1892, Pomorze
 Rejman Władysław, st. post. P.P., 1892
 Rejt Jan, ppor.
 Rening Adam, funk. P.P.
 Rester Szczepan, przod. P.P.
 Reut ppor.
 Reyman Władysław, st. post. P.P. lat 51, Brody
 Rodkiewicz Bolesław, ppłk. KOP., komendant Okr. Str. Gran.
 Kraków
Rogalski Wiktor, podoficer
Rojnart st. sierż. P.P.
Roman Julian, plut. P.P.
Romanienko (Romanowski), mjr., kapelan prawo-
slawny
 Romanowski Ludwik, ppor. P.P.
 Romanczyk Karol Jan, ppłk. P.P., s. Jana i Klary. Warszawa
 Romanski Józef
 Ropek Władysław, przod. P.P.
 Rosiak Franciszek
 Roszkiewicz Feliks Kazimierz, 1906, s. Kazimierza
 Rowiński Adam, post. P.P.
 Rozkrej Wincenty, st. post. P.P.
 Rozlaziły Zygmunt, plut. P.P.
 Rozner Maksymilian, st. post. P.P., 1898, s. Juliana i Fran-
 ciszki, Natiboki
 Rożański Czesław, st. post. P.P.
 Różalski sierż. P.P.
 Różański kapral P.P.
 Różycki st. sierż.
 Rudziński Jan, st. sierż. P.P.
 Rusakiewicz Józef, przod. P.P.
 Rusin Antoni, st. sierż. P.P.
 Ruszkiewicz Edward, st. post. P.P.
 Ruśniak st. sierż. P.P.
 Rutkowski Jan, ppor. P.P.
 Rutkowski Stanisław, post. P.P., 1902, s. Aleksego i Józefy
 Rutyna Marian, 1888
 Rybowski Jan Józef, plut. P.P.
 Rydzik Wincenty, post. P.P.
 Rymarkiewicz Szczepan, post. P.P.
 Rymaszewski Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Ryzop Wiktor, st. post. P.P.
 Rzepka st. sierż.
Sabaciński sierż. P.P.
Sabatowski Franciszek, sierż. P.P.
Sadowski plut. P.P.
Samborski Konstanty pchor.
Samel Zygmunt, post. P.P.

Samolek Teodor, 46 lat
 Samolty Ignacy, st. sierż.
 Sandzicki st. sierż. P.P.
 Sarnowski Józef, Str. Gran., 1897, s. Jana i Franciszki
 Sauterman Antoni, kapral P.P.
 Sauter Wiktor, kpt. P.P., 1896, s. Karola i Natalii
 Sawczin Józef, kpt. P.P.
 Selak Bronisław, st. przod. P.P.
 Serebniński Michał, por.
 Serwinowski Mieczysław, Pol. Państw., 1898, s. Tomasz i J6-
 zefy
 Sękowski Stanisław, ppor.
 Siczko post. P.P.
 Siemaszko Stanisław, funk. P.P., 1912
 Sieradzki Józef, plut., 1894
 Sierbien ppor.
 Sierosławski Jan Henryk, kom. P.F., 1897, s. Henryka i J6-
 zefy, Tomaszów Mazow.
 Sikora Stanisław, plut. P.P.
 Sikora Stefan, kpt. P.P.
 Sikora Jan, post. P.P.
 Sitek Stanisław, ppłk. żand.
 Sitkiewicz Lucjan, post. P.P.
 Sitko Władysław, kapral P.P.
 Sitkowski Józef, ppor. P.P.
 Sitkowski Piotr, podkomisarz P.P.
 Siwak Benedykt, post. P.P.
 Siwiec Marian, por.
 Skalski Tadeusz, mjr. P.P.
 Skiba Jan, st. sierż. P.P.
 Skibinski Marian, mjr. Str. Gran.
 Skłabski Józef, Pol. Państw., s. Edwarda i Pauliny
 Skornung Leonard, st. post. P.P.
 Skotnicki por. P.P.
 Skrzos Franciszek, st. post. P.P., 1897, s. Łukasza i Marianny,
 (Komenda Wojew. P.P.)
 Skrzypczyk Karol kapral P.P.
 Skulimowski Władysław, 1909
 Skulski mjr. KOP.
 Skulski Stanisław, sędzia Sądu Apel. Lwów
 Sławinski Piotr przod. P.P., s. Jana i Józefy, Warszawa
 Słoniewski, Władysław, kapral P.P.
 Smolnicki Tadeusz, kpt. P.P.
 Sobak Michał, funk. P.P.
 Sobczak Jan, plut. P.P.
 Sobel plut. P.P.
 Sobieszczanski Stefan, kpt. P.P., 1890, s. Stanisława i Anieli
 Sobieszczynski plut. P.P.
 Sobkon Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Sobolak kapral P.P.
 Sodula Kazimierz, plut. P.P.
 Sokółowski Leonard, funk. P.P.
 Solak Michał, st. post. P.P.

Softys Tadeusz, por. P.P.
 Sopol, kapral P.P.
 Sosnowski Jan, lat 43
 Soszynski Stefan, st. post. P.P., 1898, s. Franciszka, pow.
 Niszwiez
 Sowa Jan, policjant, s. Błażeja i Katarzyny, lat 37
 Sowinski Adam, por. P.P.
 Sprus, plut. P.P.
 Sroka Jan, plut. P.P.
 Srokowski Franciszek, funk. P.P., 1897
 Szemski, kapral P.P.
 Stachowiak Franciszek, przod. P.P., lat około 57
 Stachowiak Jan, lat 53
 Stadler Karol, rpik. P.P.
 Stando, plut. P.P.
 Staniak Tomasz, funk. P.P., 1900
 Stanciko Wladyslaw, wachmistrz
 Staniszewski Edward, sierż. P.P.
 Staniszewski Wincenty kpt. P.P.
 Stankiewicz Antoni, pfor.
 Staruszkiewicz Marian, kapral P.P.
 Stasiak, kapral
 Stas Wiktor, funk. P.P., Frysztat
 Stapien Jan, (Stepien) plut. P.P., lat 45
 Stec Michal, przod. P.P.
 Stefanik Jan, post. P.P.
 Stefański, kapral P.P.
 Steifer, ppor. P.P.
 Stepa Józef, plut. P.P.
 Stolarczyk Filip, Pol. Państw.
 Strobek, por. P.P.
 Strobek Eugeniusz, (Sztrobel), kom. P.P., lat 45, Często-
 chowa
 Strzyzek Pawel, kapral P.P.
 Strymon, sierż. P.P.
 Strzelczyk, kapral P.P.
 Strzelczykowski Józef, 1907, s. Romana i Józefiny
 Strzemecki Stanislaw, wojskowy
 Stuczynski Roland, kapral P.P.
 Stumido, kapral P.P.
 Sułkowski, inż., ziemianin z Polesia
 Supczyński Józef, str. więz.
 Surowiec Wladyslaw
 Suszka Antoni, 1895
 Swoboda Jan, mjr P.P.
 Swiderski Stanislaw
 Sybicki Jan, przod. P.P.
 Sychowicz Kazimierz, Pol. Państw., 1902, s. Józefa i Marii,
 Warszawa
 Sykut Ignacy, funk. P.P.
 Sypniewski Stanislaw, st. post. P.P.
 Syrnicki Stefan, post. P.P.
 Sysakowski Stanislaw, st. przod. P.P.

Sysko Wladyslaw, post. P.P.
 Szafranski Jan, mjr P.P.
 Szalek Antoni, przod. P.P.
 Szalajko Ludwik, (Szalanko) — ppor. (por.)
 Szamański Stanislaw, nacz. więzienia
 Szancer Wladyslaw, przod. P.P., 1883, s. Stanisława i Natalii
 Szarlej, kpt. P.P.
 Szatan, kapral P.P.
 Szczebot Kazimierz, post. P.P.
 Szczek Bartłomiej, 1899, s. Jana i Tekli
 Szczepański Józef, post. P.P., 1905, s. Jana i Rozalii, Stan-
 sławów
 Szczupak Franciszek, policjant, 1911, s. Ignacego i Marii,
 Leszno
 Szeptycki Jan Wiktor
 Szerzech Bartłomiej, Pol. Państw., 1899, s. Jana
 Szerer Jakub, kapral P.P.
 Szklanny, st. sierż. P.P.
 Szkudlanski, plut. P.P.
 Szmidt Stanislaw, post. P.P.
 Szoljer, kapral P.P.
 Szot Edward, kapral P.P.
 Szot Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Szparaga, plut. P.P.
 Szrajber Wilhelm, mjr P.P.
 Sztymalski Stanislaw, post. P.P.
 Szubert Wladyslaw, st. post. P.P.
 Szulc Wiktor, kapral P.P.
 Szuta, st. sierż. P.P.
 Szwarec Emil, st. sierż. P.P.
 Szwed Bronisław, ksiądz, prof., lat 45
 Szweda, plut. P.P.
 Szybelko Kazimierz
 Szydłowski Bronisław, plut. P.P.
 Szyfman, por. P.P., wywieziony indyw. z obozu
 Szymanski, kapral P.P.
 Szymborski Franciszek, post. P.P.
 Szymkowiak, plut. P.P.
 Szymkman Feliks, kpt. P.P.
 Szymskiwicz Alfons, kpt. P.P.
 Szymskiwicz Jan, por. P.P.
 Szymskiwicz Józef, kapral P.P.
 Słowiński Feliks, str. więz.
 Słowiński Roman, post. P.P.
 Sniegon, st. sierż. P.P.
 Snieżko Mikołaj, por. rez.
 Spiewak Lucjan, plut. P.P.
 Swiderski, st. sierż. P.P.
 Swierkot, ppor. P.P.
 Swiercz Antoni, 1900
 Święcki Julian, st. post. P.P.
 Swirski Józef, przod. P.P.
 Swirski Michał, st. przod. P.P.

Swirył Paweł, komendant P.P.
 Świsłnicki Józef, post. P.P.
 Świał Adam, por. piech.

Talacha por.
 Taratula Marian, st. sierż. P.P., lat 46
 Tarczyński sierż. P.P.
 Tarnas Lucjan, przod. P.P., 1899, s. Józefa i Albiny, Kielce
 Tarnogórski kpt.
 Tatara Adam, sierż. P.P.
 Tedorow Antoni, sierż. P.P.
 Terpilowski st. sierż. P.P.
 Teżekci Stefan, st. post. P.P., Skalat
 Thaczek Borys, Pol. Państw.
 Thaczek Joachim, por. P.P.
 Tober Ryszard, str. więz.
 Tomasik Antoni, ppor. P.P.
 Tomasz plut. P.P.
 Tomaszewski Kazimierz, przod. P.P.
 Tombak Leon, komisarz P.P., 1895, s. Fortunata i Marian.
 ny, Raszyn
 Tomczak Jan, kapral P.P.
 Tomczak Józef, plut. P.P.
 Tomczyk Marian, st. post. P.P., 1900, s. Aleksandra i Fran-
 ciszki
 Tomczyk Tomasz, post. P.P.
 Tomiak Józef, por. P.P.
 Tomkiel Antoni, st. przod. P.P., 1897, s. Jana i Pauliny, Bia-
 łystok
 Tomkowiak Jan, post. P.P.
 Tomys Jan, sierż. P.P.
 Topolnicki Eustachy, por. rez., s. Antoniego, Kmda Pol.
 Państw., Brody
 Toporek Henryk, kapral P.P.
 Toporek Wincenty, podoficer P.P., 1894, s. Andrzeja i J6-
 zefy
 Torz Stanisław, przod. P.P.
 Tragala Jan, plut. P.P.
 Tranla kapral P.P.
 Treler kapral P.P.
 Treter Michał, post. P.P.
 Trybalski Józef, kapral rez., 1896
 Trybus Michał, przod. P.P.
 Trzeciak mjr. lek., chirurg, dyrektor szpitala
 Trzeciak kpt.
 Turkowski Wacław, por. P.P.
 Tawe Albert, przod. P.P.
 Twarog Jan, mjr
 Twarog Józef, Pol. Państw., 1899, s. Kaspra i Marii
 Tymilski Paweł, plut. P.P., 1899
 Uchorek sierż. P.P.

Unger por. P.P.
 Urban Leopold, kapral P.P.
 Urbanek ppor.
 Urbańczyk mjr P.P.
 Uzarowicz Mieczysław, kpt.
 Uznanski kapral P.P.

Van - der Cochren Stanisław Zygmunt, (Wan - Den - Kogen),
 dr, mjr lek. (RO. 32 str. 326)

Walczak Jan, 1889
 Walczuk Stanisław, przod. P.P., 1895
 Walczyk Wincenty, Pol. Państw., 1895, s. Jakuba i Marii.
 Łódź
 Walder Emil, st. przod. P.P.
 Walecki Roman, st. post. P.P., 1901, s. Felikaa
 Walencow Józef, plut. P.P.
 Walczak Stanisław, kapral P.P., 1909, s. Jana i Józefy
 Walewicz Jan, kom. P.P.
 Walus Karol, kapral P.P.
 Walocho Antoni, 1900
 Wasilewski ur. około 1899
 Wasylkow Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Wawer Konstanty, st. post. P.P.
 Wawrnak Stanisław, przod. P.P., 1896, s. Józefa i Agnieszki
 Wawrzyniak Bolesław, kapral P.P.
 Wąsowski Jan, post. P.P.
 Wąsowski Walenty, st. sierż. P.P.
 Wątołowicz st. sierż. P.P.
 Weinberg sierż. P.P.
 Welka Jan, plut. (st. strz.) Pol. Państw., 1899, s. Teodora
 i Katarzyny
 Wende sierż. P.P.
 Wendy kapral P.P.
 Werschowski Aleksander, post. P.P., 1890, Białystok
 Werszko Antoni, Pol. Państw.
 Wesolowski st. sierż. P.P.
 Wesoly kapral P.P.
 Wiatr Jan, funk. P.P.
 Wiatrak Franciszek, plut. P.P.
 Wiazowski sierż. P.P.
 Władowski Józef, st. post. P.P.
 Władowski Jan, 1902, s. Szymona i Marianny
 Wiechecki Wacław kpt. P.P.
 Wierczerek Radosław, podoficer
 Wierzbicki Antoni, kapral P.P.
 Wierzecholawski sierż. P.P.
 Wilczak st. sierż. P.P.
 Wilczek st. przod. P.P.
 Wilczyński Zygmunt, plut. P.P.
 Willem sierż. P.P.
 Wisniewski Teodor, kapral P.P.
 Wisniewski Henryk, chorąży, nauczyciel

Wiśniewski Jan, Pol. Państw., 1909, s. Piotra i Katarzyny
 Witkowski Tadeusz, plut. P.P.
 Witoszński Roman, wiceprezes Sądu ze Lwowa (zmarł w obo-
 zie), (relacja kpt. Ł. Z.)
 Włodarczyk Michał, plut. P.P.
 Wnuk Józef, kapral P.P.
 Wozkał mjr KOP.
 Wojcziński Stefan, 1891, s. Stanisława i Konstancji
 Wojniłowicz Józef, post. P.P.
 Wojtar por. P.P.
 Wojtasinski plut. P.P.
 Wojtczak Stanisław Zygmunt, nac. więz., 1895, s. Józefa
 i Emilii
 Wojtkowiak Michał, post. P.P., lat 57
 Wojtowicz Jan, st. przod. P.P.
 Wojtowicz Władysław, st. post. P.P., 1897, s. Łukasza
 Wojtulewski Alfons, st. sierż. P.P.
 Wolak kapral P.P.
 Wołński mjr lek. ze Lwowa — 6 p.a.c.
 Wolny st. sierż. P.P.
 Wolski kapral P.P.
 Wolski Stanisław, plut. pchor., 1912
 Wolk Włodzimierz
 Woźniak Czesław, Pol. Państw.
 Wójtik kpt. P.P.
 Wójtik Andrzej, st. sierż. P.P.
 Wróbel Józef, plut. P.P.
 Wróbel Tomasz, sierż. P.P., 1896, s. Władysława i Teofilii
 Wróblewski Ludwik, kapral P.P.
 Wróblewski Stanisław, przod. P.P.
 Wrzesniewski Józef Alfred, por. zand.
 Wycechowski Wacław, lat 42, syn Jana
 Wyczech sierż. P.P.
 Wyrobek Bolesław, post. P.P.
 Wysikinski sierż. P.P.
 Wyskup Marian, st. str. więz.
 Wyszkowski Wacław, przod. P.P., 1903, s. Władysława i Apo-
 lonii
 Wywiak kapral P.P.
 Wzientek Alojzy
 Zaborowski Ignacy, st. post. P.P.
 Zadroga Franciszek, st. post. P.P.
 Zakrzewski ksiądz
 Zalewski st. sierż.
 Zalewski Józef, kpt. P.P., 1889, s. Franciszka i Marianny
 Zalewski Leon, plut. P.P.
 Zatusiek st. sierż. P.P.
 Zamacki kapral P.P.
 Zandrowski sierż. P.P.
 Zaprzanski kpt.
 Zastawny Marian, sierż. P.P.

Zawadzki Bolesław, funkc. P.P.
 Zawadzki Włodzimierz, st. przod. P.P., 1900, s. Michala
 i Stefani
 Zawartka Jan, policjant
 Zawierucha plut. P.P.
 Zawilowski aspirant P.P.
 Zawistowski Piotr, plut. P.P.
 Zborowski Aleksander, policjant, 1904, s. Antoniego i Anieli
 Zdanowicz Franciszek
 Zdzianbany Kazimierz
 Zedusko por.
 Zepiela Antoni, post. P.P.
 Zepiela Jan, post. P.P.
 Zielinski st. sierż.
 Zielinski plut. P.P.
 Zielinski Stanisław, funkc. P.P.
 Zielinski Stefan, post. P.P.
 Zieliski ppor.
 Ziemiacki Bolesław, por. rez.
 Ziemelecher plut. P.P.
 Zimostad Jakub, funkc. P.P.
 Zinkiewicz Jan, post. P.P.
 Ziomek Kazimierz, st. post. P.P.
 Zlotnicki inspektor P.P., kmndt Wojew. Kmndy P.P.
 w Nowogródku
 Znojko Franciszek, przod. P.P., 1899, s. Andrzeja i Marii,
 Kalusz
 Zudro Antoni, st. post. P.P.
 Zyblewski Józef, funkc. P.P.
 Zygmunt kapral P.P.
 Zaboklicki Feliks, 1902, s. Wawrzyńca i Barbary, oficer P.P.
 Zarek Wacław, ppor. P.P.
 Zbikowski Tomasz, kom. P.P., 1880, s. Heliodora i Józefy
 Zelazinski Józef
 Zurawski Józef, Pol. Państw.
 Zychowski Robert Henryk, 1898, s. Wojciecha i Marii, mjr P.P.

Nazwiska jeńców, którzy ujęci zostali również w Części pierw-
 szej, względnie w Części trzeciej niniejszej listy:

Baranowski Józef, w mundurze, list (AM 2122), list z Nie-
 świeża (WO 2122 str. 33), policjant, 1900, s. Michala (LZO)
 Czarkowski Jan Bolesław, por., wizytówki, pismo wojskowe
 (AM 1420), Jan — por. (LZO)
 Dembicki Witold Józef, ppor., ur. 15.5.900, ofic. ks. wojsk.,
 dowód osob. (AM 1225), Dembiecki, ur. 13.5.900 (WO 1084 str.
 15), Dembicki, ppor., Lubawa (LZK-O)
 Gąsiewicz Marian, mjr P.P. (LZO-K)
 Grzymajło Józef, wachmistrz zand. (LZK-O)

Halka Władysław, kpt. st. st. (LZ.K.O)
 Janasz ksiądz, kpt. (LZ.K.O)
 Klepacz Antoni, kpt. (LZ.K.O)
 Kozietulski por. (LZ.K.O-S)
 Mańczak Józef, kpt. lot., rozliczenie z poborów, część dowo-
 du osob. na nazwisko Mańczak Ewa, oprawa zegarka na ręke,
 odznaka lotn. (AM 914), (WO 891 str. 12), kpt. rez. oil.
 (LZ.K.O)
 Mikulski Stanisław, kpt., wizytówki, fotografie, 3 obligacje
 państw. z kuponami, (AM 4136), kpt. (LZO)
 Moduszeński Lucjusz, ksiądz kapelan, (bez imienia)
 (LZ.K.O-S), ur. 11.2.86 (ROR. 34 str. 401)
 Paciorekowski Stanisław, cywilny, pocztówki, listy, znaczek bia-
 szany z obozu jenieckiego Ostaszów (AM 4032), por. mar.
 1899 (LZK), ur. 21.4.98, por. mar. (ROR. 34 str. 1062)
 Parfiński Władysław, ur. 1912, ppor. rez. (LZ.K.O)
 Pawłowski Jan, st. przod. P.P. (LZ.K.O)
 Piątek Jan, przod. P.P. (LZ.K.O)
 Potocki Jan, mjr, kapelan, superintendent ewang., 1888, s.
 Juliana (LZ.S-O)
 Sierka Tadeusz, por., 1912 (LZ.K.O-S)
 Sokołowski Józef, kpt. (LZ.O-K)
 Steckiewicz dr, ppor. (LZ.O.K)
 Surmiński Alfred, w mundurze, ofic. ks., karta szczeb. 2234,
 ka. oszcz. PKO, list, złoty krzyż (AM 1802), złoty krzyż
 z napisem wyrytym: „Marychnie w dniu 5. maja 27.” (WO 1802
 str. 25), insp. Str. Wier. (LZ.O-K)
 Szafranski Maksymilian, sierżant (LZ.K.O-S)
 Trojanowski Sylwester, kpt., pocztówki, listy, krzyż Virtuti
 Militari (AM 2772), karta od Bohdana Trojanowskiego (WO
 2772 str. 51), kpt. P.P. (LZO)
 Waryszak Wacław, por. (LZ.K.O-S)
 Właszczyk Mikołaj, kpt. st. st. (LZ.K.O)

CZĘŚĆ TRZECIA

OBÓZ W STAROBIELSKU

PART III

CAMP AT STAROBIELSK

(Nawiązka zestawiona na podstawie Listy Zaginionych Jed-
ców z obczów rezydentów Księżek, Ostaszków i Starobielsk, spe-
cialnej przez Biuro Opieki nad Rodzinami Wojskowymi De-
wotami Polakich Sił Zbrojnych w ZSRR, uzupełnionej dodat-
kowym Spisem Biura Pomocy Rodzinom Wojskowym Dzwotstwa
Wojsk Polakich na Środkowym Wschodzie).

Adamczyk Jan, kpt.
Adamczyk Zdzisław, plk. dypl. art., burmistrz m. Zakopane
Adamiecki Stefan, kpt. art., s. Stefana i Stefani
Adamski Henryk, ppor. rez.
Adamski Zbigniew, por.
Adamus Władysław, ppłk.
Adamsman Zygmunt, por. rez., s. Stefana i Bronisławy
Adler J., dr. ppor.
Albiniński, ppor. piech.
Albiniński Wilhelm, kpt., ur. w Nowym Sączu, s. Olgi i Sta-
niawna
Aleksandrowicz, mjr. piech.
Aleksandrowicz Antoni, ksiądz, major (L.Z.S.-K)
Alibski, por.
Altman Dawid, dr., kpt. lek.
Altman Jerzy, ppor.
Anczyk Władysław, dr. kpt.
Andrusiewicz, por. piech.
Andrusiewicz, pchor.
Andrusiewicz, por. rez.
Andrusiewicz Witold, kpt. art.
Andrzejowski Bronisław, kpt. rez. art.
Angerer Zbigniew, por., 1914, s. Franciszka
Anioł Antoni, por.
Anisfeld Markus, ppor. farm.
Antkiewicz, kpt. rez.
Anlauf Stefan Leon, kpt. art.
Antoniewicz Jan Stanisław, mjr. and.
Antoniewicz Jan, ppor. lek., lat 31
Antoniewicz Zygmunt, kapral
Apanowicz Ambroży, st. strz.
Artusiewicz Leszek, ppor.
Arackher Edward Emil

Artke Kazimierz Marian, ppor. piech., mr. s. Bolesława i Marii (LZS K)

Artuszeński Kazimierz, por. rez. 1905, mieniczny

Arwaniti Włodzimierz, plk.

Arsenber Włodzimierz, por. 1893, urzędnik Magistratu we Lwowie, s. Stanisław, wywieziony 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)

Athass Zdzisław, ppor. art., 1914

Aurzecki Anatol, ppor. rez., 1908 (1909)

Aurzecki Witold, ppor. rez.

Babinski ppor.

Baczowski Leszek, mjr rez., lat 60

Baczynski Zdzisław, kpt.

Badowicz Stanisław, ppor., 1911

Bahr Zygmunt, por., 1913

Bajer Wiktor Tadeusz, kpt., 1895

Bajur Stanisław, sierż. san. KOP., 1904

Bakowski Janusz, por., 1905, 50 p.p., s. Emeryka, wywieziony 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)

Balcerowski Antoni, st. przod. P.P.

Balciewicz Bronisław, mjr, komendant PKU. Zamość

Balozynski Jan, por., 1909

Banas Walenty, plut. piech., 1906

Bandrowski Stanisław, oficer rez., lat 47

Bannet Mieczysław, chor. rez., 1901, s. Artura i Heleny, 42. p.p., Białystok

Bankowski Henryk, ppor.

Bankowski Jan, mjr

Bankowski Leszek, mjr, sędzia wojsk. (rez.)

Bankowski Wacław, ppor.

Bankowski Zdzisław, ppor.

Baran Józef, kpt. pilot

Barancewicz Leonard, pchor. lek., lat 30, s. Michała, Baranowicze

Baraniak por.

Baranowski Kazimierz, ppor. piech.

Baranowski Marian, ppor., 1910, s. Joachima i Michaliny, 71. p.p. Zambrow, wywieziony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Baranowski Władysław, por.

Barczewski Józef, kpt.

Barcja Wacław, por. piech., 18 p.p. Skierniewice

Barciński Jan, sierż. piech.

Barniec Zbigniew, ppor.

Barski Marian, por.

Barszczewski Franciszek, kpt., 1908, s. Stanisława, Stolpce (LZS K)

Bardecki Feliks, 1908

Bartik Józef Marian, por. 1900, s. Józefa, wywieziony 18.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Bartnicki Zygmunt, por., 1902, s. Józefa i Kazimiery, Piotrków

Bartosiewicz Adam Henryk, rtm., 4 p. strz. konnych, Płock

Bartosik Bronisław, ppor.

Bartynski Bronisław, kpt.

Barwicz Wiesław, ppor.

Barwicz Zbigniew, ppor., 1915, s. Jarosława i Olgi, 9. dywizjon art. plot.

Baszniak Kazimierz, ppłk. piech.

Bator Jan, st. post. P.P.

Batorzak Władysław, sierż. KOP., 1883, s. Albina

Bażyński Jan, por. 1909, s. Jana, wywieziony 15.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Bauer Leon, dt. kpt. rez., Przemysł

Bauman Alfred, por. pil., s. Jana, 6. p. lotn., Lwów

Bayer kpt. piech., 1890, prac. Okr. PW. i WF. Brześć n/B.

Bazylewski Ryszard Krystian, rtm., 1885

Bąk Alojzy, mjr wet., Warszawa

Bąkowski - Jaxa Jerzy, por. rez., s. Gustawa i Marii, Tczew (LZS K)

Beck Rudolf, ppor. lot.

Beczko Mieczysław, ppor., s. Stanisława i Wandy

Beczowski Mieczysław, por., 1915, s. Stanisława i Wandy, 27 p. art. Skierniewice

Bednarski Franciszek Władysław, mjr, 1897, s. Kaspra i Anny, 21 p. ul.

Bedzowski Tadeusz, por.

Beldowski Kazimierz, 1898, s. Leona i Amelii, kpt.

Bem Wojciech, dr., ppor. rez., 1905, s. Feliksa i Marii, Lwów

Ben Aron, dr. por. lek., Warszawa

Bendarowicz Wincenty, ppor. rez.

Bendawicz Jan, por., 1892, s. Stanisława, wywieziony 19.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Bentkowski Stanisław, (Bedkowski) — kpt. piech.

Berdylko Iwan, (Bedrylo), 14.10.03, Bartatów

Berecwejg Dawid, ppor. lek.

Bereza Władysław Feliks, mjr (p. ul. Hrubieszowskich) Berezowski kpt.

Berezowski Kazimierz

Beręński Karol Bronisław Antoni, kpt., ur. 2.11.92, Komenda Miasta Lwów, wywieziony z obozu 12. kwietnia 1940 (rel. A. M.)

Berg Leopold, mjr kaw.

Berger Jan Mieczysław, mjr. s. Roberta, szef sztabu bryg. Lwów

Berland J., dr. ppor.

Beschek Kazimierz, ppor. lek.

Besialak Alfons, ppłk. lot.

Bethge Roman, mjr.

Bethu Wojciech, mjr. 32 p.p.

Bialicki Stanisław, dr. por. aud.

Białoskurski por.

Białozoraki Edward, ppor. rez., lek., 1906, s. Piotra

Biały Leszek, kpt. dypl.

Biały Tadeusz, por.

Biały WL., pchor.
 Bid Franciszek, ppor.
 Biegus Jan, ppor. 1912, s. Antoniego i Reginy
 Biedajew Aleksy, ppor., 1905, s. Aleksiego, wywieziony 2.5.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Biedajewski Wacław, por.
 Bielak Józef, kpt. piech., ur. 31.10.91
 Bielak Stanisław, plut. KOP.
 Bieleń Leon, ppor.
 Bielec Józef, por. rez. (LZ.S-K)
 Bielecki kpt. piech.
 Bielecki Roman, ppor. rez.
 Bielecki Witold
 Bieleń Mieczysław, por. piech.
 Bielewicz Antoni, por. piech.
 Bielewicz Witold, por. st. st. (LZ.S-K)
 Bielicki Ludwik, kapral piech.
 Bieluch kpt.
 Bieleń Konstanty, kpt.
 Bieńkowski mjr br. panc.
 Bieńkowski rtm.
 Bieńkowski Edward, por. łączn., 1906, s. Tekli
 Bieńkowski Henryk, mjr sap., s. Stanisława i Janiny
 Bieńkowski Kazimierz, ppłk.
 Bieńkowski Władysław, ppłk. dypl., s. Janiny i Stanisława
 Biernacki Witold, aud. (Biernawski — ur. 1915)
 Biernatowski ppor.
 Bierzyński Adolf, 1914
 Biesiadecki Jan por. rez. 10.2.48. 4.40.4
 Bieszczad Kazimierz, nauczyciel
 Bigocki Jan, mjr
 Bilezyński Władysław Tytus, ppłk. art.
 Billewicz Leon, gen. bryg.
 Bilinski ppor.
 Bilinski ppor.
 Binsztek Alfred, dr ppor.
 Binkowski Henryk, mjr piech.
 Binkowski Kazimierz, ppłk. dypl.
 Bircenwajg ppor.
 Bittner sędzia ze Lwowa (cywilny)
 Blak Władysław
 Blankstein - Sawicki por. rez. sap.
 Błat Aleksander, dr praw, por. rez., z Przemysła
 Blicharski kpt. rez., komornik ze Lwowa
 Blicharski Tadeusz, kpt. rez., 1897
 Blichewicz Jan, kpt. sap. —
 Bloch Chanak Feliks, ppor. lek.
 Bloch Ludwik, mjr
 Bloch Tadeusz, mjr piech.
 Blumenfeld Zygmunt, dr ppor.
 Błaszczak Leon Jan, por., 1897, s. Jana i Stefanii
 Błażejowski Kazimierz, mjr

Błażewski Roman, mjr, s. Franciszka i Aleksandry
 Błażewski Wacław, mjr z Wolkowską
 Bloch Teodor, mjr
 Błocki Józef, por. pil., s. Bolesława
 Błotki por. pil.
 Błotki Zbigniew, por., 1909, s. Walentego, wywieziony 17.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Bobor Bonifacy, ppor., 1905, s. Ignacego, 1 p.a.c.
 Bobrowicz Czesław, kpt.
 Boch por. lek.
 Bochniński Roman Kazimierz, ppor. rez., 1910, s. Heleny i Romana
 Bock Ryszard, mjr, 1906
 Boczek Antoni, ppor. 1911
 Boczek Szczepan, por., 1914, s. Józefa i Julii, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Bodytko Józef, ppor. art., 1896, s. Aleksandra i Franciszki
 Bosche Kazimierz, por. san., dr, 1906, s. Józefa i Marii
 Bogaczewicz Kazimierz, ppłk.
 Bogdanowicz Antoni, ppor., 1907, s. Ignacego i Rozalii
 Bogucki Feliks, por.
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 Byra Jan, kpt. (LZ.S-K)
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 Bzurowski Dawid, dr, kpt.
 Cackowski Mieczysław, ppor. piech.
 Cagaszek Stanisław, por.
 Caleski Wacław, 1893, mjr kaw., s. Józefa i Leokadii
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 Duval Wacław, mjr, lek. wet.

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 Dworski Michał, mjr, piech.
 Dworzyński Tadeusz, ppor.
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 Dybaczynski Adam, kpt. piech.
 Dybka Czesław, por.
 Dyduch Henryk, mjr piech.
 Dyja Józef,
 Dymowski rtm.
 Dziadosz mjr
 Dziadul Leopold, ppor. piech.
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 Dziędzina Adolf Mieczysław, mjr
 Dziękoński Stanisław, kpt. rez.
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 Dzwonkowski Jerzy Fawel, rtm. rez., (był w Szeptówce)
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 Englert Stanisław, mjr lek., s. Aleksandra i Heleny
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 Erhardt ppor.
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 Fedoronko Szymon, ksiądz (Fedorenko)
 Feiner Leonard, kpt., 1897, s. Józefa i Pauliny
 Fela Roman, ppor.
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 Fernebok ppor.
 Ferstner Edward, kpt. łączn.
 Fiałkowski Kazimierz, ppor. st. sp.
 Fidal Jerzy, 1913 (Fidala)
 Fiecko Wincenty, 1896
 Fiedler Jan, por., 1908
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 Fiaszewski Stanisław, kpt. int., organomistrz — dyrygent
 chórow z Poznańskiego, dyrygent chóru obozowego
 Fijałkowski ptk. lek.
 Fijałkowski Bolesław Antoni, plk. piech.
 Fiolek ppor.
 Filar Władysław
 Filas Stanisław, kpt.
 Filipczuk Mieczysław, kpt.
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 Florianowski sierżant
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 Fogelbaum Jakub Julian, dr. ppor.
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 Fox Teodor, por.
 Frank Karol, ppor. (por.) piech.
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 Frelek Franciszek, por., 1901, s. Jana, wywieziony 19.4.40
 Frenchowicz Franciszek, kpt. piech.
 Frenkel Jerzy, por., 1913
 Frentzel Wacław Jan, por.
 Freund Stanisław Leszek, por., 1900, s. Stanisława i Julii
 Freund-Krasicki Mikołaj, plk. dypl., 1888, s. Władysława i Al-
 biny

Freyman Marcin, mjr dypl. kaw. lat 40, s. Aleksandra i Olgi
 Fręchowicz Feliks, por., lat 32, s. Józefa
 Frijaf Hilary
 Fritz Jan, kpt. K.U.
 Fronk Edward, ppor.
 Frydmanowicz - Poznański lat 42
 Fryga Zygmunt, ppor.
 Fryjat Hipolit, por. rez.
 Frysztyn Wincenty, kpt. art., ze Złoczowa
 Fuchs por.
 Fuksiewicz Michał mjr, 1890, s. Józefa i Stefania
 Furman (Furman Jan)
 Fusiński Tadeusz, ppor.
 Gabriel Ludwik, mjr, s. Franciszka i Amelii, Rzeszów, Baon
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 Gajda kpt.
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 Gajewski st. sierż.
 Gajka Karol, plk.
 Galimski Konstanty, rtm.
 Galinowski Zdzisław, por. lek., 1902
 Galinski Tadeusz, ppor.
 Gallus Władysław, ppor.
 Galasiński ppor. lek.
 Galezynski Feliks, st. wachm. żand.
 Galecki Czesław, kpt.
 Galkiewicz Wiktorian Bolesław, kpt., inż.
 Garbowski Jan, plk. dr.
 Garczyński ppor.
 Garlicki Tadeusz, kpt.
 Garliński Jarosław, mjr rez., s. Józefa i Ludmiły
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 Gawina ppor. lek. wet.
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 Gąsior Jan, por. rez., s. Andrzej i Zofii, 12 p.p. Wadowice
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 Warszawa
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 Gąsiorowski Władysław
 Gąsowski Jan, por. rez.

Gedrych Franciszek, por.
Geisler Hipolit, kpt. lek. (Gejzler wzgl. Gajzler) — ur. 5.5.84
(ROR. 34 str. 214)
Gejztor Gustaw, por. lek.
German Zbigniew, por.
Geromis de Libusclm Józef Eugeniusz, mjr
Gerynowicz Marian, por. (rel. O.B.)
Geysztor Zygmunt, por., 1906
Gębica por.
Gibasiewicz Jan, por., 1900, s. Ludwika, wywieziony 22.4.40
(rel. O.B.)
Gibiński Hipolit, mjr lek.
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Gierczy Stanisław Lechosław, por., s. Zenona i Marii
Gigiel - Melechowicz Józef, plk. piech.
Gillinski mjr
Gillern Bronisław, kpt.
Ginsberg Pinkas, kpt. z Krakowa, we wrześniu 1939 w więzie-
niu w Stanisławowie, spokrewniony z rodziną Haubenstock ze
Stanisławowa (relacja A.M.)
Gintrowicz por.
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Gliszczyński Henryk, kpt., 40 p.p.
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22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
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Gnatowski Aleksander, por.
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i Anny
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Goebel Franciszek, kpt. dr, lat 42, s. Wincentego i Heleny
Gogolewski Kazimierz, por., 1905, s. Antoniego i Janiny
Goltz Mariusz, por. (rel. O.B.)
Golde Jan, por. rez.
Goldman Stefan, por. (por.) art., urzędnik Banku Związku
Spółek Zarchbłowych w Warszawie
Goledzinowski por.
Goliński Franciszek, plk.
Goliński Stanisław Wiktor, kpt. inż., oficer Oddz. Motor., ze
Lwowa
Gołąb Władysław, por., dr med., 1899, s. Michała i Marii

Golebiowski Józef, por. lek.
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i Marii
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Gondek por. piech.
Gorczyński Szymon, kpt., 1894, s. Ludwika i Józefa
Gorczyński Tadeusz, por., 1901, s. Floriana i Janiny
Gorywoda Józef, por., 1913, s. Józefa, wywieziony 22.4.40
(rel. O.B.)
Gorzech Lucjan, (Gorzach), por. rez., 1913
Gorzechowski Witold, rtm
Gorzechowski Włodzimierz, kpt. dypl. sap.
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Górski mjr dypl.
Górski Lech Leszek, por.
Górski Tadeusz, strzelec, radiotelegr.
Górski Wacław, por.
Grabowski Stanisław, por.
Grabowski Tadeusz, ppik. dypl.
Grabowski Witold, plk. lek.
Grabski rtm.
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Grabski Stefan
Graczyk Tadeusz, kpt.
Graf Jonasz, por. rez. inż., 1897
Gregorowicz Aleksander, kpt. piech., (Komenda Placu Za-
kopane)
Greła Władysław, por., 1897, s. Franciszka, wywieziony 24.4.40
(rel. O.B.)
Griesswald Roman, lat 56
Grissbach Franciszek, por. piech., 1898
Grocholski Feliks, 1902
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Grocholski Władysław, por., 1915, s. Zdzisława i Marty
Grochowalski Władysław, por.
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Grochowski Stefan, por., 1908, s. Stefana i Wandy
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Grodzki kpt., dr med.
Grodzki Władysław, por., 1908, s. Kaspra, wywieziony 17.4.40
(rel. O.B.)

Groman Tadeusz, szereg. lot.
 Grondalski Stanisław Michał, kpt.
 Gronowski Ignacy, kpt. piech.
 Groszek Stanisław, ppor., 1907, s. Tomasz, wywieziony 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)

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 Grubner Henryk, ppor., 12 p.p. Rybnik
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 Grygalewicz Edward, por.
 Grylowski Władysław, por. rez.
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 Grzegorzczak Władysław, ppor.
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 Grzelak Kazimierz, ppor., 1901, s. Adama i Marii
 Grzyb Józef, kpt.
 Grzybowski Roman, ppor.
 Guca Witold, ppor. rez.
 Gudaszewski Stanisław, ppor. lot.
 Gudakowski Feliks, mjr piech.
 Gurasiuk Borys, rtm.
 Gurwig Franciszek, plk. piech.
 Gustaw por. piech.
 Gustek Jan Antoni, mjr łączn., rodem z Brzostka ad Pilzno; był widziany przez jednego sierżanta W.P. w r. 1941 w kopalni na pld. Uralu
 Guszczyk Henryk, oficer st. sp., 38 p.p.
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 Gutka Zbigniew, ppor. rez.
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 Gutowski Tadeusz, por.
 Gutteter ppor. rez., urzędnik P.K.O. we Lwowie
 Guzik Jan
 Guentner Marian, por. rez., apt., mr., — zwany Renigen, pionkarz
 Gwoźdebski Władysław, plk.

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 Haberko Adam, 1905
 Habertling Adam Czesław, plk.
 Hablinski Tadeusz Marian, mjr inż.
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 Wojsk. podprokurator w Warszawie
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 Hagmajer Bolesław Andrzej, por. mar.
 Hajduk por.
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 Halota Stanisław, pchor.
 Halski Eugeniusz
 Halski Stefan Tadeusz, kpt., 1893, s. Zygmunt i Marii
 Haiko ppor.
 Hampel Jakub, kpt. aud.
 Hancelt Jan, ppor. lek.
 Haninczak wiceprezes Sądu ze Lwowa (cywilny)
 Hann Eugeniusz, mjr kaw., 1893, s. Stanisława i Elżbiety
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 Hardy Mieczysław, kpt. art.
 Hauke-Bosak Karol Januarius Stan., plk. dypl., Bydgoszcz
 Hawalewicz Tadeusz, kpt.
 Heidn cywilny
 Heiman Jan, ppor. rez. art., 1913, s. Antoniego i Bronisławy
 Hein Alojzy August, inż., mjr sap.
 Hejlich Stanisław Tadeusz, mjr
 Heinkel Juliusz, por. kaw. 12.1.1941
 Hejdel ppor. kaw.
 Heller adwokat
 Hellmann Wilhelm, por., 1890, s. Dawida, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Helper Zygmunt, por.
 Herhold Franciszek (Herhold), kpt.
 Herdan Napoleon Władysław, por. pld. P-LoT. 1899
 Herger Franciszek
 Herman Justyn, por. st. sp.
 Herman Władysław, ppor., z Czortkowa, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie
 Herńik Andrzej wachm. żand.
 Herńik Piotr, kapral br. panc.
 Herz Jan Adolf, ppor., 1905, s. Michała i Eugenii
 Herzog Franciszek, plk. dypl.
 Hess Franciszek, ppor. rez. art.
 Hetper Zygmunt, por. inż., 1887, s. Leopolda, wywieziony 20.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Heydel cywilny
 Heydel Franciszek
 Himmel Henryk Wilhelm, ppor., 1904, s. Błażeja, wywieziony 18.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Hirsberg Wacław, ppor., s. Teodora i Walerii, 3.12.10
 His ppor., dr
 Hodała Karol, plk. dypl. (pplk.)
 Hoffman Eugeniusz, por.
 Hoffman Henryk, ppor.
 Hoffman Maksymilian Adolf, kpt. rez., dr, ur. 12.10.1893, adwokat ze Lwowa, wywieziony grupowo z obozu w kwietniu 1940 r. — W dniu 13. stycznia 1942 r. widział go i rozmawiał z nim w Workucie (kopalnia Nr 3) Leopold Wróblewski, (rel. A.M.)
 Hoffman Ryszard, kpt. art. plot.
 Hoffman Tadeusz, ppor., 1915
 Hoffman Zdzisław, por. aud.

Jarecki Zdzisław, ppor. kaw.
 Jarmark Marian, ppor.
 Jarmark Walerian, 1905
 Jarmicki Zygmunt, por. lot., 1886, s. Feliksa i Józefa
 Jarmolowicz Feliks, por.
 Jarnicki Zygmunt, ppor.
 Jaroński Józef, kpt.
 Jaroński Wiktor, por. art. plot.
 Jarosławicz Marian, kpt. aud.
 Jarosz inż. ppor.
 Jarosz Aleksander, lat 38, por. rez., z Drohobycza
 Jarosz Andrzej, mjr., z Grodna
 Jarosz Henryk, kpt. lek.
 Jarosz Stanisław, kpt. rez., 1889, s. Karola i Marii, adwokat
 Jaroszyński Dino, ppor. kaw.
 Jaroszyński Jontek, por. kaw.
 Jaroszyński Józef, por.
 Jaroszyński Władysław, ppor. kaw.
 Jarowiecki Stefan, por.
 Jarysz Stanisław, por. rez., 1894, 17 Dyw.
 Jasienicki mjr. piech.
 Jasiewicz
 Jasinski kpt.
 Jasinski Antoni, (Jasieński) — 1896
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 Jaskółowski W., ppor.
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 Jaworski kpt.
 Jaworski Józef, mjr.
 Jaworski Zenon, por. sap.
 Jaworzyński por. kaw.
 Jazowiecki Józef, mjr.
 Jechatkowski ppor. kaw.
 Jedlicki Zygmunt, ppor. inż.
 Jednorowski Jan, ppor. inż.
 Jedynek Karol, kpt. art.
 Jeleniewicz Nathan, por. dr.
 Jelinek Juliusz, mjr. piech., 1898, s. Franciszka i Karoliny
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 Jelski Augustyn, ppor. rez. sap.
 Jelski Izak, kpt. dr.
 Jespawicz Wiktor, kpt. rez.
 Jesman ppor. piech.
 Jeżewski por. rez., adwokat
 Jeżewski Mieczysław, 1896
 Jedruch Stanisław, mjr.
 Jedruszczak ppor. piech.
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Jordan Leszek, por., 1906, s. Stanisława i Marii
 Józefowicz Władysław, kpt., 1890
 Józwiak Jan, ppor. rez.
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 Juchniewicz Olgierd, kpt. art.
 Judycki ppor. rez., lek. wet.
 Jura Ignacy, ppor.
 Juraszczyk Jan, ppor. piech., 1916
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 Kaczer Mendel, ppor., 1901, s. Emanuela, wywieziony 19.4.40
 (rel. C.B.)
 Kaczmarek Bolesław, por., 1892, s. Wojciecha, wywieziony 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
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 Kafarski Ludwik, ppor.
 Kahan Jakub, ppor., dr.
 Kalicki Julian Stanisław, kpt., 1888, s. Wawrzyńca i Bronisławy
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 Kalinowski Bolesław, ppor.
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 Kalinowski Włodzimierz Metody, kpt. rez.
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 Kalitka Filip, ppor.
 Kalitowicz Bronisław, mjr. lek. 6.8.37
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 Kaluba Mikołaj, inż. ppor., 1908, s. Pawła
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 Kamiński Zygmunt
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Kańczucki Edward, plk. piech.
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 Kapalezyński Karol, mjr br. panc.
 Kapsa Florian, por.
 Kapuscinski Alfons, kpt.
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 Karśnicki Andrzej, rm.
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 Kazanowicz Stanisław, ppłk.
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 Kiczka Józef, mjr
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 Kilkan Alfred
 Kiot Stanisław, ppor. rez., inż. chemik
 Kitchner kpt., ze Lwowa
 Kirzyński Stanisław, lat 53
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 Kmund Edmund, przod. p.p.
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 Knaur Aleksander Edward Stanisław, kpt., ur. 20.10.95, PKU. Lwów
 Knopp Tadeusz, plik. (plk.) lat 64, Grudziądz
 Kobel Tadeusz, por. rez.
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 Kolodziejczyk Alojzy, por.
 Kolodziejczyk Tadeusz, por. łączn.
 Kolodziejczyk Bronisław, dr
 Kolodziejczyk Jan, mjr dr, s. Pawła i Marii
 Kolodziejczyk Wł. mjr lek., dr
 Koleszyc Kazimierz, por., 1909, s. Hipolita, wywieziony 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Komarnicki Wacław, por., 1910, s. Maksymiliana, wywieziony 19.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Komarowski Napoleon, por., 1909, s. Jana i Marii 27.5.15. 2002
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 Komenda Józef, mjr piech., 1894, s. Feliksa i Teresy
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 Komornicki Stanisław, mjr art., ur. 26.8.98, d.a.k. Brody
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 Konarski Bolesław, inż., plik. uzbr.
 Konarski Karol, pchor. zawodowy
 Konasiewicz Stanisław, kpt., 1896, s. Marii
 Kondziola Józef, lotnik
 Konerski Tadeusz, por. rez., inż., 1906, s. Andrzej i Heleny
 Koniecki Antoni, ppor. piech.
 Konopka kpt., ze Lwowa
 Konopka kpt. art.
 Konopski Bolesław, plik. piech.
 Kontek Stanisław, mjr
 Kończycki Edward, plik. piech.
 Kopaliński Tadeusz, por.
 Kopecki Adam, ppor. rez., 1898, 10 d.a.k.
 Kopecki Stefan, mjr art., Rej. Insp. Koni
 Kopeć Feliks, plik. kaw.
 Koper wachmistrz
 Koralewski kpt.
 Korbel Stanisław
 Korczak Józef, ppor., 1909, s. Wacława, wywieziony 25.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Korczak Leopold, kpt. art., Komenda m. Lwowa
 Korczowski Edward Tadeusz, por., 1900, s. Józefa i Heleny, 12 p.a.l.
 Kornacki Antoni
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 Kornaus Paweł, kpt.
 Kornelia Marian, por.
 Kornelia Roman, mjr
 Korolko kpt.
 Korompay Emanuel, kpt., 1890, s. Marcina i Emmy
 Korwin - Szymanowski Tadeusz, por. kaw., adwokat z Warszawy
 Korytkowski Antoni, por. piech.
 Korzelski Karol, kpt.
 Korzeniowski Antoni, plik. art.
 Korzeniowski Bohdan, ppor. rez.
 Korzeń Jan, por.
 Kosakiewicz Kazimierz, por. kaw., (inż.)
 Kosenik por.
 Kosiaty Jan Zygmunt, kpt.
 Kosiba Tadeusz, por.
 Kosika por. lek.
 Kosina (Kosino) — major
 Kosinski Jan, 1870
 Kosinski Mieczysław, mjr, dr med.
 Kosk Antoni
 Kosłanowicz Mieczysław, ppor., dr med.
 Kosłowski Alfons, ppor.
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 Kosciński Edward, plik. piech.
 Kosmiński Konstanty, mjr, 1902, s. Lubomila i Kazimierze
 Kotarba ppor., dr med.
 Kotarba Józef, 1907
 Kotarski Zbigniew Marian, por., 1908
 Kotlarski Telesfor, ppor.
 Kotula Władysław, rtm, rez., 1893
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 Kowalczyk Stefan, por.
 Kowalczyk ppor.
 Kowalczyk Józef, por. rez. art.
 Kowalczyk Józef, por., 1907, s. Adama i Anieli, Wadowice
 Kowalczyk Stefan, por.
 Kowalewski rtm.
 Kowalewski Aleksander, gen. bryg. st. sp.
 Kowalewski Cyprian, ppor., 1902, s. Adama, wywieziony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Kowalewski Makymilian, plik.
 Kowalewski Stanisław Marian, rtm., 1903, s. Mikolaia i Stanisławy
 Kowalewski Witalsz Witosław, por. kaw.
 Kowalski kpt. piech.
 Kowalski Franciszek, mjr rez., dr lek. wet.
 Kowalski Franciszek, ppor. rez.
 Kowalski Roman, (piechota)
 Kowalski Stanisław, ppor. rez.
 Kowalski Tadeusz, kpt. art., Komenda m. Lwowa
 Kozakiewicz Leon, ppor. rez., 1904, s. Wiktora i Ewy
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 Kozakiewicz Władysław, kpt.
 Kozankiewicz Mieczysław, por., 1889
 Koziebrodzki Zdzisław, ppor.
 Kozierawski Michał, por. piech.
 Kozierowski Czesław Kazimierz, plik.
 Kozłowski Eustachy, ppor. rez.
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 Kozłowski Józef, kpt., 1892, s. Stanisława i Jadwigi
 Kozłowski Kazimierz, kpt., 1897, s. Adama i Stanisławy
 Kozłowski Marian, kpt. lek.
 Kozłowski Stanisław, kpt., 1894, s. Bartłomieja i Pauliny
 Kozłowski Tadeusz, oficer, s. Jana i Anieli
 Kozłowski Władysław, por. kaw.
 Koziński Jerzy, 1909
 Koerber Stanisław, ppor. rez.
 Krahelski Stanisław, rtm.
 Krajewski Alfons Roman, kpt. art.
 Krajewski Mieczysław Leon, kpt., 1902, s. Wincentego i Julii

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 Krajka wachmistrz (Kraj)
 Krajowski Kukul Edward, por.
 Krakowiecki Stefan, ppor. piech., 1903
 Krakowski Igacy, por. rez., 1901, s. Władysława i Zenony
 Kraków Jerzy, kpt. lek.
 Kral Jan, kpt. art., ze Złoczowa
 Kral Mieczysław, kpt., 1896
 Krasicki Mikolaj, plik., 1888, s. Władysława i Albiny
 Krasicki Witold, kpt. rez., 1899, s. Stanisława i Katarzyny
 Krasnopolski ppor.
 Krasuski Aleksander, ppor., dr
 Krasnicki rtm.
 Kraus Franciszek, mjr piech.
 Kraus Jan, mjr piech.
 Krause profesor
 Krause Stanisław, rejent
 Krawczyk Henryk, pchor. piech.
 Krawczyk Stanisław, plik., dr fil., 1890, s. Feliksa i Anny
 Krawiec Jan, ppor., 1909, s. Józefa, wywieziony 18.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Krechowicz Dyonizy, ppik. lek.
 Kremenowski Włodzimierz, kpt., dr, 1902, s. Józefa, wywieziony 20.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Kregiel por., dr med.
 Krieger Nathan, por. rez.
 Kroh Marian Józef, mjr, 1882, s. Władysława i Marii
 Kropiwnicki Adam Eugeniusz, por. obs. 1904, s. Juliana, wywieziony 25.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Krowitz Mieczysław, lekarz
 Król Władysław
 Królak mjr
 Królikowski Muszket, kpt. piech.
 Królikowski Władysław, ppik. dypl. piech., 1891, s. Ludwika i Berty
 Krukowski por.
 Krukowski Franciszek, ppor.
 Krukowski Michał, lat 52
 Krumholz Nachum, ppor., dr, 1896, s. Markusa, wywieziony 21.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Krupczyński Ignacy, ppor., 1901, s. Józefa, wywieziony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Krupiński Tadeusz, kpt., 1899, s. Piotra i Marii
 Kruszyński Jan, ppor.
 Krueger Stefan, ppor. lek., 1902, s. Adolfa i Karoliny
 Krycki por.
 Krynicki Jan, mjr aud.
 Krzakowski Beniamin, kpt., dr
 Krzakowski Wiktor, por., 1897, s. Michała i Marii
 Krzanowski Lubomir, kpt.
 Krzanowski Tadeusz, ppik.

Krzemiński Eugeniusz, kpt. sap., z Czortkowa, 1899
Krzemowski Roman, kpt. art.
Krzemowski Jerzy Kazimierz, por. st. sp. kaw., 1901
Krzetuski Karol, lat 70
Krzewiński, kapral
Krzyski Henryk, ppor., dr
Krzyski Mikołaj 1920
Krzysiak Jan, plut. rez., Baon San.
Krywdański Józef, por., 1889, s. Franciszka, wywieziony
24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
Krzywicki Jerzy, por., 1897, s. Ludwika i Ludwika, DOK. I.
Krzywicki Leon Jerzy, por., 1907
Krzyworączka Konrad, por. (ppor.)
Krzyżanowski, ppor.
Krzyżanowski Edmund, kpt.
Krzyżanowski Kazimierz, ppor., lat 40
Kuba Piórnik, por.
Kubacki Walenty, chorąży
Kubal, por.
Kuberski Józef, ppłk. art., dca 12 p.a.l.
Kubiak Stanisław
Kubianski Józef, chorąży, 1898
Kubicki Janusz, por., 1912, s. Romana, wywieziony 24.4.40
(rel. O.B.)
Kubski Jan Chryzostom, ppor., 1 p. art. plot.
Kuc, por.
Kucharewicz Leszek (Leopold), ppor. lek.
Kucharski Wacław, ppor.
Kuchicki Edmund, rim., 1895, s. Joachima i Florentyny
Kuchnicki, ppor.
Kuchta Roman, ppor.
Kuciara Franciszek, ppor., 1903, s. Michała, wywieziony 2.5.40
(rel. O.B.)
Kuciński Gwido, ppor.
Kuckiewicz Wiktor, inż., lat 66
Kuczek Andrzej, płk., 1895 (1896), 12 p. ul.
Kuczewski Bronisław, płk. st. sp. art.
Kuczma Władysław, ppor.
Kuczma Włodzimierz, m.tr., 1898, s. Ńufrego i Weroniki
Kuczmierowski Kazimierz
Kuczyński Aleksander, lat 32
Kuczyński Kazimierz, por.
Kuczyński Stanisław, rim. dypl., ur. 8.10.1907
Kudelski Józef
Kukiel Karol, kpt. art.
Kukiewicz Józef, ppor. rez.
Kulawski Stanisław, kpt., 1904, s. Jana i Konstancji
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Kulczycki Tadeusz, ppor., 1907, s. Jana, wywieziony 24.4.40
(rel. O.B.)
Kulesinski Bolesław, por.

Kulesza Albin Jerzy, mjr, 1893, s. *Józefa i Łucji*
 Kulik, kpt.
 Kulikowski Antoni, por.
 Kulinski Franciszek, kpt. KOP
 Kulakowski Stanisław, ppor., 1910, s. *Andrzeja i Zofii*
 Kunachowicz Tadeusz, por. kaw.
 Kunisz Zygmunt
 Kunzek Marian(?), ppor. kaw.
 Kurek, ppor. wet.
 Kurecki Stefan, ppor. wet.
 Kurkliński, ppor. rez.
 Kurkanski Mieczysław, kpt., 1894
 Kurman Henryk, ppor. piech. (rez.)
 Kurnatowski - Mielżyński Zygmunt, ppor. lot.
 Kurnicki Jan
 Kurniewicz Leszek, 1911, adj. 52 p.p.
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 Kuroczycki Jerzy, ppor. rez., 1910
 Kuroczycki Zygmunt, kpt.
 Kurowski Jan
 Kurowski Witosław, ppor. art., 1908
 Kurs Teofil, przod. p.p.
 Kurylewicz Józef, strzelec, 1915
 Kuszel, kpt.
 Kuś Józef, plk. lek
 Kuzdrowski Kazimierz, ppor. rez., z *Tłustego, we wrześniu 39*
 Kuzniewicz w Stanisławowie
 Kuzniewicz Leszek, 1911
 Kuzaś Wacław, (Kurzas) — kpt. art. (5.3.06 — RO. 32 str. 224)
 Kuehnberg, dr
 Kwarcinski Witold, ppor.
 Kwarcinski Zygmunt, por. piech. *z 2.2.1920 Radom, 1911*
 Kwasnica Jan, kpt. art., ze Stanisławowa
 Kwiatkowski, kpt.
 Kwiatkowski Franciszek, sierżant
 Kwiatkowski Jan, rtm.
 Kwiatkowski Kazimierz, kpt., dr
 Kwiatkowski Stefan, kpt. rez. piech., *urzędnik Miejskiej Komunalnej Kasy Oszczędności we Lwowie*
 Kwiatkowski Zbigniew, por. art.
 Kwiatkowski Zygmunt Marian, por. lek., 1911, s. *Michalina*
 i Aleksandra
 Kwiecién, por. inż.
 Kwieciński, kpt.
 Kwieciński Bronisław, por. br. panc.
 Kwieciński Jan, kpt. piech.
 Kwieciński Mieczysław, kpt. plut.
 Kwieciński Zygmunt, por.
 Kwilecki, por. piech.
 Kwilecki, ppor. kaw. rez.

Kwolek por. inż., wywieziony indywidualnie, zmarł w 1940 r. w Komi na TBC. (świadek por. dr. Głazowski — relacja A.M.)

Lachman Gustaw, por.
Lachota Kazimierz, ppor.
Lachowski Jerzy, dr praw, por. rez. piech., ur. 1.9.1899, wywieziony z obozu 10.4.40 (relacja A.M.)
Lachowski Marian Jeremiasz Klemens, inż., ppor. rez. piech., ur. 14.12.1897, wywieziony z obozu 12.4.40 (relacja A.M.)

Lajtz Antoni, ppor., 1909
Lakmunt Stanisław, dr
Lamparczyk Alojzy, por., 1902
Landau Maksymilian, ppłk., 1882, s. Ludwika i Rozalii

Lang mjr art.
Lang Kazimierz, por. art. plot. (rel.) 13.3.1904
Lange Antoni, kpt.
Lange Oskar, kpt. lek.
Langenfeld Michał, ppłk. art.
Langiewicz Wojciech, kpt.
Lapidus Abraham, dr med., lat 57
Laskowski por. rez.
Laskowski Kazimierz, por. piech.
Laskowski Witold, kpt. KOP.

Lasota Jan, kpt.
Lasota Stanisław, por., 1900, s. Kazimierza i Wandy
Łaś Marian, ppor.
Latawiec Celestyn, kpt. piech., 1894
Laudański Józef, por. sap., 1901, s. Jana i Marii, 8 Baon Sap.
Lawecki Stefan, ppor., 1906, s. Stanisława i Zofii
Lebenbaum Dawid, por. piech.
Lechowicz Stanisław, ppłk. piech.
Ledwoch dr, ppor. lek.
Leja Józef, 1907, s. Władysława, ppor. — wywieziony 18.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Leman Bolesław, dr, por. san., 1892, s. Jana, pozostał w obozie 12. maja 40 (relacja A.M.)

Lenartowicz ppor.
Lenartowicz Franciszek, plut. piech.
Lenkiewicz Olgierd, ppor. art. plot.
Leosko Michał mjr lek.
Leptieszkiewicz Stanisław, 1908
Lerner Jan
Lesiak Tadeusz, ppor. art., 1914
Lesisz por.
Lesisz Jerzy, płk. lek.
Leszczyński strzelec, nac. dyr. Linii Gdynia — Ameryka

Leszkiewicz Henryk, por., 1898
Lesniak Władysław, ppłk.
Letyński Leopold, rtm.
Levitoux Henryk, mjr lek. 156
Lewakowski Jerzy, ppłk., 1891, s. Aleksandra i Eugenii

Lewandowski Bruno, st. szer. rez.
Lewandowski Jan, 1909
Lewandowski Józef, chor. piech.
Lewandowski Walerian, 40 lat
Lewandowski Zygmunt, dr, por. (ppor.) lek., s. Stanisława i Albiny

Lewanczuk Zygmunt, insp. budowlany
Lewcio Franciszek, ppłk.
Lewek Jan, oficer, 10.1.1900, s. Edmunda
Lewenfisz Henryk, dr
Lewicki Ryszard, 1897

Lewin Mejer, wojsk. lek. rez.
Lewiński mjr st. st.
Lewiński Stanisław, 1892
Libera Jan, ppor. rez.
Libera Stefan, post. P.P.
Libera-Ludwikowicz Józef
Lichacz Włodzimierz, kpt. sap.
Lichnowski kpt. st. sp.
Lichtenstejn Wiktor, ppor. piech., inż.
Lichwała sierżant
Lidwin Józef, mjr dypl.

Ligaszewski Marian, por., 1901, s. Jana, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
Lilling Jan, kpt., 1904, s. Alberta i Anieli
Limanowski Karol, ppor. sap. 10/17
Linhardt - Lenartowski Edward, kpt. rez. art., urzędnik bankowy z Krakowa

Link ppor. piech.
Linkiewicz Mieczysław, por. art.
Linowski Stanisław, ppor. rez.
Linowski Stanisław Ludwik, por., 1909, s. Mieczysława i Wandy

Linsenman Władysław, kpt. wet., 1884
Linscheid (Linszajd) — ppor.
Lipinski ppor. art.
Lipiński Włodzimierz, kpt. lek.
Lipka Jan, por. rez.
Lipka Aleksander, ppor.
Lipowski Adam, por., 1901, s. Franciszka i Teresy, 36 p.p.
Lipski ppor.

Lipszyc - Lipski Wacław, kpt. lek., dr, 1888 z Włocława dermatolog
Lis Józef, kpt. topogr., 1901, s. Stanisława
Lisiecki Ludwik, kapral pchor. kaw. (Listewicz?)
Lisowski ppor. rez., urzędnik notarialny ze Lwowa

Lisowski Aleksander Feliks, por. piech.
Lisowski Ludwik, 1899
Lisowski Stefan, por. rez., inż. leśnik
Lisowski Edgar, ppor.
Lityński Eugeniusz, mjr, 1895, 49 p.p.
Liwicki Ryszard Stanisław, mjr, 1897, s. Stanisława i Kamili
Lober Marian, por. rez., 1903

Łoott Stanisław, ppor., 1898, s. Władysława, wywieziony 25.40 (rel. O.B.)

Lorentz Wiktor, ppor.

Lotte dr, ppor.

Lubanski Stanisław, mjr inż., 1881, s. Feliksa i Zofii

Lubczyński Franciszek, oficer, 1900, s. Henryka i Marii

Lubelski kpt.

Ludwisiak Stanisław

Lurenc Franciszek, ppłk. piech.

Lwowiec - Kostrzyca Wiktor, ppor.

Łabędź Makymilian, mjr wet.

Łada - Grodzicki Roman, por. dr med., 1908, s. Antoniego

i Józefa

Łankiński Edmund, mjr lek.

Łancucki Józef, por. rez., 1890, s. Bronisława i Weroniki

Łapa Wincenty, por., dr med.

Łapinkiewicz Józef, kpt.

Łapinski Edmund, mjr lek., 1899

Łaski Wacław, kpt., s. Jana i Heleny, Inst. Geogr.

Łaskiewicz Piotr Jan, ppłk. (Wilhelm?)

Łatozinski ppor.

Łatwałtyś Józef, kpt.

Łazarewicz Konstanty, ppor.

Łębkowski Józef, por., 1899

Łęcki Czesław, ppor., 1911, s. Antoniego, wywieziony 18.440 (rel. O.B.)

Łęgowski Stanisław, mjr pil.

Łęza Władysław, por. lek. rez.

Łojak Tadeusz (Zojak), ppłk. dypl.

Łomnicki Stefan, kpt. piech.

Łopatkiewicz Marian, kpt.

Łopinski Ryszard, ppor. art., 1911, s. Władysława i Wandy

Łotecki Ignacy, ppor. st. sp.

Łowiński Marian, kpt. dypl. piech., intend. obozu

Łozina - Łozinski Walerian, kpt., inż.

Łozinski Edward Józef, kpt.

Łuczak Bolesław, ppor., 1902, s. Ignacego i Weroniki

Ługowski Ryszard, kpt., 1897, s. Ludwika i Zofii

Łukasiewicz Jan, por., 1909, s. Tomasza i Ludwika

Łukomski Michał Ignacy, kpt.

Łukomski Tomasz, ppor.

Łukowski Jan

Łukowski Stefan, rtm., 1904, s. Franciszka i Stefani

Łuniewicz Eugeniusz, por. art.

Łuniewski Tadeusz, ppor. piech.

Macedoński Józef, ppor., 1913, s. Jana, wywieziony 19.440 (rel. O.B.)

Macedoński Mactej, ppor.

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Machlejd Jerzy, por. pil., s. Artura i Wandy 3.2.1907

Machlejd Józef, por. art. plot., s. Artura i Wandy 28.4.1907

~~Machlejd Karol, ppor., 1902, s. Artura i Wandy~~

Machniewicz Władysław, mjr lek.

Machonbaum Maks, ppor.

Maciąg Adam, dr, pilk.

Maciejewski kpt. lek.

Maciejewski Jan, 1911

Maciejewski Kazimierz, mjr lek., 1897, s. Antoniego i Hele-

ny, Wilno

Maciejewski Leon, por., Warszawa

Maciejewski ppłk.

Maciewicz Justyn, mjr rez., 1889 (?), s. Józefa i Julii

Maciewicz Witold, por., 1913

Maczewski por. rez. piech.

Madewski ppłk.

Madurawicz Andrzej, pchor. rez. art., 1916

Mahalla Zefiryn, ppor.

Maj mjr kaw. st. sp.

Maj Erwin, 1911

Maj Eugeniusz, por. kaw.

Maj Jan, por., 1907

Maj Jan, por., 1896, s. Wincentego, wywieziony 20.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Maj Kazimierz Bronisław, kpt., 1895, s. Józefa i Marii

Majchrzak Franciszek, ppor. piech.

Majewski Damian, ppor. rez., 1909, s. Bogusława i Ireny

Majewski Roman, por. sap.

Majewski Romuald, mjr piech., 19 p.p., Lwów

Makarewicz Adam, kpt. art.

Makarski Wacław, por. aud.

Makowski Walerian, por.

Makomaski Antoni, ppor. rez. art., s. Adama i Marii

Makowicz Aleksander, por., 1900

Makowski por. piech.

Makowski Edward, por. art., 1912

Makowski Wacław, kpt.

Makówka kpt. lot.

Makówka Kazimierz, 1908

Malara Stanisław, ppor.

Malberg Fryderyk, ppor.

Malc Zdzisław, ppor., 1916

Malczewski Kazimierz, mjr int.

Malczynski kpt.

Malejko ppor.

Malowicz Stanisław, mjr lekarz, 1899, s. Wacława i Apolonii

Malhomme Leon, wicewójewoda

Malicki Stanisław, kpt.

Malinowski sierż. rez.

Malinowski Edmund Paweł, kpt. lek., 1892, dr, s. Michała, wy-

wieziony 25.40 (rel. O.B.)

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Malinowski Stanisław, por.
 Malinowski Szczepan, ppor.
 Malinowski Zbigniew, ppor.
 Malinowski Zdzisław Józef, kpt., s. Stanisława
 Malinowski Zygmunt Michał, kpt. art. plot., 1897, s. Ignacego i Juli
 Maliszewski Wiktor, por., 1911, s. Feliksa i Leokadii, Raciąż
 Maliszewski Witold, por.
 Maltz Zdzisław, 1916
 Maltze Stanisław, por., 1896, s. Bazylego i Marii
 Maltzycki Władysław, plk. dypl.
 Małachowski Mieczysław Julian, kpt. lek., 1889, s. Jana i Marii
 Małaczynski Zdzisław Aleksander, ppłk. dypl. aud., ze Lwowa
 Małacki Julian, por. sap., 1899
 Małacki Lucjan, 1896
 Małkiński Aleksander, ppor.
 Małolepszy Franciszek, ppor.
 Małolepszy Tadeusz, ppor. piech.
 Małyszczak Marian, dr. ppor.
 Manasterski Zdzisław, por.
 Manewicz Wacław, ppłk., lek. wet. (dr major — bez imienia)
 Mandel Samuel Ber, dr med., mjr
 Manikowski Roman, por. rez. art., 1904
 Mansch Ludwik Leon, dr. por. rez., ur. 7.10.1898, s. Maury-
 cego i Laury, sędzia S.O. Katowice, był w Szepietówce, wywie-
 zony z obozu 11.4.940 (relacja A.M.)
 Manteuffel Edward, ppor. rez., 1906, s. Leona i Marii
 Marcinek Zygmunt, ppor., 1913 s. Ignacego, wywieziony
 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Marciniak Stefan Leszek, por. lek., dr, 1910, s. Stefana i Ste-
 fanii
 Marciniowski Janusz, por. mar.
 Marcinkiewicz, por. piech.
 Marcinkiewicz, ppor.
 Marezak, por. art. plot.
 Maresch Adolf, mjr
 Maresch Ludwik, por., 1898
 Mariensztejn Zdzisław, ppor. dent.
 Markiel Józef, por., 1907, s. Józefa i Heleny, Orlowa
 Markiewicz Adam, kpt.
 Markiewicz Władysław, plk. (dr, 25.12.83 RO. 32 str. 322)
 Markiewicz Włodzimierz
 Markiewicz Zbigniew Andrzej, por., 1901, s. Antoniego i He-
 leny
 Marks Jakub, ppor.
 Marks Jan, ppor., 1900, s. Karola, wywieziony 2.5.40 (rel
 O.B.)
 Marszał Stanisław, em. przod. P.P.
 Marszałek Jerzy, pchor., wywieziony w listopadzie 1939
 Marszałek Stanisław Wiktor, kpt., lat 41, s. Franciszka i Zo-
 fii, żywiec
 Martini Tadeusz Karol, ppor., 1903, s. Witolda i Anny
 Martyniuk, lotnik

Maryjowski Józef, 1892
 Marzęcki Zygmunt, (Marzencki), ppor. rez. piech., 1911
 Masłowski, por.
 Masłowski Kazimierz, kpt.
 Mastalarz Tadeusz, lat 32
 Maszewski Stanisław, 1904
 Matasiewicz Antoni, ppor., kierownik szkoły
 Matejcz Adam, ppor.
 Matejko, ppor. rez.
 Matlak Stanisław, ppor.
 Matula Stanisław Ludwik, ppor. rez.
 Matusiewicz Aleksander, mjr. piech.
 Matyja Ludwik, ppłk.
 Matysiak, por. lot.
 Mazur Aleksander, s. Teodora
 Mazurek Antoni
 Mazurek Feliks, plut. P.P.
 Mazurek Stanisław, ppor.
 Mazurkiewicz, ppor. rez.
 Mazurkiewicz Edward, kpt.
 Mazurkiewicz Jerzy, por., 1914
 Mazurkiewicz Kazimierz, 1903
 Mazurkiewicz Leon, ppor.
 Mazurkiewicz Stanisław, ppor.
 Mazurkiewicz Stefan, pchor. piech.
 Maczynski Kazimierz, por.
 Medek, por.
 Meissner Jan Adam Alojzy, ppłk. art.
 Melniewski Józef, mjr dypl. sap.
 Melnarowicz Tadeusz, ppor.
 Merecki Alfons kpt.
 Meryn Henryk, 1910
 Metynski Ignacy dr, ppor.
 Metz Tadeusz, kpt.
 Meyer Andrzej, ppłk. br. panc.
 Mędelewski Stanisław, por., 1907, s. Stanisława i Bronisława
 Mękowski Jerzy Kazimierz, ppor. inż., 1902, s. Antoniego
 i Natalii
 Mężynski Zygmunt, inż., mjr emer., 1887
 Michalski, majordomus Pana Prezydenta Rzplitej
 Michalski, kpt.
 Michalski Ryszard, por., 1905, s. Józefa i Elżbiety
 Michalski Władysław, plk. (ppłk.)
 Michatowski, por. piech.
 Michatowski Józef, mjr, 1891, Inst. Geogr.
 Michałowski Leonard, ppor., 1908, s. Antoniego i Marii wy-
 wieszony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Michałowski Wacław, 1903
 Michałowski Wacław, ppłk. lek.
 Michejda Tadeusz, ppor., 1915
 Michnowski Zdzisław, por.
 Michowicz Zdzisław, por.
 Mickiewicz, ppor.

Miciński Wacław, kpt., 1900, s. Józefa i Stanisław
 Midler, ppor.
 Miejsztor Gustaw, por.
 Mielczarek Józef, ppor., 1915, s. Jana, wywieziony 20.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Mielniczek Roman, ppor.
 Mierzejewski, mjr
 Mierziński Zbigniew, por., 1912, s. Kazimierza i Janiny
 Mieszalski Aleksander, ppor., z Chorzowa, we wrześniu 39
 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie
 Mieszczyński Bronisław, ppor., 1908, s. Aleksandra i Jadwigi
 Miesowicz Stanisław, ppor., 1911, s. Stanisława, wywieziony
 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Miętus Karol, rtm.
 Migdał Karol, ppor., 1913 (por.)
 Migdalek Eugeniusz, mjr, 1889, s. Tomasza i Walerii
 Mik Marian, mjr
 Mika Andrzej, 1898
 Mikulski Stanisław, ppor., 1895 s. Pawła, wywieziony 21.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Mikołajczak Kazimierz, kpt.
 Mikołajczyk Stefan, por., 1910
 Mikołajewski, mjr
 Mikosza Feliks, ppor., 1906, s. Józefa, wywieziony 22.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Miks Wacław, por. lek., 1907
 Mikulski Władysław, por. 1885, s. Michała, (rel. O.B.)
 Mikula Jan
 Mikulowski - Pomorski Władysław, ppor., 1901, s. Stanisława
 i Gabrieli
 Mikutewicz Wł., ppor.
 Milczarek Tadeusz, ppor.
 Milewski Henryk, ppor., 1904, s. Władysława i Anieli
 Milewski Mieczysław, kpt. lek., 1883
 Milewski Tadeusz, por. lek., 1891, s. Jana i Juliany, dyr.
 Szpitala z Warszawy
 Millński Stefan, por., 1 p. sap.
 Miller Lucjan, mjr dypl.
 Miller Walenty, mjr st. st., 1900, Dwó OPL. Warszawa
 Miodusiewicz Mieczysław, (Mioduszewski), por.
 Misajer, por.
 Misiewicz Feliks, kpt.
 Misiewicz Mieczysław
 Miskiewicz Tadeusz, ppor.
 Mitera A.
 Mitera Jan, ppor.
 Mitera Zygmunt, ppor., 1903
 Mittelstaedt Stanisław, ppor., 1901, s. Józefa, wywieziony
 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Mityga Antoni, ppor.
 Mięta Stefan, ppor. rez., 1906, Bielsko
 Mielkowski Henryk, 1906

Modelewski Witold, ppor. lek., 1908, s. Bolesława i Janiny
 Mohulak Wojciech, 1889
 Molin Jan, ppor., 1911, s. Jana, wywieziony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Moller J., ppor.
 Moltke Zygmunt, por.
 Monasterski, ppor., (por.)
 Monkiewicz Alfred, kpt., 1881, s. Leonarda i Anny
 Monkiewicz Antoni, ppor. rez.
 Monnier Kyszard, por. rez.
 Morawski, ppłk. piech.
 Morawski Wincenty, ppor. san.,
 Morzyński Leopold, por., 1907
 Morgiewicz Bronisław, kpt., 1896
 Moritz, ppor.
 Moszkowicz Julian, lat 50
 Moszyński August, ppor., z Warszawy
 Motyl Franciszek, por. (ppor.)
 Mozdyniewicz Józef, por. lek.
 Mozołowski Stefan Andrzej, dr, płk. lek.
 Mówka Brunon, (Mówko Bronisław), kpt. lot., Krosno
 Mroczek, kpt.
 Mroczek Janusz, por. st. st. łączn., lat 32
 Mroczkiewicz Stefan, 1905
 Mrowiec Franciszek, mjr
 Mrozek Józef, ppor. piech.
 Mrozik Zbigniew, 1902, s. Kazimierza i Józefa
 Mrozowski Kazimierz, mjr art. plot.
 Mrygłowski Andrzej, rtm., 1909, s. Arseniusza i Wandy
 Mrygłowski Aleksander
 Mułkiel Władysław, 1910
 Mułkiel Zbigniew, ppor.
 Mułarski Jerzy, (rel. O.B.)
 Munk, cywilny, sędzia ze Lwowa
 Murecki Alfons, 1906
 Murza Jan, ppor.
 Murza - Murzicz, por.
 Musiał Jan, ppor. piech.
 Muszyński Józef, por. piech., 53 p.p., Strój
 Mutermilch Antoni, por.
 Mutermilch Jan, dr, por. lek.
 Mueller, mjr sap.
 Mueller Bolesław, por.
 Mueller Karol, płk. dypl., 50 lat
 Muenzer Jerzy Jan, ppor. rez. art., 1912, s. Jana i Wandy,
 Lwów
 Mykityn Stanisław, 1919, pow. Strój
 Mysłakowski Marek, mjr, 1890
 Mystkowski Edmund, 1905
 Myśliwski Zdzisław, ppor.
 Naborowski Jan, ppor. art.
 Nadel Ignacy, por., dr
 Nadolski, płk. lek.

Nadolski Jerzy, 45 lat
 Nagel Eugeniusz, kpt. KOP.
 Nagórski Ludomir, sędzia ze Lwowa
 Najnert Józef, rtm., 1894, s. Jana i Matyldy, 7 p. ul.
 Nakonieczny Józef, ppor. rez., z Ichrowicy ad Tarnopol, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie
 Namysł Alfred, por.
 Narypowski kpt.
 Naumiak Aleksander, kpt.
 Naumow Józef, por., s. Józefy
 Nawratil Antoni, ppłk. int.
 Nawrot Felician, (rel. O.B.)
 Nazarewicz kpt. sap.
 Nehrebecki Karol, 1909
 Nehring Feliks, ppor., 1903, s. Jana, wywieziony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Nekrasz Władysław, kpt. rez. art.
 Nemeš Roman, kpt., ze Lwowa
 Nesterowicz ppor. rez.
 Netko (Nekko), ppor.
 Neugebauer Kazimierz, por., 1903, s. Edmunda i Zofii
 Ney Teofil, mjr żand.
 Nieder Bronisław, mjr rez., Korp. sad., adwokat z Poznania, żonaty z Janiną, córką aptekarza z Prużan, zmarł w obozie w grudniu 939 na przewlekłą chorobę żołądka. Pozostawił 67 monet złotych, które w styczniu 940 rozdzielone zostały między 25 oficerów z tej samej sali (relacja ppłk. LIS Józefa, pozostałego przy życiu)
 Niedzielski ppor. rez., urzędnik Miejskiej Komun.
 Kasz Oszczerd. we Lwowie
 Niedźwiecki Antoni, kpt., 1889, s. Jana i Marii, Warszawa
 Niedźwiecki Wiktor, mjr lek. 1895
 Niemczewski Juliusz kpt.
 Niemczycki kpt.
 Niemczyński Julian, ppor., 1899, s. Leonarda i Eugenii, Warszawa
 Niemcewicz Jeremi, cywilny, sędzia ze Lwowa
 Niemcewicz Henryk, mjr, 1898, s. Antoniego i Genowefy
 Niesłuchowski Michał, ppor., 1911, s. Jana, wywieziony 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Niesior Stanisław, ppor. rez.
 Niewiadomski Erwin, pchor.
 Niewiarowski Kazimierz, mjr sap.
 Niewiński Andrzej, ppor. sap.
 Niezabitowski kpt.
 Niezabitowski Tadeusz, ppor. art.
 Nikiel Jan, por. rez., 1897, Kier. Szkoły
 Nitkowski Ignacy, por., 1908, Głuchów
 Niwa Andrzej, mjr kapelan
 Niwiński Alfred, ppor.
 Nodzyński kpt.
 Nodzyński por.
 Nofer Adolf, kpt., 1890, s. Karola i Ludwika, DOK. IV.

Nortowski Stanisław, lotnik
 Nosko Czesław, ppor. rez.
 Nowaczek Stefan, kpt. piech., KOP., 1896, s. Wincentego i Rozalii
 Nowak kpt., z Krakowa
 Nowak Adam, ppor., 1892
 Nowak Franciszek Jan, 1896
 Nowak Jan, bomb. art.
 Nowak Józef, dr med.
 Nowak Julian, plut. lot.
 Nowakowski kpt. KOP.
 Nowakowski Alfred, ppor.
 Nowakowski Alojzy, ppor. piech.
 Nowakowski Antoni, por., 1892, s. Cypriana i Wilhelminy
 Nowakowski Bronisław, por.
 Nowakowski Edmund, (rel. O.B.)
 Nowakowski Euzebiusz, inż., ppor., Skoczów
 Nowakowski Tadeusz, mjr kaw.
 Nowicki Henryk, ppor., 1902, s. Franciszka, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Nowicki Roman, ppor. rez., 1908, 25 p. ul., Opoczno
 Nowogrodzki Klaudiusz, kpt., 1891, s. Ferdynanda i Klaudii, Przemysł
 Nowosielski pchor.
 Nowosielski kpt. piech. st. sp.
 Nowosielski Ksawery, por., 1900, s. Juliana i Zofii
 Nowotarski Mieczysław, kpt. KOP.
 Nusbek Edmund, por., 1897, s. Józefa, wywieziony 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Nussenbaum Markus
 Nycz Józef, ppor. piech.
 Oberlander dr, ppor. lek.
 Obertynski Tomasz, plk. piech.
 Oborski Grzegorz
 Obrebówicz Tadeusz, (Orębowicz), mjr
 Oganian Ter-Oganian Leon, pchor., 1910, s. Leona i Olgi, 19 p. art.
 Okecki por.
 Oberek Tadeusz, mjr. prawa, por. rez., prokurator ze Lwowa
 Olecki Witold, kpt. KOP.
 Olejniczakowski Eugeniusz, kpt. rez., starosta
 Olejnik Alfred, ppor. rez., z Trembowli, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie
 Olesinski kpt. lot.
 Olinkiewicz Roman, pchor. art.
 Olszański kpt.
 Olszański Jan, ppor.
 Olszański kpt. rez., urzędnik Banku Gosp. Kraj. we Lwowie
 Olszewski kpt. rez.
 Olszewski Bronisław, kpt. rez.
 Olszewski Feliks, por.

Olszewski Florian, ppor.
 Olszewski Franciszek, kpt. rez.
 Olszewski Tadeusz, kpt.
 Olszowski ppor. piech.
 Olżycki Julian, (Olczycki), ppłk. piech.
 Orczyński Józef, ppor.
 Orczykowski kpt.
 Orłega Jerzy, ppor., 1891, s. Władysława i Zofii
 Orłowski Mieczysław, kpt. rez., dr, 1888
 Orzechowski Tadeusz, płk. lek.
 Orzeński Tadeusz, ppor.
 Osieński Jan Szczepan, kpt. sl. st. piech., 1901, s. Bolesława
 Osieński Mieczysław, ppor. rez., dr
 Osmolak Tadeusz, kpt. KOP., 1905
 Ossowski mjr br. panc.
 Ossowski Andrzej, ppor. rez., 1912, s. Leona i Marii
 Ossowski Stanisław, ppor. rez.
 Ostabski Julian, (Ostapski), por. (ur. 5.9.05 — RO. 32 str. 276)
 Ostapowicz por., 24 p. ul.
 Oster Jerzy, por., 1909, s. Władysława i Marii
 Ostrowski mjr pil.
 Ostrowski kapral
 Ostrowski Edward, mjr lot., obs., Krosno
 Ostrowski Roman, ppor. rez. inż.
 Ostrowski Władysław, dr, kpt. lek., z Warszawy, wywieziony z obozu 10. maja 40
 Osmiatowski Wincenty, rtm.
 Otecki Wilhelm, por. art., 1901, s. Franciszka i Olgi, z Tarnopola, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie
 Otto Jan, ppor., 1912, s. Fryderyka, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Otto Jan, ppor., 1907, s. Jana i Julii, Dąbrowa Górnicza
 Otto Marian, ppor., 1902
 Oyrzyński Józef Jan, inż., mjr sap.
 Ożarski por.
 Ożowski Tadeusz, ppor.
 Ożóg Eugeniusz, mjr. sap. 1845.
 Paczoski Tadeusz, por.
 Pajak płk.
 Pajak Józef, ppłk., 1892
 Paichel por. lek.
 Pakowski kpt.
 Palczar Paweł, ppor., 1913
 Palukajtyś Karol, ppor., 1905
 Palusiński Józef, mjr., 1896, pułk. piech. w Grudziądzu
 Paluszkiewicz ppor. rez.
 Palczan Karol, por. 1898, s. Jana, wywieziony 19.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Palezyński Marian, por., 1885, s. Antoniego wywieziony 19.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Pałka Bolesław, ppor., 1911

Palyga por.
 Panasiewicz Leonard, por., 1910 (ROR. 1900)
 Panas Henryk, 1912
 Panczakiewicz Leon, mjr
 Papierski Jan, kpt., 1897, s. Ignacego, wywieziony 25.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Papiewski Czesław, (Papieski), por., lat 32, (ROR. 34 str. 422)
 Papp Leon, dr, ppor.
 Paprocki Jan, por.
 Paprocki Józef, ppor.
 Paradowski Edward, ppor., 1905, s. Antoniego i Katarzyny
 Parat Leon, kpt., 1894, DOK. X.
 Parczyński Czesław, ppłk., 1897
 Paryiewicz Stanisław Ignacy Tytus, mr. prawa, por., 1895, urzędnik Towarzystwa Kredyt. Ziemskiego we Lwowie
 Parys Tadeusz, por.
 Pasierb Marcin, mjr
 Paszkiewicz Marian Zdzisław, por. rez. art., 1900
 Paszkiewicz Michał, ppor.
 Paszkiewicz Wilhelm, ppłk.
 Paszkowski Andrzej, urzędnik państwowy
 Patek ppor.
 Patoro kpt. lek.
 Paulo Adam, kapral, 1902
 Pawlak Bronisław, ppor.
 Pawlik Andrzej, kpt., 1889, s. Franciszka i Marianny
 Pawluczek Mikołaj, por. rez.
 Pawlukiewicz Włodzimierz, pchor., inż. elektr., wywieziony z obozu 12.5.40 i na st. kol. Charków wyłączony indywidualnie z transportu. W maju 40 był w Moskwie, w styczniu 41 skazany został na 8 lat obozu pracy, 22.4.42 był w Komi (pośiołek Wożajel), (rel. A.M.)
 Pawłowski dr, kpt. rez.
 Pawłowski Jan, por.
 Pawłowski Roman, ppor.
 Pawłowski Ryszard, ppor.
 Pawłowski Stanisław, plut.
 Pawulski Stanisław, kpt. st. sp.
 Pelalski Kazimierz, por. piech.
 Pelczar ppor., dr, Stryj
 Peltyn ppor.
 Penno Emil, ppor. kaw.
 Penny Wacław, por. rez.
 Perro Kazimierz, (Pezzo), kpt. rez., (ROR. 34 str. 120)
 Perschke Karol, por. rez. inż.
 Perzanowski Piotr, ppor. rez., 1911, s. Jana i Marii, 33 p.p.
 Perzanowski Zygmunt, kpt., 1890, s. Antoniego i Bronisławy, dr lekarz
 Peszkowski Edward, ppłk. art.
 Petkowski por. lot.
 Petrzyński Tadeusz, ppłk., sędownik Dowborczyk, senator
 Petryczek Julian, mjr art.

Petrykat Edwin, kpt. lek., 1893, s. Michala i Emmy
 Petz Walerian, kpt. KOP., 1904, s. Piotra i Weroniki
 Pezik Stanisław, (Pędzich), por., 1907, s. Jana i Cecylii
 Peśki Marek, ppor. art.
 Petkowski Józef, plk. dypl., 1894, s. Józefa i Marii
 Pfeiffer Stefan, ppor. rez., 1902, s. Ludwika i Marii
 Piasecki kpt. piech.
 Piasecki plk., Lwów
 Piątkowski ppor., 8 p. ul.
 Piątkowski Edward, plk. piech.
 Piątkowski Roman, por. rez., sędzia
 Piątkowski Władysław, mjr
 Piatnicki dr, kpt.
 Pichówka Józef, ppor., 1911, s. Franciszka, wywieziony 18.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Piekalkiewicz Stanisław, mjr lek. st. sp., dr med., komendant
 Szpitala Woj. Półn.
 Piekarski sierż. piech.
 Pielaszewicz Stanisław, por. lot., Przemyski
 Pieniążek Władysław, plk. dypl.
 Pienkowski ppor. łączn., lat 28, Wilno
 Pietruszka Stanisław, plk. lek. wet.
 Pietrzyga Franciszek, por. int.
 Pietrzaak pchor. (chor.) piech.
 Pietrzaak kpt. piech.
 Piksa ppor.
 Pikułski Wiktor, mjr, 1896, s. Wiktora i Józefy, PKU, Biała
 Podlaska
 Pilek Artur, ppor. rez., 1909, s. Franciszka i Bronisławy
 Pilch Mieczysław, ppor. int.
 Piliś Ryszard, ppor., 1905, s. Szczepana, wywieziony 22.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Piniński Bronisław, plk., p.a.c.
 Piniński rtm.
 Piniński Stanisław, ppor.
 Piontek Stanisław, kpt. rez., 1897, s. Ignacego i Wiktorii
 Piotrowski Adam, kpt.
 Piotrowski Andrzej, ppor.
 Piotrowski Ksawery, kpt., 1903, s. Władysława i Franciszki,
 29 p. strz. k.
 Piotrowski Stanisław, mjr, Równe, pułk ulanów
 Piotrowski Władysław, por.
 Pióro Jan, dr, plk. lek., 1887
 Pisanko Stanisław, ppor.
 Pisarik Marian, ppor.
 Pisarski Tadeusz, dr med.
 Piskorski Marian, por. piech. (1905)
 Piskozub Antoni, mjr lek.
 Pistl Rudolf Gustaw, por.
 Piwkowski por. piech.
 Piwoński kpt.
 Piwowar Leszek Józef, ppor., 1909, s. Adama i Heleny

Piowarczyk Aleksander, mjr lek.
 Plackowski Józef, plk. st. sp.
 Piechawski Marian Rudolf Juliusz, dr, kpt. rez., 1892, adwo-
 kat ze Lwowa, wywieziony z obozu 15. kwietnia 1940 (relacja
 A.M.)
 Plesiewicz Franciszek, por. KOP.
 Plewa Stanisław, ppor., 1907, s. Józefa i Marii
 Plewako Wacław, mjr sap.
 Plisowski Konstanty, gen. bryg.
 Plucinski Kazimierz, ppor., 1901, s. Leona i Marii, 70 p.p.
 Pluta Adam, ppor.
 Płazewski ppor.
 Płotka Władysław, plk. dypl. kaw.
 Płonki ppor. kaw.
 Płonki Kazimierz Jan, kpt. lek.
 Płonki Stefan, ppor. art.
 Pniwski Tomasz, rtm.
 Podczaski kpt.
 Podczaski Mieczysław, por., 1901, s. Andrzeja, wywieziony
 19.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Podgórski kpt.
 Podgórski Paweł, kpt.
 Podhalicz por.
 Podkowiak kpt. KOP.
 Podluzny Józef, ppor.
 Podolski Marian Józef, kpt. piech.
 Podowski Adam, plk. piech.
 Podraza por. int. sl. st.
 Podwyszynski por. art., 6 p.a.c.
 Pogonowski Marian
 Pogorzelski kpt. lot.
 Pogorzelski Wiktor, kpt., 1899, s. Eugeniusza i Władysława,
 Kutno
 Pogorzelski Władysław Tadeusz, ppor.
 Pojasek Alojzy, ppor., nauczyciel, Żmijgród k/Jasła
 Pokładzi Anatol, plut. pchor., 1914
 Polak Tomasz, kpt.
 Polankiewicz Stefan, kpt. lek. wet.
 Polański Kazimierz, 1910
 Polański Maksymilian, ppor.
 Polanski Witold, pchor., 1905, s. Jana i Zofii
 Polczyński por.
 Policho Antoni, por., 1897, s. Jana, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel.
 O.B.)
 Polinkiewicz kpt. sl. st. piech., ze Lwowa
 Polinaszek Franciszek, plk. dypl., dr, 1892, s. Jana i Tekli
 Polankowski Stanisław, plk. kaw.
 Ponsarski Mojżesz, plut. pchor.
 Poniatowski Janusz, ppor., 1902, s. Juliana, wywieziony 24.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Popiel Julian, mjr kaw.
 Poplewski Mieczysław, ppor., 1916
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 Rum plik.
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 Ruszar Józef, knt., 1898
 Ruszczyński Stefan, ppor., 1914, ~~sz. art. 10. 0. 0.~~ Karola
 Rutkiewicz Tadeusz, por. rez.
 Rutkowski Franciszek, ppor., 1895
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 Samosiej Roman, ppor. lek. wet.
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 Schroetter Karol, plk. art.
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 Stawski, por.
 Stec Jan, ppor. int.
 Stefanoff Stefan, 1911, s. Borysa i Zofii
 Stefanowski Stanisław, por.
 Steffen Jan, ppor. sap.
 Steinberg Baruch, mjr, ur. 17.12. 1897, naczelny rabin W.P.
 Steiner Jakub, por.
 Stekiel Kazimierz, oficer rez., s. Walentego i Jadwigi
 Stelmachow Julian, mjr
 Stelmowski Zbigniew, ppor.
 Stępniewski Jerzy, ppłk. dypl. art.
 Stępniewski Józef, ppłk. lek.
 Stocki Gustaw, ppor. sap.
 Stoklasa, por.
 Stoklosinski Stanisław, kpt., (Komenda Garn. Jarosław)
 Stolarski Jerzy, kpt.
 Stolarski Józef, kpt. dypl., 53 p.p.
 Stolk Franciszek, por.
 Storch Szymon, kpt.
 Strach Andrzej, ppłk. dypl. piech.
 Strassman Henryk, ppor. rez.
 Straszewski, por. rez., z Krakowa
 Streit Leon, mjr lek.
 Stromenger Edmund, por., 1892
 Strzyski Józef, kpt. lot.
 Strzałkowski Stefan, kpt. pil.
 Strzalec Tadeusz, por., 1908, s. Józefa i Czesławy
 Strzelecki, rtm.
 Strzelecki Józef, kpt. art.
 Strzemiem Mieczysław, kpt. art., 1903, s. Witolda i Jadwigi
 Strzeszynski Tadeusz, ppor. rez., lat 37
 Strzyżewski Wincenty, kpt., 1894, s. Adama i Floriany
 Styrczula Stanisław, ppłk. dypl. piech.
 Suchdecki Jan, ppłk. kapelan
 Suchotowicz, kpt.
 Sudot Franciszek, ppłk. lot.
 Sukniewicz Stanisław, ppor. art., 1911
 Sulczyński Antoni, ppor., 1906, s. Antoniego i Albiny
 Sulicki Piotr, kpt. lot.
 Sulkowski Roman, rtm., s. Adama
 Sulkowski Stefan Antoni, por., 1912, s. Antoniego i Marii
 Sułkowski Adam, por. rez., 1910
 Sułowski, ppor.
 Sumiński Tadeusz, por. san., 1905, s. Leona i Stefani, Łódź
 Sumnik Jerzy
 Superling, por. art.
 Surdyk Stanisław, kapral art.
 Surman Marian, ppłk. art.
 Suroż, dr, por. lek.
 Suryn Władysław, ppłk. st. st. art., 33 p.a.l.
 Suski, rtm. dypl.

Suszyński Witold, ppłk. dypl. inż.
 Sutarski Bogumił, ppor.
 Sygal Maurycy, pchor., 1900, s. Józefa, wywieziony 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Synoś Józef, (Synus) ppłk.
 Szablowski Stanisław, kpt. piech.
 Szachilo Jan, kpt. dypl. sap.
 Szachilo Franciszek, ppor. KOP.
 Szaferman J., ppor.
 Szafran, kpt. rez. lek.
 Szafran Jarosław, plk.
 Szafranski Mieczysław, ppłk., 1902, s. Ludwika, wywieziony 25.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Szajewski, ppor.
 Szajner Stanisław, mjr
 Szajnowski Jan, ppor. rez.
 Szalkiewicz Antoni, mjr
 Szalowski Stefan, ppor. (por.), 1896, s. Adama i Bronisławy
 Szamota, por.
 Szancenbach Jan, dr. lek. por., 1884, s. Wacława, wywieziony 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Szaniawski, ppor.
 Szarek Władysław, por., 1911
 Szczepaniuk Jan, por.
 Szczepanowski Karol, mjr art.
 Szczepański Lucjan, ppor., 1909, s. Pawła, wywieziony 21.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Szerba Stanisław, ppor.
 Szerorowski Andrzej, por.
 Szczegny Edmund, ppor. piech.
 Szczegny Kazimierz, kpt. lek., 1895, s. Pawła i Gabrieli
 Szczegny Mieczysław, kpt., Szkoła dla podoficerów (młodolet.)
 Szczepkiewicz Aleksander, mjr lek. wet., 29. D. P.
 Szczęśniak, rtm. kaw.
 Szczuciński Mieczysław, ppor. zawodowy
 Szczuciński Władysław Wojciech, ppor. lek., 1914, s. Wacława i Joanny
 Szczukowski Leon, kapral art.
 Szczuparczyński Franciszek, 1902, Lwów
 Szefer Tadeusz, ppor. rez.
 Szejner Wilhelm, por. rez., 1909, s. Antoniego i Eleonory. (pulk. piech. Strz. Kan. — Kalisz)
 Szeluto Jerzy, ppor., 1912, s. Apolinarego i Wiktorii, 68 r.p.
 Szeenberg Leon, ppor. lek.
 Szepet Kleofas, kpt.
 Szewczyk Gustaw, por.
 Szewczykowski Jan, kpt. lek., 1889, s. Franciszka i Marii
 Szlingwa, wojskowy, sędzia
 Szkotnicki Tadeusz, (Szkodnicki), kpt. KOP.
 Szlaps, ppor.
 Szmalko Aleksander, ppor.

Szameczyński Jerzy dr. kpt. lek., 1906, s. Romana i Michaliny
 Smidt Władysław, plut. lot.
 Smotko Józef, ppor. piech.
 Sznela Czesław.
 Szorniak Józef, kanonier
 Szpaczyński Stanisław, ppłk.
 Szpak Napoleon, kpt., 1910, s. Aleksandra i Natalii
 Szpakowski Olgierd, por., 1912, s. Edwarda i Sylwii
 Szpąderski Kazimierz Stanisław, mjr art.
 Szperling Bohdan, por., 1910, s. Władysława i Izabelli
 Szperling Edmund, por.
 Szpinko Wacław, mjr sap., 1897, s. Józefa i Stanisławy
 Szpunarski Eugeniusz, ppor.
 Sztajnan, ppor.
 Sztafpa, ppor. piech.
 Szejnman Henryk, dr. ppor.
 Sztompka Bernard, por. KOP.
 Sztorc, kpt. geogr.
 Sztwiernia Paweł, ppor. kaw.
 Szubartowski Paweł, ppor., 1906, s. Pawła i Ewy
 Szubert Zbigniew, ppor. lot.
 Suchatowicz Leon Grzegorz, kpt., 1900
 Szukalski, ppor.
 Szukalski Józef, kpt.
 Szulc Janusz, por., 1909, s. Wacława i Zofii, Warszawa
 Szulc Zdzisław Henryk, ppor., 1904, s. Szczepana i Zofii
 Szulczewski
 Szuldrzyński Mieczysław, por.
 Szuldrzyński Tadeusz, ppor.
 Szuldrzyński Zdzisław, ppor. kaw.
 Szumski Michał, por. art.
 Szumski Symeon, ppor.
 Szumalski Jan, ppor.
 Szuprowicz Jakub, kpt.
 Szuster Leszek, plk. piech.
 Szuszkiewicz Witold, por. rez.
 Szutkowski Julian, mjr
 Szutt Jakub, kpt.
 Szwaba Tadeusz, kpt., 1899, s. Kazimierza i Władysławy
 Szwojnicki Antoni (Swojnicki), plk. piech. (RO. 32 str. 321)
 Szybła Władysław, kpt., 6 p.a.c.
 Szydło Fryderyk, s. Teofila, 21 p., Bielsko
 Szydłowski Kazimierz, por. lek., 1908, s. Jana i Jadwigi
 Szydłowski Wiktor, kpt. piech.
 Szymankiewicz Marceł, por. rez., dyr. K.K.O., Mołodeczno
 Szymański Franciszek, kpt. st. sp.
 Szymański Tomasz, ppor.
 Szymkiewicz, ppor.
 Szymkiewicz Bronisław, rtm.
 Szymkiewicz Mieczysław, por. rez.
 Szymonowicz, ppor.
 Szymula Stefan, technik drogowy
 Szyszko Stanisław, ppor., 1910, s. Lucjana i Wandy

Szyszkowski Witold Stanisław, por., 1896, s. Witolda i Heleny

Scibor ppor.

Scibor Piotr, oficer rez.

Ślaczka Aleksander, dr, kpt. rez.

Śledziński Roman, ppor., 1913, s. Michała, wywieziony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Ślesicki Antoni Paweł, ppor. rez., 1909, s. Bolesława i Heleny

Ślesicki Czesław, ppor.

Śleskin Michał, lat 65

Śliwiński ppor. art.

Śliwiński Antoni

Śliwiński Marian Włodzimierz, por., 1905, s. Ludwika i Heleny

Śliwiński Stanisław, por. piech. rez.

Śliwiński Stanisław, ppor. rez., 1918, s. Jana i Marii, 11 p. art.

Śliwiński Władysław, rtm.

Śliwiński Stanisław, kpt., 1908, s. Jana i Stanisławy

Ślot Edmund, ppor.

Śmielewski Karol, ppor. rez.

Śmielewski Kazimierz, ppor. lek.

Śniadowski por. lot.

Śniadowski Walerian, por., 1899, s. Ludwika i Michaliny

Śniadowski Władysław, ppłk., inż.

Śniecikowski Adam Mateusz, (Śmieciechowski, Sieciechowski), kpt., 1899, s. Wincentego i Józefa (ur. 21.9.99 — RO. 32 str. 114)

Świaniewicz Władysław, por.

Świątek Karol Antoni, adwokat, 1911, s. Agnieszki i Antoniego, Jarosław

Świątecki kpt.

Świątecki Jan, ppłk., 23.9.99, 23.9.99

Świdzki Józef, por., 1907, s. Kazimierza i Wandy, 40 p.p., Lwów

Świdzki Kazimierz, kpt.

Świdzki Mirosław

Świdzki Stanisław, rtm.

Świdrygiełło Władysław, ppor. rez., 1892, s. Stanisława i Marii, DOK. Lwów

Świdziński Emil, lat 41

Świdziński Władysław, kpt.

Świerczyński Józef, plk. dypl. kaw., 1893, s. Józefa i Heleny

Świerczyński Wincenty, kpt., 1894, 9 p. art.

Świerkosz Michał, kpt.

Świecki Jan, ppłk.

Świecki Jan, ppor. łączn., 1903, Zegrze

Świeciński Eugeniusz, ppor.

Świeciński Stefan, por., 1900, s. Stefana i Marii

Tabaczyński kpt. st. st.

Tabaka ppor.

Tabęcki Kazimierz, mł., mjr, s. Antoniego i Marii, Brzeżany

Tabortowski Albert, por.

Taczak mjr piech.

Talaga Franciszek, por., 1907, s. Andrzeja, wywieziony 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)

Talianiński Stefan, ppor., 1910, s. Alberta i Zofii

Talaszyn Stanisław, por. lot., 11 p.p.

Tama ksiądz, major

Tankowski Karol, kpt.

Tarasiewicz - Tarasiuk Stefan, por. lek.

Tarczałowicz Jan, por., prokurator z Brześcia

Targowski por. kaw.

Tarkowski por.

Tarkowski mjr piech.

Tarkowski Roman, kpt. piech.

Tarnowski rtm. st. sp.

Tarnowski Antoni, por.

Teichert Mieczysław, weterynarz, s. Jana i Marii, 1897, Warszawa

Telica Marian, pchor., 1915, 26 p.p., Gródek Jagielloński

Terlecki Gustaw, kpt. lek.

Terlecki Jan, por. piech., 1906, s. Teodozego i Konstancji, 43 p.p., Równe

Terlecki Jerzy, por. lek.

Terlecki Michał, mjr

Terlecki Mikołaj, por. lek.

Terlecki Włodzimierz, ppor. rez. art.

Terlicki Włodzimierz, por. lekarz

Ternezi por. art.

Teschner Edmund, 1909, Poznań, s. Stefana, ppor., wywieziony 21.4.40 (rel. O.B.)

Teterycz Jan, por., 1910, s. Stanisława i Karoliny

Tetziłł Juliusz, kpt. rez.

Tęcza Paweł, 1905

Thinel Zenon, ppor. (rel. O.B.)

Thommée Paweł, mjr., 1888, s. Edwarda i Józefiny

Thron Fryderyk, por.

Tietze Witold, ppor. rez.

Till Ernest Karol, ppor. art. lekkiej, 1915

Till Przemysław, por. lot.

Tiropé Wilhelm Kazimierz, mjr, (12.9.91 — RO. 32 str. 50)

Titze por.

Tkaczyk Stanisław, asystent Uniw., Lwów

Tobor por.

Tokarzewski rtm.

Toloczko Antoni, st. strz., z Wilna, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie

Tomaczew Leon, ppor. lek.

Tomasik mjr piech.

Tomasini Zbigniew, (rel. O.B.)

Tomaszyk Mieczysław, kpt.

Tomaszewski Aleksander, mjr, 1890, s. Floriana i Weroniki

- 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Tomaszewski Józef, ppor., 1896, s. Andrzej, wywieziony
 Tomaszewski Stefan, mjr piech.
 Topczyński Jan, kpt.
 Topolski Antoni, ppor.
 Toron Jan, mjr
 Traczewski Adolf, (Traczewski), rtm. (18.12.94 — RO. 32 str. 150)
 Trapp Piotr, kpt. (Frapp) — (15.9.92, RO. 32 str. 364)
 Trapszo Tadeusz, plk. dypl. piech.
 Trądowski ppor.
 Trepto Józef, ppłk. dypl. kaw. (ur. 17.3.94 — RO. 32 str. 144)
 Trebaczewski Zygmunt, kpt.
 Trebski Roman Jan, ppor., 1898, s. Jana i Kazimierz
 Trojanowski rtm.
 Trojanowski Edward, kpt.
 Trojanowski Zbigniew, kpt.
 Tromszczyński Wiktor, kpt., 1894, s. Zygmunta i Marii
 Trondowski Bogusław, ppor. rez., s. Mariana i Marii, Nisko, 39 p.p.
 Trusewicz kpt.
 Truskowski Michał Henryk, mjr lek.
 Trybulski kpt. lot.
 Tryumf Adolf, ppor.
 Trzaskowski Robert, ppor. lek.
 Trzaskałko Franciszek, kpt., 1891, s. Łukasza i Marcelli
 Trzymieński ppor.
 Tucholski Tadeusz, ppor. lek.
 Tugocki Stanisław, kpt.
 Turkowski plk. piech.
 Turski Maksymilian, rtm.
 Tuzamski Aleksander, ppor., 1908
 Tyborowski Józef, ksiądz kapelan
 Tymburski Paweł, 1888
 Tymieński Jan, kpt., 1889
 Tymieński Zenon, kpt.
 Tymkow Franciszek, ppor., 1912, s. Wawrzyńca, wywieziony 18.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Typrowicz Wawrzyniec, mjr, notariusz ze Lwowa
 Tyzka dr, ppor.
 Ufnarski Stanisław, ppor.
 Ujejski Eugeniusz Józef, por. kaw., 1901
 Ujejski Stanisław, cywilyn, 1866, właściciel ziemski
 Ulrich kpt.
 Undas Stanisław, ppłk.
 Unruh Ryszard, (Unrau), ppor., 1913, s. Henryka i Marii, 42 p.p.
 Urbanowicz ppor. lek. wet.
 Urbach ppor., dr
 Urban Edward, officer, s. Jana i Franciszki
 Urban Kazimierz, ppor., 1912
 Urban Michał, ksiądz — major

- Urbanowski por.
 Urbański Jan Jerry, kpt., s. Witolda i Kazimierz, 1895
 Urzędowski Rafał Ludwik, ppłk.
 Uszacki Zygmunt, mjr., 1885, s. Ignacego i Amelii, O.K. Poznań
 Uszyło ppor.
 Vogt Edward, por., z Zakopanego, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu w Stanisławowie
 Wachowiak kpt.
 Wachowicz Władysław, ppor., 1893 s. Józefa i Marii
 Wachwik Stanisław, kpt., 1897
 Wachowski por.
 Wacowski por.
 Wagner por.
 Wagner Janusz, 1909, s. Stanisława i Janiny
 Wahren Edmund Eugeniusz, kpt., 1898, s. Leonarda i Heleny
 Wajkefisz Paweł, por.
 Wajs dr, ppor.
 Wajs Lucjan, ppor., 1907
 Waksmański Stanisław, ppor., 1896
 Walania Edward, kpt., 1899, s. Jana i Teresy, Leżajsk
 Walawski Janusz, por.
 Walczak Mikołaj, por., 1906, s. Kaspra i Marty
 Walczak Tadeusz, por.
 Waligórski - Zubrzycki mjr
 Walinski Jan, por., 1896, s. Czesława i Jadwigi
 Walkiewicz Władysław, por.
 Walkowiak Walenty, kpt., 1900, s. Jana i Heleny
 Walo Józef, por.
 Wanke por.
 Wanczyk Michał, Pol. Państw., 1903, s. Bazylego i Emilii
 Warchoł Władysław, ppłk.
 Wardecki Tadeusz, ppor. rez. panc.
 Wardynski Sławomir, ppor. lek. chirurg
 Wardziński por.
 Wardziński Czesław, mjr łączn.
 Waren kpt. zawod. sap., z Modlina
 Warpechowski Ignacy, dr med., por.
 Warpechowski Zygmunt, por. st. sp.
 Warszawski Stefan, ppor.
 Waruszynski Włodzimierz, ppor.
 Warzeszkiewicz Stanisław, ppor.
 Wasiaś Józef, przod. P.P., 1900
 Wasierski Bruno, ppor.
 Wasilewski Józef, ppor. (por.) rez.
 Wasilkowski Włodzimierz, kpt.
 Wasko Stanisław, por. lot., 1913, s. Franciszka i Agnieszki
 Waszkineł Henryk, ppor.
 Waszkiewicz Bolesław, (Waszkiewicz), plk. emer. (ROR. 34 str. 324)

Watowski Bogusław, por.
 Wattenberg Adolf, kpt. lek. wet.
 Wawro Jan, ppor. rez., 1907, s. Antoniego i Marii, Warszawa
 Wawrzynkowski Marian, kpt. sap.
 Wąs kpt.
 Wąsowski Jan, ppor. rez., 1900, s. Mariana i Zofii
 Wąsowski Tadeusz, ppor. rez.
 Wątrobski kpt.
 Weber Piotr, 1911, s. Jana i Teresy
 Weber Witold, kpt. KOP.
 Wechera Józef, ppor. piech.
 Weigel Ludwik, kpt.
 Weislof Władysław, por., 1896, s. Juliana i Heleny, 4 Dak.
 Weitzhorn Józef Szczepan, mjr, 1890, s. Jana i Cecylii
 Wejtko por. br. panc.
 Weldon mjr
 Welfeld Tadeusz, ppor. sap.
 Wereszycki Tadeusz, inż., kpt. rez., 1900, s. Jana i Rozalii
 Werner Adam, kpt., 1893, s. Stanisława i Pauliny
 Werner Mieczysław, plut. rez.
 Westrych kpt. lot.
 Westwalewicz Marian, por. sap.
 Węgliński Edward, (Węgliński), por. farm., (mr., ur. 14.2.
 91 — ROR. 34 str. 231)
 Węsierski Bronisław, ppor. int.
 Węsierski Brunon, ppor. piech.
 Wichera ppor. rez., ze Lwowa, przedsiębiorca tak-
 sówek
 Wicherkiewicz Wacław, kpt. sap.
 Wielec por.
 Wielenski Bolesław, mjr rez., dr, 1889, Poznań
 Wielowiejski Zdzisław, ppor.
 Wielowiejski Kazimierz, por. kaw.
 Wielowicz Bolesław, por.
 Wienc Jan, ppor., Stryj, 1909, s. Michała, wywieziony 19.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Wieniewicz Aleksander, ppor.
 Wiertelak Jan, oficer rezerwy
 Wierzbicki mjr
 Wierzbicki Jerzy, inż. ppor., 1907, s. Ryszarda i Marii, wy-
 wieszony 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Wierzbicki mjr piech.
 Wierzbicki Stanisław, mjr
 Wierzbowski Władysław, mjr łączn., 1891, s. Mariana i Re-
 giny
 Wierzyński kpt.
 Wieszeniowski Czesław, ppor.
 Wiewórowski Mieczysław, por. kaw.
 Wiliamowski Zdzisław, mjr art.
 Wilczyński Stanisław, ppłk. piech.

Wilczyński Władysław Antoni, mjr, 1893, s. Feliksa i Pau-
 liny
 Wilk Henryk, kpt. piech.
 Wilk Jan Kazimierz, (Wiejak Jan), kpt. aud., (dr, ur.
 15.2.92 — RO. 32 str. 311)
 Wilk Tadeusz, ppor., 1915
 Wili Józef, ppor.
 Winiarz Jan, kpt. piech.
 Winkler Jeremi Franciszek, ppor., 1909, s. Franciszka i Ka-
 taryny
 Wir - Konas Alojzy, płk. piech.
 Wiszniowski Andrzej, oficer rez.
 Wiszniowski Józef, ppor.
 Wiszniowski Marian, kpt.
 Wiszniowski Tadeusz, ppor.
 Wiszniowski chorąży
 Wiszniowski dr, por.
 Wiszniowski Jan, 1907
 Wiśniowski por. rez.
 Wiśniowski Mieczysław, dr ppor., 1910, s. Michała, wywiezio-
 ny 24.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Wiśniowski Stanisław Józef,
 Wiśniowski Władysław, mjr, 1892, s. Jana
 Wittek sierż.
 Witkiewicz Adam, por. rez., 1898 (karta pocztowa z obozu
 z dnia 29. listopada 39)
 Witkowski Antoni, płk. kaw., 1893, s. Wojciecha i Kamili
 Brody
 Witkowski Antoni, kpt.
 Witkowski Kazimierz, kpt. lek. wet., s. Władysława i Ana-
 stazji Suwałki
 Witrzens Jan, kpt., 1899, s. Jana i Herminy
 Wittlin kpt.
 Wittlin Wilhelm, kpt., 1889
 Wlaszczuk Stefan, ppor., 1902, s. Mariana, wywieziony 2.5.40
 (rel. O. B.)
 Włodarczyk Bolesław, por., 1906, s. Józefa i Leokadii
 Włodarkiewicz Maks, sierż. piech.
 Włodarski chorąży
 Włoga Stanisław
 Włoskiewicz ppor.
 Wnęk kpt.
 Wnuk kpt. rez., sędzia z Chodorowa
 Woch Jan, por.
 Wodnicki kpt. art.
 Wodzyński ppor., wywieziony z obozu w listopa-
 dzie 39
 Wojaś Leszek, por. lek.
 Wojciechowski Franciszek, kpt. piech.
 Wojciechowski Jerzy Marian, por., 1902, s. Stanisława i Jó-
 zefy, 4 p.p.
 Wojciechowski Kazimierz, ppor.
 Wojciechowski Mieczysław, kpt., 1896, s. Józefa i Julii

Wojciechowski Włodzimierz, kpt., 1907, s. Cezariusza i Fe-
 licji
 Wojczal por. sap.
 Wojdylto por.
 Wojtkiewicz Alfons Marian, plk. dypl.
 Wojtkiewicz Władysław, plk.
 Wojtowicz Adam, por., 1910, s. Władysława i Jadwigi
 Wojtowicz Władysław, pp., 1911
 Wojtułewski Konstanty, pp., 1900, s. Józefa, wywieziony
 2.5.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Wolańin Władysław, mjr aud., lat 45
 Wolańczyk Edmund, kpt.
 Wolański Jan, st. post. P.P.
 Wolański Janusz, pp., 1912
 Wolański Jerzy, por.
 Wolfram Kazimierz, dr. kpt. lek., 1900, s. Stefana, Szpital
 Wojsk. Warszawa, wywieziony 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Wolfson Henryk, por. 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Wolński Mieczysław, pp., 1905, s. Ignacego i Sta-
 nisławy
 Wolkenberg Karol, kpt., 1895, Lwów
 Wolner Stanisław, pchor.
 Wolman Bernard, kpt. wet. (11.6.86, ROR. 34 str. 235)
 Wolski Antoni, por., 1904, s. Andrzeja i Walerii
 Wolski Jerzy, kpr. pchor., lek., 1910, Łódź
 Wolski Roman, pp.
 Wolski Stefan, mjr
 Wolski Tadeusz, mjr, 1891, s. Stanisława i Anny
 Wolski Zdzisław, por. lek., 1906, s. Józefa i Antoniny
 Wolk Bolesław, por.
 Wolszczuk Teodor, por., 1893, s. Karola, wywieziony 18.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Wodaszyn Wilhelm, por., 1899, s. Antoniego, wywieziony
 17.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Wodyszński Jan, por., 1903, s. Szymona, wywieziony 21.4.40
 (rel. O.B.)
 Wodowski Zygmunt, mjr, 1898, DOK. Łódź
 Wołyński Zygmunt, mjr
 Wozniak Lucjusz, mjr, 1884, s. Kazimierza i Franciszki
 Wozniczka Mieczysław, por., 19 p.p., Lwów
 Woźny pp. lek.
 Wódkiewicz Henryk, por.
 Wójcik Franciszek, por. rez.
 Wójcik Stanisław, pp.
 Wójcik Tadeusz, pp., 1904
 Wójcik Wojciech, pp., 1897
 Wójcinski Alfred, kpt.
 Woellersdorfer Adolf, pp., lek.
 Wrazidło Jerzy, kpt. kaw., 1905
 Wronski por.
 Wróbel Franciszek, mjr, 52 lat
 Wróbel Władysław, 1895, s. Jana i Marii
 Wróblewski Antoni, kpt.

Wróblewski Jan, pp., lek. wet.
 Wróblewski Zygmunt Jan Antoni, pp., rez., 1909, 71 p.p.
 Wunsch Józef, oficer, lat 49, Poznań
 Wybranowski Ignacy, por.
 Wyczalkowski Aleksander, 1899, naucz. gimn. w Płocku
 Wyczółkowski Stefan, mjr, 1893
 Wýganowski Edward, kpt.
 Wýganowski Lucjan, mjr, 12. p. ul.
 Wýganowski Stanisław, pp., 1910, s. Jana i Heleny, 18 p.a.
 Wýgoda Mieczysław, pp.
 Wýrzykowski Marian, mjr aud.
 Wýsokinski Józef, kpt. lek.
 Wýsocki Stanisław, oficer rez., 1911, Rzeszów
 Wýsocki Władysław, pp., rez., 1891
 Wýsocki Włodzimierz, pp., rez., 1913
 Wýspiński Józef, pp., rez., 1913, 49 p.p., Horodnica
 Wýspiński Stanisław, pp., rez.
 Wýzogród dr. por.
 Wýżynski Stanisław, pp., 1895, s. Pawła i Tatiany
 Wýżychowski Zenon, kpt. piech.
 Zabielski Stefan, plk. kaw., 1887, s. Antoniego i Berty
 Zabiłcki Jerzy, por. rez.
 Zaborowski Gustaw, pp., 1914, s. Jarosława
 Zaborowski Kazimierz, por., 1902, Stopnica
 Zaborowski Zbigniew, pp., rez., 1902
 Zachariasiewicz Karol, 69 lat
 Zacharjasiewicz Teodor, kpt., 1899, s. Jana i Marii, Równe
 Zадарновский Adolf, kpt., 1907 s. Adolfa i Henryki
 Zagón por.
 Zagózdón Stefan, oficer rez.
 Zagórowicz Stefan, pp.
 Zagórski Karol Roman, plk. piech.
 Zagórski Mieczysław, (rel. O.B.)
 Zagrzejewski Marian, por. rez., 1901, s. Zygmunta i Anto-
 niny, Instytut Geogr.
 Zając Bolesław Stefan, kpt., ze Lwowa, (30.3.92 — RO. 32
 str. 371)
 Zając Stanisław, kpt.
 Zajączkowski Konrad, pp.
 Zajączkowski Stanisław, pp., 1912, s. Władysława i Julii
 Zajączkowski Witold, kpt. art., 1890, s. Witolda i Zofii
 Zajączkowski Zdzisław, kpt. art.
 Zajączkowski Bronisław, kpt. (por.)
 Zajdman Mieczysław, pp., rez.
 Zajz Antoni, por., 1908, s. Teofila i Anny, 72 p.p.
 Zakrzewski kpt. piech.
 Zakrzewski Jan Gaston, pp., P.Z.L., 1911, s. Tadeusza
 i Marii
 Zakrzewski Leon, por.
 Zaleski Adam, pp., lot.
 Zaleski Ksawery, pp., s. Pawła
 Zaleski Leon Szymon, pp., s. Ludwika, 14 pułk

Zaleski Ryszard, kpt., kupiec ze Lwowa
 Zaleski Sobiesław, mjr sap., inż., z Warszawy
 Zalewski Grzegorz, kpt. rez., 1897, s. Władysława i Anieli
 Zaleski Władysław, por. rez., Sarny
 Zaleski Franciszek, por.
 Zaleski Jan, por. rez., 1893, s. Jana i Stefani
 Zaleski Jerzy, por. rez.
 Zapasnik Józef, ppor., 1909
 Zapasnik Witold, mjr art.
 Zapłata Czesław, por., 1908, s. Michała i Józefa
 Zapłotny Franciszek, ppor., 1909, s. Wawrzyńca, wywieziony
 22.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Zaranowski Albin, ppor. int.
 Zarembo Alfons, ppor.
 Zarembo Jan Konstanty, kpt., 1896, s. Mieczysława i Mari
 Zarzybnicki Henryk Kazimierz, por., 1908, s. Józefa i Heleny
 Zarzycki kpt.
 Zarzycki Antoni, kpt. rez., 1891, s. Antoniego i Marii, ko-
 misarz Pol. Pansw.
 Zasiencki Józef, por.
 Zatoniski por.
 Zatoński Józef, kpt., 1897, s. Adama i Marii, DOK. IV.
 Zawadowski kpt.
 Zawadzki Jan, ppor.
 Zawadzki Jerzy, ppor.
 Zawadzki Lech, (rel. O.B.)
 Zawadzki Jan, por. kaw.
 Zawilński Adam, ppor.
 Zaziemski Bronisław, kpt. st. sp.
 Zabkowski Jarosław, mjr br. panc.
 Zabkowski Stanisław, por. piech., Brześć n/B.
 Zborowski Wacław Mateusz, por. (ppor.), 1899, s. Jana
 i Marii
 Zborowski Wiktor
 Zbrożek Władysław, por. kaw.
 Zburski Tadeusz, ppor. kaw.
 Zbyszewski kpt. piech.
 Zbyszewski Wincenty, mjr piech., 1893, s. Szymona i Anto-
 niny, redaktor
 Zbyszynski kpt.
 Zdaniewicz Aleksander, ppłk. inż.
 Zdeb Antoni, ppor., z Brzeźna, we wrześniu 39 w więzieniu
 w Stanisławowie
 Zdrojewski por. lek.
 Zdrojewski Konstanty
 Zdrojewski Władysław
 Zdrzałka Zygmunt, ppor. art., 1909, s. Wojciecha, wywiezio-
 ny 19.4.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Zdzitowiecki Bruno, ppor.
 Zehnur Henryk, ppor. piech.
 Zele Antoni, por. piech.
 Zemanek por.
 Zemanek Adam, mjr art.

Zemanek Stanisław, mjr dypl.
 Zembowicz Stanisław, por., 1910, syn Zygmunta
 Ziarkiewicz Adam, kpt. dr. wet.
 Zieliński Antoni, kpt., 1895
 Zieliński Marian, st. strzelec
 Zieliński Tadeusz, por. lek.
 Zieliński Teofil, kpt.
 Zielwiski kpt.
 Ziemiński ppłk. kaw.
 Ziemiński ppor.
 Zienkiewicz kpt. piech.
 Zienkiewicz ppor. (por.) piech.
 Zienkiewicz Władysław, ppłk. dypl., lek.
 Zimmer Alfred, ppor. piech.
 Zimmer Leopold, por. kaw.
 Zimniak Tadeusz, por. rez., 1913
 Zinkiewicz Mieczysław, por. art.
 Ziolo Zdzisław, kpt., 1896
 Ziolkowski Henryk, ppor.
 Ziolkowski Jan Gościław, por. piech.
 Zipser ppor.
 Zniszczyński kpt. piech.
 Zwański Józef, ppor. piech.
 Zwierzychowski Stanisław, ppor.
 Zwierzynski Stefan, kpt. piech.
 Zyganowski Edward, dr, kpt. sl. zdr.
 Zaboklicki Jerzy, por. rez.
 Zabski Modest, mjr piech., 1898, s. Mariana i Domiceli
 Zak ppor.
 Zak Piotr, kpt.
 Zardecki Stanisław, ppor. art. plot. rez., 1913, s. Aleksandra
 i Julii
 Zarnowski Wacław, por.
 Zarski Jerzy, kpt.
 Zembraki Jan, poster. P.P.
 Zelazowski Franciszek, por., 1906, s. Adama i Michaliny
 Zerdziński Edward, por. piech.
 Zoleżowski Ryszard, ppłk. emer. piech., 1887, s. Aleksandra
 i Franciszki
 Zółciński wojskowy
 Zółciński Władysław, por.
 Zuchowski kpt. art.
 Zuk Piotr, mjr
 Zuk - Skraszewski Aleksander, dr med.
 Zukowski Jan, ppor.
 Zukowski Julian, por.
 Zukowski Leopold, mjr, 1890, s. Władysława i Amalii
 Zukowski Tomasz, por.
 Zuławski Józef, por. piech., 1910, s. Józefa, wywieziony
 25.40 (rel. O.B.)
 Zyromski Antoni, kpt., 1897, s. Wincentego i Rozalii
 Żywień - Ordowski Wacław, por.

Gdaniec Jan, officer (LZS-K)
 Gędziński Zbigniew, ppor. kaw. (LZK-S)
 Gierasiuk Borys, rtm., 27 p. ul. (LZK-S)
 Głab Władysław, por. lot. (LZK-S)
 Goldberg Albert, por. wet. (LZK-S)
 Golebiowski Mieczysław, ppor. rez. (LZS), Golembiowski —
 w mundurze, 3 listy, kartka z adresami (AM 4125)
 Gorywoda Józef, ppor. (LZK-S)
 Gorzechowski Henryk, por., dowód osob., 2 pocztówki (AM
 197), (LZK-S)
 Gosiewski Zygmunt kpt. leg., 2 świad. lek., notatnik (AM
 1872), ur. 1897, s. Czesława i Emilii, Inst. Geogr. (LZS)
 Górski Bronisław, por. piech. (LZK-S)
 Goett Edward, mjr dypl. (LZK-S)
 Grabski ppor. (LZK-S)
 Grodzicki Roman, por. lot., lekarz (LZK-S)
 Grzymalski Olgierd, por. rez. (LZK-S)

Hamerski Marian Władysław, mjr, 1900, s. Józefa i Sabi-
 ny (LZK-S)
 Handy Jan Bernard, ppor., leg. ofic. rez., notatnik (AM
 2858), por. rez. (LZK-S)
 Herdegen Witold, kpt. art. (LZK-S)
 Herman Władysław, ppor. rez., lekarz (?), (LZK-S)
 Hetmanek Stanisław, pocztówki, list (AM 3026), por. piech.
 (LZS)

Hurczyn Michał, mjr (LZK-S)
 Hussakowski Władysław, ppor. piech. (LZK-S)

Jabowy Zdzisław, ppor. rez. (LZK-S)
 Janca Izidor, ppor. lek., ur. 22.5.04, dowód osob. recepta in
 blanco, 1 zaśw. ze Szpitala Woj., prawo jazdy, lista z nazwiska-
 mi (AM 3584), ppor. lek. ze Starogardu (LZS)
 Jankowski Sławomir, mjr, część leg., zwłoki z pozostałym
 strzałem, (AM 1038), (WO 962 str. 13), mjr, 1895, s. Janusza
 i Zofii (LZS)

Janowski Bohdan, por., 1897 (LZS-K)
 Janowski Franciszek, ppor. rez. piech. (LZS-K)
 Jarończyk Henryk, por. (LZK-S)
 Jaskierski Józef, ppor., naucz. zam. Dąbrowice, pow. Sarny,
 leg. urzęd., telegram, pocztówki, list (AM 3242), ppor. (LZS)
 Jawniak Augustyn, ppor. rez. (LZK-S)
 Jerzykiewicz Tadeusz, ppor. rez. (LZK-S)
 Jeszke Tadeusz, kpt., karta szczep., wizytówki, różaniec (AM
 2715), kpt. (LZS)

Jezak Antoni, ppor. rez. int. (LZK-S)
 Josefberg por. (LZS-K)

Kabziński Jan, kpt. (LZK-S)
 Kaczer Mendel, ppor. (LZS-K)
 Kaczmar Jan, ppor. (LZK-S)
 Kaczmarek Jan, por. rez. (LZK-S)

Nazwiska jeńców, którzy ujęci zostali również w Części pierwszej, wzięci w Części drugiej niniejszej listy:

Adamski Stanisław, s. Antoniego, mjr Inst. Geogr. (LZS-K)

Bezuhy Jerzy, ppor. rez. (LZK-S)
 Błażejewski Bolesław, (Głazewski), ppłk. lek., pocztówka
 z Kowna, list, okulary (AM 484), Głazewski, wzięci Błażejewski
 (WO str. 7), Błażejewski dr. plk., Szef San. O. K. II. Lublin
 (LZS)
 Bohaczewski Kazimierz, ppor., (LZK-S)
 Brudnicki Jan, por. 1897 s. Józefa i Marii (LZK-S)
 Buchalski Feliks, por., list (AM 47), 1897, s. Teodora i Sta-
 nislawy (LZS)

Chalaciński Konstanty, ppor. (LZS-K)
 Chłudzinski Czesław, por., 1905 (LZK-S)
 Czyżewski Antoni Eugeniusz, kpt., metryka ślubu, 4 listy,
 2 pocztówki, karta szczep. 4167, medalik z łańc., (AM 828), kpt.
 sap. (LZS)

Dąbrowski Czesław, ppor., ur. 7.7.08, leg. ofic. rez., karta
 szczep., (AM 3491), ppor. piech., ur. 1908 — rezerwa (LZS)
 Doroszyński Aleksander, kpt., ofic. leg., karta szczep. 885,
 3 pocztówki, list (AM 1791), Doroszyński (WO 1791 str. 25),
 (LZS)

Drapalski Erazm, ppor. rez., lek. wet., 1905 (LZK-S)
 Drapow Edward, ppor. rez. art. (LZK-S)
 Duda Eugeniusz, ppor. rez. art. (LZK-S)
 Dunin - Brzezinski Jan, ppor. rez., lat 25 (LZK-S)
 Duracz kpt., karta szczep., 2 wizytówki na nazwis-
 ko: Batorski Kazimierz inż., i Andrzejewski Bogdan (AM 2128),
 (LZS)

Friesendorff Feliks, (LZK-S) 27.2.1905
 Fródyma Franciszek, por. (LZK-S)
 Frydych Roman, ppor., 3 pocztówki z nadawcą: Frydych
 Maria, Warszawa, ul. Mickiewicza 30, leg., wizytówki, karta
 szczep. 2853 (AM 816), ppor. (LZS)

Gąsiorek Stanisław, ppłk. (plk.) — (LZS-K)

Kaluza Roman, por., 1905, s. Wincentego i Katarzyny (LZ.K-S)

Kamiński Feliks, por. apt., 1885, s. Jana i Antoniny (LZ.K-S)

Kapelanski Tadeusz, ppor., świad. muzyki, pismo Pol. Zw. Zagr., metryka urodz., świad. szk., 3 leg., karta szcep. 2007, list, spinki, cygarniczka (AM 3066), ofr. rez., 1910, s. Franciszka i Stanisławy (LZS)

Karcz por. lek. (LZ.K-S)

Karpina Jan, ppor. piech. (LZ.K-S)

Karwowski Tadeusz Józef, ppor., 1897, s. Feliksa i Bronisławy (LZ.K-S)

Kepiński Witold, mjr, dr med., Warszawa, Senatorska 24, ur. 4.5.84 karta mob., znak tożs., rachunki, wizytówki, karta pływania, list, karta na broń, karta szcep., okulary (AM 696), Kpiński (?) — (WO str. 10). — mjr, 1884, s. Michała i Marii (LZS)

2. Kinasiewicz Julian, mjr lek. wet. (LZ.K-S)

Kiser Jan Czesław, —por., 3 listy, pocztówka, mapka z Koziełskim (rysunek własny), (AM 1773), ppor. kaw., ur. 1903 (LZS), — ur. 23.2.03, por. (ROR 34 str. 122)

Kiszynski Stanisław, mjr dypl. int. (LZ.K-S)

Klepacki Stanisław, plut. (LZ.K-S)

Klimczuk Sławomir, ppor. (LZ.K-S)

Kliś Stanisław, por. (LZ.K-S)

Knapik Kazimierz, mjr (LZ.K-S)

Kochanski por. szwol. (LZ.K-S)

Kołakowski Władysław, por. (LZ.S-K)

Konarzowski Tadeusz, ppor., pocztówki, 2 listy, karta szcep. Nr 2497, medalik z łańc. (AM 1725), ur. 1909, (LZS)

Korkiewicz Jan, ppłk. (LZ.K-S)

Kowalewski Władysław, w mundurze, 2 pocztówki z adresem: Kowalewski Władysław, Koziełski (AM 1361), (WO 1361 str. 17), kpt. 18. p.a.l. (LZ.K-S)

Koziełł - Poklewski Władysław, (Wincenty), rtm. (LZ.K-S)

Koziełski por. (LZ.K-O-S)

Kozłowski Stefan, wizytówka (AM 60), kpt. (LZS)

Królikowski Stanisław, mjr (LZ.K-S)

Krzeczmonik Zenon, ppor. (LZ.K-S)

Kukietka Józef, por., 2 pocztówki, 2 listy (AM 441), ppor., był w Szepietowie (LZS)

Kulikowski Eugeniusz, ppor. rez. (LZ.K-S)

Kuźmiarski Zbysław, ppor. rez. (LZ.K-S)

Kuźniewicz Aleksander, pchor. (LZ.K-S)

Lax Leonard, ppor. rez., (LZ.K-S)

Lewakowski Jerzy Wiktor, ppłk., telegram, 3 pocztówki, karta szcep. (AM 4011), ppłk. geogr. (LZ.K-S)

Lisowski Ludwik Kazimierz, por., ur. 1902, ka. st. st., list (AM 958), (WO 918), por., 1902, s. Józefa i Felicji (LZ.K-S)

Ławrynowicz Seweryn, w mundurze, ur. 29.11.10 w Moskwie, zam. Radomsko, ul. Wągrowa 125, leg. ofc. rez., dowód osob., ks. oszcz. PKO., list. wizytówki, odznaka pułkowa, medalik (AM 2655), ppor. (LZS)

Łopuszański Kazimierz, w mundurze, pocztówki, listy (AM 3785), por. kaw. (LZS)

Maciesza Stefan, por. (kpt) — (LZ.K-S)

Mackiewicz Dymitr por. lot. (LZ.K-S)

Mahoma ppor. (LZ.K-S)

Majorowicz Antoni, aptekarz, por., zam. Poznań, ul. Mickiewicza 22, wizytówki, list, częśc. leg. (AM 2540), por., lat 58 (LZS)

Malaczewski Kazimierz, por., leg. ofc., karta na broń, 2 pocztówki, leg. odznacz., (AM 2976), por. sap., 1908, 1 Baon Sap. (LZS)

Malinowski Tadeusz, por. (LZS-K)

Malukiewicz Stanisław, ur. 1907, Ryga, znak tożs., ks. oszcz. PKO., pismo służb. (AM 2103), zam. Siedlce, ul. 3. Maja 3-a (WO 2103 str. 32), ppor. mgr. (LZS)

Małecki Jan, por. (kpt.) sap. (LZ.K-S)

Marianski Stefan, por. rez. (LZ.K-S)

Markiewicz Andrzej, por. (LZ.K-S)

Markowski Antoni, w mundurze, znak tożs., dowód osob., ur. 9.8.08 w Warszawie, leg. szk. (AM 2794), ppor., 1908, s. Mirosława i Janiny (LZS)

Marzatek Stanisław, kpt., ofc. legit. z dobrą fotografią, leg. odznacz., rōżaniec (AM 1664), kpt. 2 pac., (WO 1664 str. 22), kpt., syn Franciszka i Józefy (LZS)

Marynowski Wiktor, w mundurze, wizytówki, karta st. sl., karta mob., metryka urodz., pocztówki (AM 1790), własne wizytówki z adresem: Polna 78, oraz wizytówka z nazwiskiem Dr Zbigniew Marynowski, ppłk. lek., Wilno, Antokolska 30 (WO 1790 str. 25), oficer (LZS)

Matkowski Henryk, kpt., 1901, s. Stefana i Ludwika (LZ.K-S)

Mauthe Zygmunt, por. (LZ.K-S)

Mazur Józef, por. (ppor.) — (LZ.O-S)

Meister Jan, ppor. piech. (LZ.K-S)

Michalski kpt. rez. piech. (LZ.K-S)

Mikula Julian, por. (LZ.K-S)

Mioduszeński Józef, ppor. (LZ.K-S)

Mioduszeński Lucjusz, ksiądz kapelan, (bez imienia) — (LZ.K-O-S), Lucjusz — ur. 11.2.86 (ROR 34 str. 401)

Moroż Jan, kpt., znak tożs., medalik (AM 626), kpt. (LZS)

Moszkowicz Jan, kpt., rachunek, pocztówka, pismo notarialne, karta szcep. 911 (AM 895), (WO 877 str. 12), kpt. geogr. (LZS)

Naumow Józef, por. lek., s. Józefa (LZ.K-S)

Nieduszyński Kazimierz, kpt. art. (LZ.K-S)

Nosalik Kazimierz, por. (LZ.S-K)

Nowosiedl Olgierd, por. rez., 1907, s. Teodora i Zofii (LZ.K-S)

Nowak Rudolf, ppor. (LZ.S-K)

- Nowakowski Jan, por. sap. (LZ.K-S)
Nowicki Teofil Karol, (LZ.K-S)
- Olejnik Albin, w mundurze, 3 pocztówki, karta szczep., medalik (AM 880), Ernle Albin (WO 866 str. 12), Olejnik — kpt. (LZS)
- Oleszkiewicz Jerzy, por., ur. 1907, ofic. ks., prawo jazdy, 2 kartki, 2 odznaki pułkowe (AM 1841), Oleszkiewicz (WO 1841, str. 26), Oleszkiewicz, por. lot. (LZ.S-K)
- Oleszyński Zygmunt, (LZ.K-S)
- Orawiec Franciszek, mjr piech. (LZ.K-S)
- Ornatowski Mieczysław, Oziatowski — ppłk., karta szczep. 20, pocztówka, notatnik, świad. lek., odnośnie próby krwi na nazwisko Mieczysławski Józef, mjr (AM 1204), (WO 1066 str. 15), Ornatowski, ppłk. (LZ.K-S)
- Ornatowski Stanisław, ppor., medalik, kwit ros. (AM 1158), wizytówka z nazwiskiem Zakrzewska Lucyna, papierosnica z motywowym CJ. (ta sama treść podana przy zwłokach nierozpoznanej kapitan, vide (AM 1159), (WO 1034 str. 14), ppor. rez. piech. (LZS)
- Paśko Adolf, mjr lek., dr (LZ.K-S)
- Pecka Józef, płk. (LZ.K-S)
- Perryński Józef, kpt. (LZ.K-S)
- Peski Roman, por. piech. (LZ.K-S)
- Piotrowski Henryk, ppor. lot. (LZ.K-S)
- Piotrowski Zdzisław, pchor. (LZ.S-K)
- Piwica kpt., fotografia z adresem jego matki: Józefa Piwnica, Rzeszów, ul. Lwka (?) 27, od jego żony: Jadwiga Piwnicowa, Tarnów, ul. Goldhammera (Sierakowskiego), karta szczep., powrót (AM 904), adres jego matki: Rzeszów, ul. Lwowska 27 (WO 884 str. 12), Adam — kpt. (LZ.S-K)
- Pluciński Tadeusz, kpt. (LZ.S-K)
- Podkowa Jerzy, Potkova — ppor., leg. urzęd., (AM 4033), bez imienia, por. rez. (LZS), Podkowa — ur. 3.11.900, (ROR. 34 str. 51)
- Podlewski Zbigniew, (Podłowski) — por. lot. (LZ.K-S)
- Podolski kpt. (LZ.K-S)
- Polak sierżant (LZ.O-S)
- Polec Stanisław, Polec — por., leg. ofic., karta szczep., mały notatnik, różaniec, (AM 2396), Polec, (WO 2396 str. 40), por. piech., Polec (LZS)
- Pompolożyc Władysław, por. (LZ.S-K)
- Popiel Wacław, płk. dypl. art. (LZ.K-S)
- Popławski Piotr, mjr (LZ.S-K)
- Postępski Stanisław, kpt. sap. (LZ.K-S)
- Procter Józef, mjr dypl. (LZ.K-S)
- Przeradzki Stefan Jan, mjr, karta mob., prawo jazdy, ks. oszcz. PKO., fotografie, spinki (AM 1618), ur. 29.8.93, (WO 1648 str. 22), mjr kaw. (LZ.K-S), ur. 29.8.93 (RO. 32 str. 156)
- Pytko Jan, ppor., 1905, 29 pułk (LZ.S-K)
- Rosiński Bronisław, kpt. piech., 1894, s. Stanisława i Marii (LZ.S-K)
- Rosól Teofil, por. piech. (LZ.S-K)
- Rozengarten Stanisław, ppor. art. (LZ.S-K)
- Rutkowski Franciszek, por., 1895 (LZ.K-S)
- Rux Jan, por., 1902, s. Jana i Anny (LZ.S-K)
- Sabath Augustyn, mjr łączn. (LZ.S-K)
- Salciewicz Jan, kpt. (LZ.S-K)
- Schantroch Zygmunt, kpt. (por.) lek. (LZ.S-K)
- Siozka Tadeusz, por., 1912 (LZ.K-O-S)
- Słowicki Kamil, por., część leg. ofic., karta mob., wojskowe pismo służb., 2 wizytówki (AM 3295), por. st. sp., 1896 (LZS)
- Stefanik por. lot. (LZ.K-S)
- Stepnicki Zygmunt, kpt. (LZ.S-K)
- Suchodolski Tomasz, pchor. plut. (LZ.S-K)
- Szafrański Maksymilian, sierżant (LZ.K-O-S)
- Szczepanowski Zenon, ppłk. lek. (LZ.K-S)
- Szkap Kaziemierz, kpt. (LZ.K-S)
- Szlemko Sylwester, kpt., leg. ofic., wojsk. prawo jazdy, (AM 2274), Szlenko (bez imienia), kpt. art. plot. (LZS), Szlenko — ur. 22.8.04 (RO. 32 str. 220)
- Sztukdrayer Stanisław, ppor. rez. piech. (LZ.S-K)
- Szwaba Tadeusz, kpt., 1899, s. Kazimeirza i Władysława, DOK. Łódź (LZ.K-S)
- Szyszkowski Witold Stanisław, ppor., dr med., ur. 25.96, leg. ofic. rez., leg. urzęd., rozkaz wyjazdu, 3 wizytówki, 2 pocztówki, karta mob., karta szczep., odpis świad. (AM 3791), ppor. rez., 1896, s. Witolda i Heleny (LZS)
- Tanenbaum Jakub, dr, ppor. lek. (LZ.K-S)
- Tobiaszewicz Józef, chorąży (LZ.K-S)
- Tomaszewski Witold, w mundurze, list, pocztówka, (AM 1182), (WO 1052 str. 15), ppor. (LZS)
- Tromszczyński Wiktor, kpt. aud., s. Zygmunta i Marii (LZ.K-S)
- Twora Stanisław, ppor. lek. (LZ.K-S), Tuora, dr med., por., 2 zaśw. w jez. niem. (AM 3599)
- Voelpel Rudolf, por., 1910, s. Jakuba (LZ.K-S)
- Walesek Bronisław, por. (LZ.S-K)
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- Wdowska Henryk, kpt. art., DOK. Lublin (LZ.K-S)
- Weber Antoni, mjr (LZ.K-S)
- Weiss Czesław Antoni, por., ofic. ks., 2 własne fotografie (AM 1928), Wajs — por. (LZS)
- Werner Jan Marian, kpt., prawo jazdy, pocztówka, list, wizytówki (AM 1325), kpt. geogr., 1904, s. Stanisława i Janiny (LZS)
- Wetula Józef, mjr (LZ.S-K)
- Wieckowski Jan, ppor. piech. (LZ.S-K)
- Winkler Emil, por. (LZ.S-K)

Wierszyło Tadeusz, Wierszyło — por., 2 pocztówki, 2 listy — z nich jeden na 4 stronie z daty 8.9.39 (AM 233), Wierszyło — por. rez. br. panc. (LZ.S-K)

Winiński Adam, por. (LZ.S-K)

Witkiewicz Jan, ur. 1.6.09, ppor., ks. wojsk. ks. oszcz. PKO., (AM 117), por. (ppor.), 1909, s. Jana i Henryki, inż. architekt. (LZS)

Wojciechowski Maksymilian, por. mar. (LZ.K-S)

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Zysko Adam, Zysko — ppor., ur. 1909, ofic. ks., pocztówka (AM 879), Zysko — (LZK), Zysko (bez imienia) 6 nac. (LZS)

Zolnierowicz Józef, ppor. apt., karta mob., (AM 3339), bez imienia), ppor. (LZS)

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Badeński Marian, ppor. rez., 1912, s. Tomasz (Dadeński, Zadeński?)

Ciesiar Rudolf Karol, ppor. rez., 18.1.09 s. Andrzeja (ROR. 34 str. 88)

Flerion Gustaw, szer. popr. rusz., 1892, s. Dionizego

Gartner Rudolf, por. rez., dr, 22.10.91, s. Fryderyka (ROR. 34 str. 256)

Lustyk Kazimierz(?), ppor. rez., 1912, s. Mariana

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Maciński Leon (?), (wzgl. Lech), ppor. rez., 1901

Niemiec Henryk mjr. ur. 23.6.98 — 45 p.p. Równe Wol., ka. oszcz. PKO. Nr. 222774 - L (AM str. 327)

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Pienkosz Jan (?), por. rez., 1889, s. Antoniego

Saterawski Nikołaj, ppor. rez., 1910, s. Adama (nazwisko nieczytelne)

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Stuerzbrecher Alfons, ppor. rez., 20.3.06, s. Adolfa (ROR. 34 str. 172)

Szczepankowski Mieczysław, ppor. rez., 28.1.01, s. Leonarda (ROR. 34 str. 91).

ZESTAWIENIE

Na podstawie wyszczególnionych we Wstępie źródeł zebrano w niniejszej ilości ogółem 9615 nazwisk, co równa się w przybliżeniu 63% ogólnej ilości zaginionych jeńców z obozów Kozielsk, Ostaszków i Starobielsk.

W szczególności lista ta podaje:

nazwiska 3794 jeńców, czyli ok.	73%	zaginionych z Kozielska,
1231	20%	z Ostaszkowa,
3343	87%	z Starobielska,

2703 zidentyfikowanych zwłok ofiar masowego mordu w Katyniu oraz opisy 145 tychże zwłok o nieustalonym nazwisku.

[Translation]

CONCLUSION

On the basis of information received from the sources mentioned in the preface, there have been identified 9,615 names which constitute 63% of the total number of Polish prisoners of war who disappeared from the three camps Kozielsk, Ostaszkow, and Starobielsk.

These represent:

3,794 names or 73%	of those missing from Kozielsk.
1,231 names or 20%	of those missing from Ostaszkow.
3,343 names or 87%	of those missing from Starobielsk.

2,703 of these were found in the mass graves in Katyn in addition to 145 bodies whose identity has not been established.

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THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS, EVIDENCE,
AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER OF THOUSANDS OF
POLISH OFFICERS IN THE KATYN FOREST NEAR
SMOLENSK, RUSSIA

PART 4

(LONDON, ENGLAND)

APRIL 16, 17, 18, AND 19, 1952

Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation
of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre



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**SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
FACTS, EVIDENCE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE KATYN FOREST
MASSACRE**

RAY J. MADDEN, Indiana, *Chairman*

DANIEL J. FLOOD, Pennsylvania

GEORGE A. DONDERO, Michigan

FOSTER FURCOLO, Massachusetts

ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, Wisconsin

THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, Michigan

TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, Illinois

JOHN J. MITCHELL, *Chief Counsel*

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THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
London, England.

The select committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to call, in room 111, Kensington Palace Hotel, De Vere Gardens, W. 8, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Dondero, and O'Konski.

Also present: Roman Pucinski, investigator for the committee.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

This is the fourth of a series of meetings of the special committee created by Congress in September 1951, to investigate the Katyn Forest massacres. In October the committee met to take testimony in Washington. Again, in February, the committee held a series of hearings in the city of Washington. In March the committee held a series of hearings in the city of Chicago.

The meetings here in London, England, will be for the purpose of recording essential testimony pertaining to the Katyn Forest massacres, which were committed in the Katyn Forest, near the city of Smolensk, in Russia, during the early part of World War II.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I hope the record will show all members who came abroad are present.

Chairman MADDEN. I was going to mention that.

Present this morning are Congressman Flood, of Pennsylvania; Congressman Machrowicz, of Michigan; Congressman Dondero, of Michigan, and Congressman O'Konski, of Wisconsin. Congressman Furcolo of Massachusetts, and Congressman Sheehan, of Illinois, were unable to attend these meetings in London.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that you instructed Committee Counsel John Mitchell to introduce the following documents into the record. With your permission, I will read them into the record at this time. They are the invitation this committee extended to the Polish Government in Warsaw and that Government's reply.

Mr. MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The first document is the letter of invitation extended by this committee to the Polish Government in Warsaw. It is dated March 18, 1952, and is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C., March 18, 1952.

His Excellency the AMBASSADOR OF POLAND.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: The House of Representatives of the United States of America on September 18, 1951, unanimously passed House Resolution 390. A copy of this resolution is attached for your information.

This resolution authorizes and directs a committee of Congress to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the facts, evidence, and extenuating circumstances both before and after the massacre of thousands of Polish officers buried in a mass grave in the Katyn Forest on the banks of the Dnieper in the vicinity of Smolensk, U. S. S. R.

This official committee of the United States Congress respectfully invites the Government of Poland to submit any evidence, documents, and witnesses it may desire on or before May 1, 1952, pertaining to the Katyn Forest massacre. The committee will be in Europe during the month of April to hear and consider any testimony which may be available.

These hearings and the taking of testimony from witnesses are being conducted in accordance with the rules and regulations of the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

Sincerely yours,

RAY J. MADDEN,

Chairman, Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre.

Mr. MADDEN. That now becomes part of the record of this committee.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the second document is the reply which this committee received from the Polish Government in Warsaw through the United States State Department.

Mr. MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This letter was dated March 31, 1952 and is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 31, 1952.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The American Embassy in Warsaw has received a note from the Government of Poland, a translation of which is as follows:

"On March 24, 1952, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Washington received a note from the Department of State transmitting a communication from Mr. Madden, Member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, to the Polish Ambassador, in which as chairman of the Committee of the House of Representatives for Katyn Affairs he invites the Polish Government to present documents and witnesses in this matter.

"The transmission of the above invitation of the chairman of the congressional committee of the United States who, contrary to binding international customs, usurps to himself the right to extend invitations to sovereign governments has no precedent in the history of international relations.

"The attitude of the Polish Government re the activities of this committee was expressed in a declaration of the Polish Government published on March 1, 1952, and the Polish Government does not intend to return to this matter again."

Sincerely yours,

JACK K. McFALL,
Assistant Secretary,
(For the Secretary of State).

Hon. RAY J. MADDEN,

*Chairman, Select Committee to Investigate the Katyn Forest Massacre,
House of Representatives.*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the third document is a letter of invitation extended to Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, who was Commander in Chief of the Polish armed forces during World War II and personally directed the extensive search for the missing Polish officers.

Mr. MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This letter was dated March 20, 1952, and is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
Washington, D. C., March 20, 1952.

POLISH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE,
7 Waverton Street,
London W. 1, England.

DEAR GENERAL ANDERS: The special committee created by the United States House of Representatives to investigate the Katyn massacre will hold hearings in London during the month of April. Congressman Alvin E. O'Konski, a member of this committee, and Roman Pucinski, the investigator, are sailing this evening on the *Queen Elizabeth* and will contact you when they arrive in London.

Our committee is aware that the Polish Government-in-exile began inquiry in 1941 about the fate of the Polish prisoners of war in the Soviet Union, and began accumulating pertinent evidence with respect thereto. In 1943, at the time of the disclosure of the Katyn Forest massacre, the Polish Government-in-exile sought an independent, impartial investigation, but such an investigation was not permitted.

Our committee invites the Polish Government-in-exile to cooperate with us in every way and submit whatever testimony, evidence, documents, and witnesses they desire while we are holding hearings in London and on the Continent.

These hearings and the taking of testimony from witnesses are being conducted in accordance with the rules and regulations of the House of Representatives.

Sincerely yours,

RAY J. MADDEN,
*Chairman, Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation and Study of the
Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre.*

MR. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, upon my arrival here in London I conducted a series of conferences with General Anders, members of his staff, and officers of the Polish Combatants Association in an effort to arrange these hearings in London. I want to report to this committee that the whole-hearted and sincere cooperation which we received both from General Anders and his associates was beyond all my expectations.

CHAIRMAN MADDEN. The first witness will be W. J. Furtek.

MR. FURTEK, will you give your address?

MR. FURTEK. Sixty-nine Parkview Court, SW. 6.

CHAIRMAN MADDEN. Mr. Furtek, before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that in giving this testimony you would be open to a possible risk of action in the courts if any individual or set of individuals might suffer injury by reason of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony.

Are you prepared to be sworn?

MR. FURTEK. Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN MADDEN. Raise your hand.

Do you swear, by the God Almighty and Omniscient, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; so help you God?

MR. FURTEK. I do.

CHAIRMAN MADDEN. I might say, for the record, that Mr. Roman Pucinski, of Chicago, Ill., will act as special interrogator in the absence of Counsel John Mitchell, who has just left London for Germany where he is preparing our next set of hearings which will begin in Frankfurt on April 21.

**TESTIMONY OF WLADYSLAW JAN FURTEK, 69 PARKVIEW COURT,
SW. 6, LONDON, ENGLAND**

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you want to give us your full name?

Mr. FURTEK. I do. Wladyslaw Jan Furtek.

Mr. PUCINSKI. We have your address.

Where were you born, Mr. Furtek?

Mr. FURTEK. I was born in Poland; Cieszanow, Poland; county of Lwow.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When were you born, sir?

Mr. FURTEK. 1921.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you serve in the Polish Army subsequent to September 1, 1939?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, I did. I joined the Polish Army on the 30th of September, 1938.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were you ever taken prisoner by any enemy forces while a member of the Polish armed forces?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, I was.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you like to tell us when and where?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. I was a cadet officer in the Polish Cadet Officers' School at Komorowo, regular army officers' school.

I took part in the September campaign in Poland and I was captured by the Russian forces in Tarnopol on the 18th of September 1939. From there I was sent to a transient camp, which was called Tiotkino. I stayed there for about 3 weeks, and afterward, as my parents lived in a part of Poland which was occupied by the Russian forces, I was promised to be sent home. A transport was formed, in which I was included, and we were sent home.

Well, we were told we were being sent home, but instead of being sent home we were sent to Kriwoj Rog, which is in the iron basin of the Ukraine, and I was forced to work as a miner in the mines. I refused to do it and, as a punishment, I was sent to several prisons in that locality. I was interrogated by several political commissars and finally I was sent to Kharkov. That is in Russia, the Ukraine.

After several days of interrogations, I was sent to Kursk. From there I went to Orzel, from that place further on to Smolensk. Finally, from Smolensk, I was sent to Kozielsk, where I arrived—I don't remember the date, but it was somewhere in the middle of January 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long did you stay at Kozielsk?

Mr. FURTEK. Till the 26th of April 1940. For the first few days I was kept in solitary confinement.

I don't want to go into much detail, but there was one part of the compound which was surrounded by barbed wire, and it was actually a sort of tower in which they kept prisoners in solitary confinement. But after 6 or 7 days I was released and was given freedom. I could move, go and see my friends, and I could live the ordinary life of a prisoner of war in that camp.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Could you tell us what Kozielsk was?

Mr. FURTEK. As a matter of fact, I have an original picture of part of the Kozielsk camp with me, which I smuggled out of Kozielsk. Would you like to see it?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would the committee like to see that picture?

Chairman MADDEN. Have you the picture with you?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes; I have it on me.

Chairman MADDEN. You might submit it to the committee if you have it with you.

(The witness produced a photograph.)

Chairman MADDEN. I will hand this to the reporter to mark "Exhibit 1," which the witness says is a picture of the prison camp at Kozielsk.

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

(The picture referred to was marked "Exhibit 1" and is shown below:)



Photo of prisoner-of-war camp at Kozielsk.

Mr. FURTEK. Kozielsk itself was an old monastery, a very old monastery. I don't know the history of the monastery, but the buildings and the churches and chapels told us it was a monastery.

Mr. PUCINSKI. While you were there, was Kozielsk a camp for prisoners of war?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What prisoners of war; what country?

Mr. FURTEK. Polish officers.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you say how many there were in that camp?

Mr. FURTEK. About five thousand. I can't swear, can't remember the exact number, but between 4,500 to 5,000.

Mr. PUCINSKI. On April 26, when you were evacuated from that camp, approximately how many were there?

Mr. FURTEK. About 800.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What happened to the others that were there?

Mr. FURTEK. Well, the others disappeared and some of them were found in Katyn, but a few of them joined us in Pawlizezew Bor.

That was the camp we were sent to from Kozielsk. There was a very insignificant number; you could count them on your hands.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you have any information, based on your stay or experience at Kozielsk, which may be helpful to this committee in determining what may have happened to those of your friends who were evacuated prior to your own departure on April 26?

Mr. FURTEK. Well, they completely disappeared and we never heard anything about them. Well, the story is this: Before April, we knew something was coming but we didn't know what it was. The news was spread that we were going to be sent to Germany and, of course, everybody was rather excited because we thought we would leave Russia.

Nobody liked Russia at that time because the conditions were pretty grim and, of course, we wanted a change after stagnation and a stagnated life in the camp.

The political commissars were telling us, "Well, you are going home. You will be exchanged at the border." And the town of Bzecz was mentioned, and I believe it was the 3d of April. The first names were called out and the first from my block was the commanding officer of my block No. 1. I was accommodated in block No. 1. His name was Captain Bychowiec. They called out about 150 to 180 or 200 men altogether.

There was a search in a club of the camp—that was a club that we had for entertainment—and after that they were taken not through the main gate but through the cellar of one of the blocks. There was another search there, a very strict one. They were deprived of all personal effects and belongings, and that is all we saw of the first group.

Chairman MADDEN. Who did the searching?

Mr. FURTEK. The Russian staff; well, the guards.

Chairman MADDEN. Russian guards?

Mr. FURTEK. Russian guards.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When you say personal belongings, what do you mean?

Mr. FURTEK. Pen knives, pens, combs, spoons; everything.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you mean also correspondence, letters, and diaries?

Mr. FURTEK. Well, no. For instance, I had a few private photographs of my family, and when they searched me they left it on me. I had some notes scribbled, some poems that I used to write in camp, and they left that.

Of course, I tried to hide the things. For instance, I was not very cautious and some of my papers, playing cards, that were made in the camp were taken away from me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But they did permit you to keep your letters, pictures, diaries?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, they did; they didn't take that off me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Proceed.

Mr. FURTEK. And I believe 2 days afterward, another group was formed and again taken away.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Another group of about 200?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. I can't really remember the exact number, but the groups were in 100 to 300; maybe 120 to 150.

Chairman MADDEN. Did this happen each day?

Mr. FURTEK. It didn't happen each day. There was always a break of 1 day, sometimes 2 days. I remember even one time there was a break lasting 4 days. We didn't know what was going on.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a minute. I do not want to interrupt you, but the record is not clear.

You, of course, were not present at any of the examinations given to any of the other groups, were you?

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. You were only present as one of the group of which you were a member; is that right?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. When you described what was taken from you and what was left with you and the men in your group, that is all you know about it as a fact, is it not?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You take for granted that the same kind of investigation was conducted on the other groups?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Let the witness proceed, Mr. Chairman, with what happened after he was searched.

Just tell your own story; that is what we want to know.

Mr. FURTEK. There was a small incident during the search of the group that I was in, namely, Colonel Grobicki.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is his first name Jerzy?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

He had a fountain pen. It was taken from him and he objected strongly and demanded from the commanding officer of the guards for that pen to be returned. And that officer said, "Well, of course, they wouldn't take a pen from you; it's a harmless thing."

"But they have taken it from me."

So he turned around to the guard and said, "Well, give it back. Don't do any more stealing—when they see it."

There is one, to my mind, very important aspect. Before I was taken away from the compound, there was that group waiting to enter that cellar where the search was being made, and before we entered, the political commissar of the camp, Dymidowicz, looked at our group and said, "Well—"

(The witness made a statement in his native tongue.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the witness at this point would like to say something in Polish and would like to have it translated.

Chairman MADDEN. All right, Mr. Pucinski, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the interpretation you will give of the testimony of the witness, as interpreter, will be a true interpretation?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do.

The witness repeated a statement made to him by a Russian guard, in the Russian language, which he then translated into Polish. He said that the Russian guard told him that, "For you people, you got away with it."

Mr. FURTEK. One correction: He didn't tell it to me, and it wasn't a guard; it was a political commissar of the camp, Dymidowicz, and it was just said to almost everybody. He looked at us and said, "Well, you got away with it."

Mr. PUCINSKI. When was this?

Mr. FURTEK. It was on the 26th of April; an hour before we left camp.

Mr. PUCINSKI. At Kozielsk?

Mr. FURTEK. At Kozielsk; within the compound.

Mr. FLOOD. What was that date?

Mr. FURTEK. 26th of April.

Mr. FLOOD. What year?

Mr. FURTEK. 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. By that time, I take for granted that several groups of your fellow prisoners had been removed from time to time?

Mr. FURTEK. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. To where, you do not know?

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Under the circumstances and in the manner that you have just described?

Mr. FURTEK. Precisely.

Mr. FLOOD. Finally, or ultimately, they came to another group and you were included in that group; is that right?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. And you were in that group that you are discussing now, were you?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were lined up in the compound?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Had you been examined at that point and investigated and searched?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes; I was searched in that cellar that I described.

Mr. FLOOD. Everything was all over, you were being lined up in the compound ready to be transported some place?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. While you were lined up there, the Russian political commissar whose name you have given was standing in front of you; is that right?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. He turned to your group and repeated the words that you have just stated?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Did he say anything else that you remember?

Mr. FURTEK. We were within the compound when he addressed us.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in the compound.

Mr. FURTEK. Before entering the searching cellar, the cellar in which we were searched.

Mr. FLOOD. You were lined up in the compound, and before you were searched, the Russian commissar turned and made the statement to your group, which you have just repeated?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You said, before you made that statement, that you had an incident of considerable importance to state to the committee.

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that the incident?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. Why do you think it was of any importance?

Mr. FURTEK. To begin with, we didn't know what he meant. But I thought there was some significance attached to it.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that. What do you mean by "significance"?

Mr. FURTEK. Because it came back to me in 1943, when the discovery of Katyn was made, that he addressed us in that way.

Mr. FLOOD. In 1943, after the discovery of Katyn was made, then your mind went back to the statement made by this commissar?

Mr. FURTEK. Precisely.

Mr. FLOOD. As of 1943, what particular significance did you attach to that statement made to you and your group in 1940? Why was it significant to you in 1943 and why is it significant to you today?

Mr. FURTEK. Because in 1943, when the discovery was made, I personally was convinced that the massacre was done by the Russians.

Mr. FLOOD. What massacre?

Mr. FURTEK. Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. Had you heard about it before 1943?

Mr. FURTEK. No. But I am talking about 1943. And that statement that he made to our group brought back to me the circumstances in which we were evacuated from Kozielsk, and I had the conviction that he knew what was going to happen to us.

Mr. FLOOD. I am sure I understand what you mean and I know you know what you mean, but probably, because of the language difficulty, you are not quite able to make it clear to the committee. Let me see if I can help you. During the time that you were in Kozielsk, as you have described, certain groups of your fellow prisoners were being removed periodically, after a search and examination, to some place.

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You did not know where they went?

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard rumors they were going to Germany?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard rumors they were going to some place else; you did not know. After 1940 to 1943 you never heard from any of those men, is that correct?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right; 1940 to 1943.

Mr. FLOOD. You never heard of them after?

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Your group was removed from Kozielsk?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Your group survived Pawlitzew Bor and ultimately you were with General Anders?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. In 1943, when you heard of Katyn and the names of the men who died at Katyn, then your mind went back to this incident in the compound and the words of the Russian commissar when he said—what?

Mr. PUCINSKI [translating]. "You have succeeded."

Mr. FLOOD. "You have succeeded?"

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Then you understood that to mean, "You are lucky; your group are not going to Katyn, your group are not going to be liquidated; you are going to survive"; is that what you mean?

Mr. FURTEK. That is precisely what I mean.

Mr. DONDERO. I might say, Mr. Chairman, that the memorandum handed to us says, "You sure are lucky."

Is that what you mean?

Mr. FURTEK. It is very difficult to give an exact translation, even from Russian into Polish.

Mr. DONDERO. That is what he meant?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you put the expression you made as a sort of colloquial Polish expression, something like the English "You got away with it; you are lucky"?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right; a very idiomatic expression.

Mr. FLOOD. In my interpretation of your phrasing, I was not putting any words into your mouth, was I?

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. FLOOD. It is precisely what you mean?

Mr. FURTEK. It is perfectly correct.

Mr. FLOOD. In 1943 and as of today?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Furtek, what was your rank?

Mr. FURTEK. Cadet officer.

Mr. FLOOD. When you went to Pawlizezew Bor with this group, what was the next camp?

Mr. FURTEK. Griazowiec.

Mr. FLOOD. When did you leave Griazowiec, about?

Mr. FURTEK. 2d or 3d of September, 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you advised at Griazowiec that you were going to be permitted to join General Anders' Polish Army?

Mr. FURTEK. I joined the Army in Griazowiec.

Mr. FLOOD. You ultimately joined General Anders, served through the war and came to England?

Mr. FURTEK. I came to England in 1942.

Mr. FLOOD. Are you testifying voluntarily?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MADDEN. Congressman O'Konski.

Mr. O'KONSKI. These people at the camp were mostly cadet officers; they were the heart of the military in Poland, were they not?

Mr. FURTEK. Do you mean in Kozielsk?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes.

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. O'KONSKI. What were they?

Mr. FURTEK. Mostly officers. It was only a small group of cadet officers because all noncommissioned officers and privates and cadet officers were removed from Kozielsk prior to the officers' arrival, of the officers from various camps.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You have since seen the names of the Polish people who were found in the graves at Katyn; have you not?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. As you read over that list of names, did you recognize any names that were in the Kozielsk camp at the time that you were there?

Mr. FURTEK. I did.

Mr. O'KONSKI. From the names that you saw, were those names among those groups of 100 to 300 that they took out periodically and said they were going some place?

Mr. FURTEK. That is correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, those lists of names of the people that were found buried in the Katyn graves were names that you recognized, who were in that camp, who were taken out in those groups periodically during the month of April of 1940?

Mr. FURTEK. That is correct, sir.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, might I ask if this witness knows anything further about this, personally?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. After being searched, we were taken by lorries to the—well, it wasn't the marshaling yard, it was a siding of the Kozielsk station. There we saw a train waiting for us; about—well, I don't remember how many carriages, but carriages of the prison type; the ordinary carriage—well, it wasn't ordinary; specially built, with a corridor along, and small compartments.

Chairman MADDEN. Railroad car?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. It had a grated door first, a steel grated door, and then a steel ordinary door with a small hole or opening for the guard to look inside.

We were very crammed in those carriages because there was usually private place for 8 and in my compartment there were 24 of us. We were almost packed like sardines. All we got was very little bread and a few herrings; and, of course, we always refused to take the herrings because we knew of the Russian practice not to give you water afterward.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you see any inscriptions on these cars?

Mr. FURTEK. That is what I am coming to.

I was lying on the upper shelf. There were three shelves. You can unfold them and they form a platform, the first platform, second platform; but there is no platform on the third shelf. I was lying on a shelf with Commander Dzienisiewicz, and then I noticed on the board an inscription. It might have been made—I don't know if it was a pencil or match, or any other object that could leave a black or grayish mark on a white-painted board. It read, as far as I remember now: "Two stations past"—or behind—"Smolensk, disembarking, being loaded on lorries"; or something of that kind. I remember "being loaded" or "entering lorries" or "being taken by lorries." Anyway, "Two stations behind"—or past—"Smolensk, disembarking and being taken"—or "being loaded—on lorries."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of course, that was in the Polish language, is that right?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes; and the date might have been the 12th or 13th of April.

Mr. FLOOD. By the date, do you mean the date was marked on there also?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. 1940?

Mr. FURTEK. 1940, that is right.

In our compartment was Colonel Prokop—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are you still continuing about the inscription?

Mr. FURTEK. I am still continuing with the inscription—who was very interested in the inscription. He said, "Well, I believe this is a mark left by my friend with whom I arranged to leave some sign, if possible."

Well, of course, I don't know whether it is true, or not.

And he mentioned the name of Colonel Kutymba.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there a signature to it?

Mr. FURTEK. No; there was no signature to it; there was only his assumption. It was only an assumption; it might have been him or it might have been somebody else.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At any rate, it was a Polish inscription?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. It was written in Polish, and I say it was either a pencil or piece of match, or any other object that could leave a dirty gray mark on white paintwork.

Chairman MADDEN. "Two stations behind Smolensk" would be where, if you know?

Mr. FLOOD. You do not know that, do you?

Mr. FURTEK. I don't know that.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to be sure about the date. What figures did you see on the inscription; what numbers?

Mr. FURTEK. I would say "12" or it might have been "13/4/40." But I am not certain whether it was "12," or "13."

Mr. FLOOD. Would you mark down in writing and show to the chairman what you saw indicating the date?

Mr. FURTEK. Certainly [writing].

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before you go any further; in explanation of that, so there will not be any misunderstanding on the part of the committee, let me say that in the Polish language, the day of the month is stated first and then the month and then the year.

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness has shown to the chairman the numbers, written in his own handwriting on a piece of paper, in the presence of the committee.

Mr. FURTEK. It might have been "12" or "13."

Mr. FLOOD. "12" or "13"?

Mr. FURTEK. It was blurred.

Mr. FLOOD. The next number is "4" and the final number is "40"; is that right?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. The first number means which date; the "12" or "13"?

Mr. FURTEK. 12th or 13th.

Mr. FLOOD. "4" means what month?

Mr. FURTEK. April.

Mr. FLOOD. And "40" means what?

Mr. FURTEK. Year.

Mr. FLOOD. What year?

Mr. FURTEK. 1940.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask you: Referring to this arrangement that this officer made, for someone to leave a sign or something, did you find the person who supposedly wrote that sign that you saw? Did you find his name among those bodies that were found at Katyn?

Mr. FURTEK. Well, I really don't remember whether the name of Colonel Kutymba is on the list.

Mr. DONDERO. Kutymba was not killed, because he went out with you.

Mr. FURTEK. No; Prokop. He made the arrangement with Kutymba. He might have been the man who made the sign.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was Kutymba's first name?

Mr. FURTEK. I couldn't tell you, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show the witness a document, which is the list of names of the Polish officers discovered at Katyn. The document has already been placed in evidence in the hearings thus far conducted in the United States. I direct the attention of the witness to page 94 of said document, and especially to that part of page 94 where is found, third from the bottom, the name of Jozef Kutymba and ask the witness if that is the spelling or the pronunciation of the name Kutymba that he mentioned in his previous testimony this mornin'?

Mr. FURTEK. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did Colonel Prokop tell you what rank Kutymba had?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was his rank?

Mr. FURTEK. Colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What rank appears in that list?

Mr. FURTEK. Lieutenant colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So it is the same rank.

Mr. FURTEK. Yes; because we don't distinguish in Polish whether it is colonel or lieutenant colonel.

Mr. FLOOD. It is the practice in the Polish Army, as in all armies, to refer to a lieutenant colonel, by courtesy, as colonel?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you know anything more about this, personally?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. The train that we entrained in Kozielsk consisted of several carriages—there might have been up to five—and after we entrained, another group was brought into the station, and they were put in the remaining carriages. But we lost those carriages somewhere on the way; where, I don't know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you see any other inscriptions besides the one that you described?

Mr. FURTEK. I personally didn't.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there anyone in your group who reported to you any other inscriptions that they saw?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What were they? Just tell us briefly: Were there any other inscriptions that were found by others in the group, in your group?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. Before we entrained, everybody was called out by name. We all had to kneel down. Then we were called out, our names were called out. We answered "Yes" and then we were taken and put in a compartment. And while we were waiting, in front of carriages, one of our men, whose name was Lieutenant Abramski, had noticed an inscription on the outside wall of the carriage, "Gniezdowo." And he pointed it to Dr. Skotlewski, the dental surgeon, and said something to this effect: "Look, we are going to Gniezdowo." And that was heard by the Russian guard—we were surrounded by the guards—and he said—

(The witness made a statement in his native tongue.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness, Mr. Chairman, has quoted in Polish, the guard, who spoke in Russian, as saying "they found out."

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. And then he said, "How did you find it out?" And he was cross with Abramski.

Abramski said, "Well, it's simple. Look." And he pointed to the inscription on the carriage. That was the end of the incident.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where is Gniezdowo?

Mr. FURTEK. Well, I am not very good at geography, but Gniezdowo is the station for Katyn, as far as I remember.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The last station before Katyn, actually.

Mr. DONDERO. When you speak of the carriage you mean a railroad car, do you?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, railroad car.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you present, waiting to get aboard yourself? Did you hear the conversation?

Mr. FURTEK. I didn't hear the conversation.

Mr. FLOOD. Was it subsequently reported by one of your group?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes; by a friend of mine.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Do you know the man who told you that?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, I do.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Is he here in London?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, he is in London. I can give you his telephone number and address.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have just one other question. Did you see any of your comrades of those groups that preceded you on these trips in the cars, after they left your camp?

Mr. FURTEK. Never.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know of any in your group that ever saw any of them?

Mr. FURTEK. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, that was the last time?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, that was the last; that is right. I received two post cards while I was in the army, from the families of men who were missing, asking me to help them in tracing them.

Mr. PUCKINSKI. Mr. Furtek, what is that man's name?

Mr. FURTEK. Skotlewski.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you know his first name?

Mr. FURTEK. Czeslaw.

Mr. FLOOD. I think the record should show that during the course of the hearings in Washington and Chicago, a member of this committee, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Furcolo, repeatedly directed interrogations to other witnesses who were in Kozielsk as to whether or not they knew of the witness who is now testifying, by name and in person.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. DONDERO. No questions.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Furtek, from your experiences in the prison camp at Kozielsk and from the further testimony that you have outlined here, of your experiences and the statements which you heard made by your comrades and by Russian guards, would you be in a position to state your opinion as to who was responsible for the murders at Katyn? You can answer that yes or no.

Mr. FURTEK. Yes, of course, I can answer that.

Chairman MADDEN. Who, would you say, was responsible and committed the massacres at Katyn?

Mr. FURTEK. Well, my personal and private opinion is that the murder was done by the Russians.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I ask one more question, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You have since seen descriptions of these bodies and the clothing that they wore when they were dug out of the graves at Katyn, have you not?

Mr. FURTEK. That is right.

Mr. O'KONSKI. To your recollection, is that the way those people left the camp, dressed as they were found in the graves, with overcoats on, boots?

Mr. FURTEK. That is precisely the case.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, the way they were found in the graves is exactly the way you saw them leaving the camp; is that correct?

Mr. FURTEK. That is correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In April of 1940?

Mr. FURTEK. Yes. Because you must remember the climate should be taken into consideration. April in that part of Russia is quite a chilly and cold month.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Furtek, we wish to thank you for coming here and offering your testimony.

Let me ask you this: You have not been promised any remuneration in any way, have you?

Mr. FURTEK. I never expected it, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. The witness is excused.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W.

Just state your name for the record.

Mr. W. I will state my name but not for publication, because I have relatives in Poland.

(The witness stated his name for the information of the committee.)

Chairman MADDEN. I might state, for the record, that this witness, for the reason that he has relatives in Poland, wishes that his name be not recorded. However, for the record, I can state that the members of the committee have the name and address of the witness about to testify, and he will be referred to in the record as Mr. W., in accordance with his suggestion.

Let me state, sir, that before you make your statement, it is our wish to advise you that any testimony that you may make that possibly might be interpreted by somebody as libel or slander will be your responsibility; that you will be responsible for any statements of that kind that might develop into legal action against yourself, and, further, that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives does not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings that may arise as a result of your testimony.

Mr. W. I am aware of that.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give in the hearing now in trial will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. W. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. I will say this, Mr. Witness: I would suggest that, if you can, you just narrate your statement very briefly and confine it to what you know regarding the Katyn massacre. It will aid the committee in conducting this hearing and help to dispose, in

better time, of the testimony of the great number of witnesses we expect to hear.

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

I had been brought to the Kozielsk camp in the first days of November 1939. Later, I worked in the kitchen as a stoker, and I saw quite often, in the course of my duties, the Russian staff of the camp, both the administration of the camp and the civilians. When the discharging of the camp commenced on the 3d of April, and even before that—

Mr. DONDERO. What year?

Mr. W. 1940.

There were plenty of rumors about our future. It was obvious that because of congestion and the lack of sanitary amenities, we couldn't stay longer than just the first months in the spring, otherwise we would have been killed by epidemics and other things. One rumor had it that we would go to Germany. The second was that we would go to Poland, and the third rumor was that we would be simply transferred to another camp, in Russia.

These rumors, of course, were the result of the talks of the prisoners themselves, but those talks were made quite often in the front of the Soviet administration of the camp.

The direction of the Soviet administration, I may mention here an Urbanowicz, who was the head of our economic department, I would say.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What do you mean by "our economic department"?

Mr. W. I mean the camp's department.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was a prisoner, though, was he?

Mr. W. No. Urbanowicz was a member of the Soviet staff, and he just was responsible for our feeding, for our food. When we mentioned to him, we were seeking repudiation of those rumors, or his approval. They were various; they varied from time to time. He never denied anything, but he never confirmed anything, either.

But I can remember that there was a talk that, "Oh, you will be welcomed by bands and you will go home." That is definitely what I remember of those Soviet staffs saying about our future.

When those batches of officers and other ranks and civilians were moving, they were given food for their journey. The instructions were to the effect—as I was in the kitchen, stoker—we noticed that the instructions were various. Some batches got better food or more plentiful, some not. And we simply could not make any idea where those prisoners were going. When we were looking from the inside of the camp, there was a hill in the camp. We couldn't see more, only that the prisoners, when taken out of the wall of the camp, were taken by lorry and that was all. No news whatsoever returned back from them.

Once we understood that there was a careful search of all of them leaving the camp, but we had no idea whatsoever whether we were going to Turkey or to Germany or to another camp.

On the 26th of April my name was called, and I took my things.

Chairman MADDEN. 1940?

Mr. W. 1940, of course.

On the 26th of April 1940 I took my things. I joined the party. We were 107. The senior officer, I could see, was General Wolkowicki.

We were given food and then we were taken out to the little hut which was at the entrance of the wall. A search of all of us was made. I mean we had to take off our shoes. We were to give up all sharp weapons. But still I managed to hide my knife in the tooth powder. I had a box of tooth powder and I managed to put my knife into the powder, and it went like that, the search did not notice it.

After the search we were taken to a lorry in a very bad congestion, and under the threats of the guards, who pointed to us their guns, we had to kneel or sit in the lorry whether we could or not. We were taken to a railway siding, and when we were approaching that siding, I remarked I noticed two railroad carriages, but prison carriages.

This was the first time that we were carried in those carriages having the bars on their windows; before, we used to travel in cattle trucks, which was much more comfortable.

I was put in a compartment with some other officers. We were 15 or 16 in a compartment which usually is used for 8 persons. Being one of the youngest, I was put on the shelf. There were two levels of the shelves, one being, in this case, three seats to one shelf, and the second shelf, which was quite on the top of the carriage. And I couldn't sit there even; I had to crouch or to lay.

When I was laying there I noticed that there were various inscriptions on the roof of the coach—some in pencil, some definitely with the nail. I could read some Christian names; but I don't remember them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When you say nail, you mean fingernail do you?

Mr. W. Yes; because the nails were supposed to be taken away.

I remember very well that there was an inscription saying: "Disembarking at Gniezdowo." It was in Polish, "Disembarking at railway station, Gniezdowo." It was written in pencil and it was—I still can see—in a corner of the right-hand shelf, where I was lying.

Mr. DONDERO. How old are you now?

Mr. W. I am now 39.

The voyage was not very pleasant because we had in our compartment at least two men who were known for their Communist activities in the camps. One of them, by the way, was my colleague from the Army, a cadet officer, as I was, Kukulienski.

Mr. DONDERO. Pardon me, Mr. Witness; you have not told us what your rank was when you were taken prisoner.

Mr. W. I was a cadet officer.

And practically the whole time we were discussing and nearly worrying about our future and about our attitude toward the politics.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know what happened to Kukulienski later?

Mr. W. He was taken to Moscow with Berling.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you mean Colonel Berling, who later became a part of the puppet government in Poland?

Mr. W. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he is still there, as far as you know?

Mr. W. Yes.

Kukulienski went with him. Because I was in the same regiment with Berling before 1939, and Kukulienski kept company with Berling, and they went together to that villa.

We traveled for about 2 days. I remember that we had passed a railroad station, Sukennice, and I remember that in the morning we

stopped at a station. We were tired and we didn't pay too much attention. I remember it was a nice day, and suddenly Colonel Maramaja exclaimed that the station was Babenino and that a camp was nearby called Pawlizzzew Bor.

After several hours we were taken out of the railway carriages. We were put on the lorries. We traveled in the countryside for 2 hours also and were put in the camp called Pawlizzzew Bor. Several days later we were joined by a group of 63 officers, candidate officers, and civilians, I think, who came from Starobielsk.

I remember those figures very well because I was still in the kitchen and I had to make the appropriate number of meals.

Then after, we were joined by a smaller group from Ostashkov and other groups, making up to nearly 400 people. We still believed then that all our colleagues were sent to another camp as we were, and as the accommodation was better, we thought that it was done in view of the difficulties at Kozielsk. And I must say that we were rather hopeful, as far as the near future was concerned.

After several weeks we were told that we would move out of that camp, and I remember a Mr. Lacinski, with whom we became friendly, and who was from Kozielsk, as myself. This Mr. Lacinski, having told me that our Politruk, Alexandrovitch, assured him that we were going to another camp, bigger in size, more comfortable, as far as accommodation was concerned, and having a river.

Mr. FLOOD. By Politruk do you mean the Russian political commissar?

Mr. W. Alexandrovitch; who was at Kozielsk and then also, after, came to Griazowiec.

And we were indeed once again put in the railway coaches, the same prison wagons, and this time the trouble was rather uneventful because we felt sure we had—the first time we had confidence that at last the Bolsheviks told us the truth and were sure that we were going to another camp. And this became truth; in June we were transferred to Griazowiec.

Mr. DONDERO. In June 1940?

Mr. W. June 1940. I remember that it was about the 18th because the news of the collapse of France caught us when we were on truck.

Mr. FLOOD. After you left Griazowiec, you later on were permitted to join the Polish Army, and you did and you joined General Anders some place, and ultimately, after the war, you came here; is that correct?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You mentioned in your testimony that when you were in this prison car, you saw written on the roof of the car, or some place on the car, somehow or other, certain words. Will you write down what those words were that you saw, in Polish?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

(The witness wrote on a blank sheet of paper.)

Mr. FLOOD. The witness has written certain words on a blank piece of paper, and we will ask the interpreter to read into the record the Polish wording and translate it.

Chairman MADDEN. Read the Polish.

Mr. PUCINSKI. "Wysiadamy na stacji Gniezdowo."

The translation is: "We are getting off at the station in Gniezdowo."

Mr. FLOOD. Is that correct, Mr. Witness?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

Mr. Flood. Did you see any dates, that you remember?

Mr. W. I don't remember any dates, but the whole roof—there were so many inscriptions. And, as a matter of fact, we did not realize then, as there was nothing which would give us some guidance or any specific news——

Mr. Flood. But you remember this language in particular?

Mr. W. This language I remember very clearly.

Mr. Flood. Do you remember any other words or phrases just as clearly?

Mr. W. No, sir. I remember they were Christian names, but I wouldn't remember whether it was a Janek or whatever it was.

Mr. Flood. You saw dates but are not sure?

Mr. W. No; I didn't.

Mr. Flood. The reason it had significance at the time and you were interested in this was because you were interested in the station yourself; is that about right, is that it?

Mr. W. As a matter of fact, we were even expecting, when we were put on the railway, that we would join at least some of our previous transport at the place of destination.

Mr. Flood. Did you ever see any of the prisoners who were with you at Kozielsk, who left Kozielsk with you; to this date, have you seen them since?

Mr. W. No, sir.

Mr. Flood. Do you know of anybody who ever did?

Mr. W. No; I don't know of anybody who did.

Mr. O'Konski. When was the first time you heard about them again?

Mr. W. Only after the Germans had broadcast the news of the Katyn Forest in 1943.

Mr. Flood. And when you saw the list?

Mr. W. When I saw some of the names. I remember very well the name of General Smorawinski, which was one of the first to be given, because I remember very well the moment how General Smorawinski was leaving Kozielsk.

Mr. O'Konski. In other words, you knew the people who left the camp?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'Konski. And when you saw the list of people who were found in the Katyn graves, you recognized them as being the same people who left at that time?

Mr. W. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Flood. You were there the early part of November of 1939?

Mr. W. 1939.

Mr. Flood. What part of the month, about?

Mr. W. The 1st or the 2d of November it was.

Mr. Flood. You were there in the very early days of the establishment of the Kozielsk camp?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

Mr. Flood. Were you working in the kitchen all the time?

Mr. W. Not all the time——

Mr. Flood. Most of the time until you left in April?

Mr. W. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Witness, in the light of what you now know as to the fate of some of your comrades at Kozielsk, do you have any explanation in your own mind as to why you were spared their fate?

Mr. W. No, sir. That is what always puzzled me when the fate of those other colleagues had become known. I can't remember of any specific moment during my interrogations in the camp. I remember only that my last interrogation at Kozielsk camp was carried out by a woman, and I had just a conventional conversation with her. The interrogation made an impression on me that it was just a routine one, that they didn't try to find out something new out of me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were one of the younger officers, were you?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there anything particular about the people that were with you; were they all younger officers?

Mr. W. There was no rule in accordance with which we could make a guidance that, for instance, there were just people coming from one part of Poland or one regiment, one service, or whatever it might be, whether they were blond or brunette. It was absolutely impossible to find any principle in accordance of which this choice of 107 people was made.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did you see these boys leave the camp? As these groups left the camp, did you see them as they were dressed?

Mr. W. Yes, sir. They were dressed in the dress we usually had. Nobody had—I don't think there were lucky people who had more than one dress, which they were wearing on them.

Mr. O'KONSKI. There is no disagreement between the Germans and the Polish people as to how these soldiers were dressed when they were found in the graves. You have read the descriptions, have you not, about how these bodies were dressed that were found in the graves?

Mr. W. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Is that the way you saw them leave the camp?

Mr. W. It is perfectly clear. And I may say that during Kozielsk, our stay in Kozielsk, all badges of rank were very carefully preserved.

Mr. DONDERO. Were they dressed in their uniforms of Polish officers?

Mr. W. Yes; because I say when we were later in Griazowiec, we didn't care so much for the badges. I mean our dress was being worn out and, obviously, we couldn't replace the badges or something like that; so it was the custom not to wear badges if one could have them.

Mr. DONDERO. Did they wear shoes, or boots?

Mr. W. It depended.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are speaking now about Griazowiec; but what was the state of your uniform at Kozielsk?

Mr. W. It was in a fairly good condition. I mean that some of the officers who had received the new uniforms, they were still wearing them and they were in a fairly good condition, because we were very careful about preserving our dress. I remember how we used to conserve and preserve our shoes, for instance, that we shined, to get some fat and to preserve, to put the fat on the shoes so that they would last longer, because we were well aware that we may not easily get new shoes.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. W. I have something more to add then. After we have been in Griazowiec, and when we were allowed to write to our families in Poland, which I did sometime in August 1940, among other replies to my letters I received one from one of my sisters, and one of the paragraphs of that letter read like this: "When you were in Kozielsk there was a cadet officer of the name" so-and-so—the name was given but I cannot remember now what the name was. "This cadet officer is the fiancée of a good friend of mine. Could you ask him to write to his fiancée because she is much worried about the lack of news from him." I wrote back saying: "Unfortunately this cadet officer is not with me, but I am convinced that he must be in one of the camps like ours, and I am sure he will write soon to his fiancée."

Chairman MADDEN. Is there anything further now?

Mr. W. I should like to emphasize the difference between when we were leaving Kozielsk and when we were leaving Pawlitzew Bor. As I said before, there were many rumors as far as our near future was concerned; and the Bolsheviks, who never told us the truth were keeping us in an atmosphere of uncertainty, and of never knowing the truth. They kept the destination of Kozielsk perfectly in that atmosphere. They let us have our explanation, and they were sometimes only stirring up our imagination; whereas when we were leaving Pawlitzew Bor, through this Lacinski—who was, I would say, on speaking terms with this Alexandrovicz—we got the assurance and we got clear-cut information: "You are going to another camp, and you will be much better off there." That is the only time I can remember that the Bolsheviks told us the truth.

Chairman MADDEN. Is there anything further regarding the massacre?

Mr. W. Maybe you have some questions?

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. Now considering your experience as a prisoner in these camps and all the extenuating circumstances, would you be in a position to state your personal opinion as to who committed the massacres at Katyn?

Mr. W. In my own mind, and from the best of my knowledge of all the facts which were accompanying my 2½ years in Russia, and all the circumstances, for me there was no doubt that those people disappeared in April and May 1940 directly after they had been taken out of Kozielsk, and that the first time when we realized it was October in 1941.

Chairman MADDEN. Who did it?

Mr. W. The Russians.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. We wish to thank you for coming here to testify today. There has been nobody make any promises to you regarding any recompense or emoluments for coming here to testify, is there?

Mr. W. No, sir. I would say that against many difficulties when I have been trying to point to this affair in 1943, when I was in the Middle East, it was rather unpleasant to speak about this.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. We wish to thank you.

I might state for the record that the witness now to be heard has relatives behind the iron curtain and prefers that his name be concealed from publicity; but the committee has his name and address and are familiar with his authenticity. For the purpose of the record this witness will be identified as witness Mr. A. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS A. (THROUGH INTERPRETER, MR. ROMAN PUCINSKI), LONDON, ENGLAND

Mr. PUCINSKI. This witness has indicated that because of his language difficulties he would like to have a translator. He also desires his identity be concealed because of relatives in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. May I say for the record, in order that all witnesses have very clear understanding of the warnings that are being presented to them by the chairman of this committee, I think that in all cases the identical language should be read to each witness either by the chairman or by a representative of the committee, so that in all cases of witnesses the identical warning is the same on the record. Mr. Pucinski, will you read to the witness in Polish the translation of the warning that we give? Mr. Stenographer, take this on the record. This is the admonition to the witness. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness states that he understands that clearly.

Chairman MADDEN. Have him sworn. You solemnly swear by Almighty God that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and will not conceal anything?

Mr. A. Yes, sir.

Chairman MADDEN. Now you might state to the witness that he can proceed and tell just what he knows regarding the Katyn massacres in his own words. Since the witness indicated he doesn't want his name revealed, we will refer to him as Witness A even though his full identity is known to the committee.

Mr. A. I arrived at the camp at Starobielsk on October 11 with a group of other Poles consisting of a few thousand.

Chairman MADDEN. In what year?

Mr. A. 1939—from Woloczyska. These were primarily Polish officers who had capitulated in Lwow according to an agreement reached between General Langner, of the Polish Army, and the Russian Marshal Timoshenko. I was merely attached to this transport.

Mr. FLOOD. In what capacity, in what rank?

Mr. A. I was wounded and became a Russian prisoner on October 1.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your rank?

Mr. A. I was a major. I remained at Starobielsk from October 11, 1939, until April 25, 1940. During that time there was a constant procedure of segregating the officers at the camp through long examinations by NKVD officers from Moscow. They were selecting officers from the military police, officers from the border guard, officers from the Second Division, also chaplains of all faiths, judges and prosecutors. The interrogations and selectivity of these men lasted until December 1939.

These specially selected officers were removed from the camp to an unknown destination, but the interrogations continued without end

until the end of January. In February we began to hear rumors that we would be removed from this camp to Germany according to a Russian-German agreement. In March we heard another rumor which was started by the Russian authorities that we will be taken into a neutral country, and on April 5 large-scale evacuation of the camp began. The first transport left on April 5. The evacuation proceeded in a very systematic manner in groups ranging from 250 to 360 officers, who were loaded into specially prepared prison rail cars consisting in many instances of 37 cars. There were 75 men to a car. (The witness corrected the translation to indicate that there were two or three prison rail cars to each train and there were up to 75 prisoners in each car.) Before our departure there was a very rigid inspection of the men. We were given bread and herring for the road. So our friends concealed various personal items including notes and knives—particularly knives, because knives were always very important—in between the bread and the herrings. At the gates before we left I noticed personally how the prison guards took away the bread and the herring from these men and gave them another piece of bread and herring. On April 25 I was summoned to a transport along with 65 others. From this group one other member had left by a previous transport, and another one was very seriously ill. So that day there were 63 of us who actually went to the railroad station. They were three-tier rail cars and I sat on the third tier. I noticed an inscription: "We are being removed or unloaded in Kharkov." The inscriptions were written in pencil on the ceilings of the cars and on the walls. We, however, passed Kharkov and, by way of Orzel and the city of Zuchenice, we were brought to the railroad station at Babanino on May 1. From there, in two trucks we were taken to a camp at Pavlishchev Bor. There we met our comrades from Kozielsk and Ostashkov. We were very much surprised. I say particularly surprised, because this was a very small camp, in comparison, for instance, to Starobielsk, where there were 4,000 of us. During the period of just a few days there arrived at this camp approximately 400 of us from these three camps. I prepared a list of those who survived from those three camps. I am presenting this list to the committee.

Mr. O'KONSKI. By "the camps," he means that those people came from Starobielsk, from Kozielsk, and from Ostashkov?

Mr. A. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness has presented to the committee a document and I will ask to have this marked as "Exhibit 2" by the stenographer.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 2").

I now show the witness exhibit 2 and ask him, is it true, as he stated, that this exhibit 2 is a list of the names of the fellow prisoners of the witness from the three camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov, at Pavlishchev Bor with him, and he made the list of these names at Pavlishchev Bor?

Mr. A. This list I had prepared at Cairo, but it does represent the 400 men who did come from the three camps that you named.

(Exhibit No. 2 follows.)

EXHIBIT 2

LISTA JEKOW POLSKICH

z listy przesłanej 1940 r.

Oficerów, podchorążych, podporuczników, podoficerów i szeregowych Wojska Polskiego, funkcjonariuszy Policji Państwowej, Służby Ochrony Państwa, więźniów i osób świadczących o działalności w terenie Katynskiej, których przesłano w okresie 1940 roku do obozu K.M. w Katyni. Wykazano ich w 1940 roku w obozie K.M. w Katyni.

Wykaz oficerów i podoficerów z 1940 roku w obozie K.M. w Katyni.

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Wykaz oficerów i podoficerów z 1940 roku w obozie K.M. w Katyni.

Lista oficerów i szeregowych żołnierzy oddziału z r. 1941

GRUPA FOWIA (Gawron)

1. gen. bryg. JAKUB KZIMIELA Odesa - wywieziony do Stieru-
bielska na Kubyński
w grudniu 1941 r.

2. " " KOŁKOŃSKI Jerzy - Gradowo 18.VI.1940

FURKOWICZ (Gawron)

1. pik. apl. i. st. art. POLISIAŃSKI Marian - 2.VIII.1930.

2. " 2. st. zap. KONCZYŃSKI Mieczysław - 4.I.1931

3. pik. apl. i. st. spoz. kaw. CHOSIŃSKI Jerzy - wywieziony w grudniu
1939 r. do Stierbiel-
ska - wzięcie do niewoli
w rejonie Kleszcz

4. " " w st. spoz. piech. K O G Leon - wzięcie do niewoli
10.I.1940 r. - 1.IV.
1941 r. - 18.VI.

5. " " w st. st. art. DREWUSZCZAK Stanisław - 1870 r.

6. " w st. sp. int. MAJCHOWSKI Edward - 1.II.1934.

7. " w st. sp. 1. sz. SZCZĘCINSKI Mieczysław - 1870 r.

8. komendant mar. C I J A A Edward - 1870 r.

PODPUŁKOWICZ (Gawron)

1. pik. apl. i. st. art. KARWONOWICZ-GIMCUD Jan - wzięcie do niewoli
na Stierbielska

2. pik. apl. i. st. sp. piech. WILK Zdzisław - 1896.

3. pik. st. i. st. art. SUDZICKI Leon - 1896

4.	plk. st. szep.	CZYŻ	Henryk	1892
5.	komandor pporucznik	DEJISISICZ	Stanisław	- 4.III.1896
6.	plk. sz. st. piech.	DOMINIKI	Kazimierz	- 4.I.1897.
7.	plk. sz. st. szbr.	Dr. F. LACIŃSKI	Tadeusz	- 30.IX.1894.
8.	plk. sz. sz. wojny	GAROWSKI	Zdzisław	- 23.III.1890
9.	" sz. st. piech.	KIERKOWSKI	Kazimierz	- 1892
10.	" " "	LACHOWICZ	Jan II.	- 24.VIII.1893.
11.	" " " szbr.	PARA-LEKSI	Jerzy	- 24.VIII.1889
12.	" " " lek.	Dr. LISIŃSKI	Włodzisław	- 28.III.1892
13.	" dypl. sz. st. piech.	MOHAWSKI	Marjan	- 25.VII.1892
14.	" sz. st. piech.	PROKOP	Jan	- 23.VII.1891
15.	" plk. sz. szbr.	RAJCHSKI	Henryk	- 14.VII.1893
16.	" sz. st. szbr.	TOPAJ-LEWYŃSKI	Aleksander	- 6.I.1894
17.	" dypl. sz. st. szp.	TYCZAKOWSKI	Leon	- 1895.
<u>MAJOROWIE (Majoros)</u>				
1.	sz. dypl. sz. st. piech.	DOŁB	Indrzej	- 1899
2.	" sz. st. szbr.	PIECHAR	"	- "
3.	" rez. lek.	Dr. LOPAC	Tadeusz	- 24.VII.1890
4.	" w sz. st. piech.	ERZHO	Rafał	- 6.II.1896

5. mjr. el. et. art.	I I S	Josef	-	5. I. 1897
6. " st. spos. zand.	ŁĄCZOWSKI	Jan	-	14. VI. 1896
7. st. kapelan	Ks. TYCZKOWSKI	Franciszek	-	10. I. 1892.
<u>KAPITAŁOWIE (Captains)</u>				
1. kpt. rez.	FAUER	-	-	-
2. kpt. w st. sp. sdm.	BIAŁECKI	Szymon	-	1893 D.O. K.V.
3. rtm. rez. kaw.	CZARSKI	Josef	-	1896 3 p. ul.
4. kpt. el. et. art.	CZERNY	Włodzisław	-	1896 szkola z rz. por. rez. art. w 20- dzimierz wójcowski
5. kpt. el. et. art.	DĄBIEJ	Włodzisław	-	w 20. dzimierz wójcowski
6. kpt. el. et. art.	DEBICZ	Witold	-	1894
7. kpt. rus. art.	HĄCZKOWSKI	Witold	-	1894 D.O. IV.
8. kpt. posp. rus. lek. dr. KOLIN	Stefan	Stefan	-	1894 Spitt. Nr. 406
9. " w st. sp. adm.	KUŁEBA	-	-	-
10. " el. et. piech.	KURTEL	-	-	-
11. " el. et. piech.	ŁICHWIŃ	Stanisław	-	1898 K.O.F.
12. " rez. art.	ŁOSKOWSKI	Adam	-	1898 6 p. A.O.
13. " lek.	DR. FLEISCHER	Jonas	-	1895 Spitt. 209
14. " apl. el. et. inż.	RYTEL	Włodzisław	-	wywieziony ze Sta- robieleża
15. rtm. rez. kaw.	RYTEL	Stanisław	-	-

		str. 4		
16.	kap. sz. et. br. pancer.	ROJEN-ROJENSKI	Parimierz	-
17.	" " " in.	Dr. SIKORSKI	Stefan	- 1897 D.O.K.I.
18.	rtm. sz. et. kaw.	SLIZIK	Olgiera	- 1895 - szys. kaw. Nowogrodok
19.	kap. sz. sp. art.	WRZESNIEWSKI	Edward	- 1897 sztab Armii gen. Sosnkowskiego
20.	kap. sz. et. sp. lok. rot.	SIEMEN	-	-
<u>PORUCZENICY (LIEUTENANTS)</u>				
1.	por. rez. piech.	BIERO	Rudolf	- 1891 D.O.K.V.
2.	" " " zand.	BIRN	Adelmar	- 1898 D.O.K.II.
3.	" " " piech.	SIEMC	Otto	- 1899 kda P.P. Jaworow
4.	" " " lok.	Dr. HOMER	-	-
5.	" " " art.	CIEPIELSKI	Konstanty	- 1898 I PAT. leg.
6.	" " " kaw.	CZYŻ	Czesław	- 1900 szys. 4 p. ul.
7.	" " " lek. dent.	DANEK	-	-
8.	" " " piech.	STERT	-	- wywieziony na Lubian kę
9.	por. rez. mar.	SIEBERT	Julian	- 1892 kler. mar. woj.
10.	" " " sz. sp. piech.	GLASER	-	-
11.	" " " kaw.	GRIN	Wacław	-
12.	" " rez. lot.	KALINSKI	Henryk	- 1895 sz. p. lot.
13.	" " " kaw.	KOIZ	Jan	- D.O.IV

str. 5

14.	for. rez. Dr. yuko.	WYWINCH	Waleyk	-
15.	" Junakow	ZORALANSKI	Feliks	-
16.	" rez. lous.	KUSZMIRUK	Nicola J	1895 4 Baon Tels.
17.	" w st. ap. int.	KWIAKOWSKI	Stanislaw	1881 int. Warszawa
18.	" res.	KARACOWSKI	Polislaw	1897 D.O.K.II
19.	" " lek. Dr.	KERENIENBER	Izidor	1891 Sept. 503
20.	" " " est.	K. E. Y. S. R	Agonius	-
21.	" " " esp.	KRYNARSKI	Bronislaw	1892
22.	" " " lek. Dr. KUCHO		Waclaw	1900 Sept. 104
23.	" " " " Dr. BRONOWSKI		Lieotyew	1899 C.W. Jan
24.	" " " " Prof. Dr. SZKACHINSKI		Adam	1892 Sept. D.O. Z.II.
25.	" " " " SCHIDA		Jan	1893
26.	" " " " KARASIEWICZ		Olgierd	1900 1 p.p. leg.
27.	" " " " S. R. I. E. B		Juliusz	1903 Osr. Art. 2
28.	" " " " WACHA		Waclaw	1900 Werszt. Uchr Archi

		str. 4	
16.	kap. sz. et. br. p. n. s.	RODWIN-TRZANOWSKI	Parimierz
17.	" " " inż.	Dr. BILIMOWSKI	Stefan
18.	kap. sz. et. kaw.	SILIKIN	Olgierd
19.	kap. sz. et. art.	WARSZCZAKOWSKI	Edward
20.	kap. w. et. of. lek. wet.	ZIMERN	"
FORUCZENICY (Lieutenants)			
1.	por. rez. piech.	LEBRO	Rudolf
2.	" " san.	BIRN	Wacław
3.	" " piech.	SIZANO	Otto
4.	" " lek.	Dr. FORNER	"
5.	" " art.	CIEPIEWSKI	Konstanty
6.	" " kaw.	CZYŻ	Czesław
7.	" " lek. dent.	DANEK	"
8.	" " piech.	SWERT	"
9.	por. rez. mar.	CHODAK	Julian
10.	" " sz. et. piech.	GLASER	"
11.	" " " kaw.	GRZYN	Wacław
12.	" rez. lot.	ZAMINSKI	Henryk
13.	" " kaw.	HOLZ	Jan
		str. 4	
		-	
		- 1897 O.K. 2.	
		- 1895 - dyw. kaw. Nowogródek	
		- 1897 Sztab Armii Gen. Sosnkowskiego	
		-	
		- 1891 D.O.K.V.	
		- 1898 D.O.K.II.	
		- 1899 Kda P.P. Jaworów	
		-	
		- 1898 I P.A. 188.	
		- 1900 Kda P. 4 p. n. l.	
		-	
		- wywieziony do Lubian 19	
		- 1892 kier. mar. woj.	
		-	
		-	
		- 1895 3 p. lot.	
		- D.O.IV	

str. 5

14.	por. rez. Dr. pchno.	VIVINENT	Wladyslaw	-
15.	" " Junakow	KORALOWSKI	Pelika	-
16.	" rez. rez.	KOSCIUSKO	Nikolaj	1895 4 Baon Tels.
17.	" w st. sp. int.	ZWILKOWSKI	Stanislaw	1891 int. Warszawa
18.	" rez.	KOSCIUSKO	Polislaw	1897 D.O.K. II
19.	" " lek. Dr.	KOSCIUSKO	Isidor	1891 Szpit. 503
20.	" " spt.	KOSCIUSKO	Eugeniusz	-
21.	" " spt.	KOSCIUSKO	Pronislaw	1892
22.	" " lek. Dr.	KUCHO	Wladyslaw	1900 Szpit. 104
23.	" " " Dr.	KOSCIUSKO	Wladyslaw	1899 C.W. San
24.	" " " "ycof. Dr.	KOSCIUSKO	Adam	1892 Szpit. D.O. Z.VII.
25.	" " " SOWDA		Jan	1893
26.	" " " KOSCIUSKO		Olgierd	1900 1 p.p. leg.
27.	" " " KOSCIUSKO		Juliusz	1903 Osr. Art. 2
28.	" " " WACHA		Wladyslaw	1900 Wzrost. Wzbr. Armii

F O D I O R U C Z E N I O Y (Second Lieutenant)				str. 6	
1.	for. rez. lek. str.	ARMANUKI	Jan	- 1906	Expit. pol. 362
2.	" " piech.	BARTZ	Jan	- 1913	58 p. piech.
3.	" " "	BATOR	Franciszek	- 1898	Kda P. P. Piech.
4.	" " art.	BRODOWSKI	Zerimierz	- 1906	Posman O. P. I.
5.	" " lek.	BRIKAK	Andrzej	- 1912	6 p. p. leg.
6.	" " piech.	CHOCIMCZYK	Indrzej	- 1907	73 p. p.
7.	" " "	CHODZIMOW	Isen	- 1913	81 p. p.
8.	" " "	CZOK	Josef	- 1913	75 p. p.
9.	" " sz. str. lek.	CZYKOWSKI	Jan	- 1913	1 p. lek.
10.	" " rez. lek.	Dr. EURLICH	Georg	- 1907	61 Bron. Wart.
11.	" " piech.	FOMINER	-	-	-
12.	" " "	FRANKOWSKI	Zdzislaw	- 1908	55 p. p.
13.	" " "	FRANKOWSKI	Zdzislaw	- 1907	61 p. p.
14.	" " piech.	FRANKOWSKI	Jerzy	-	-
15.	" " "	GALEK	Hier	-	-
16.	" " lek.	Dr. GONIMOWSKI	Zdzislaw	- 1909	52 Bron. Art.
17.	" " "	GOLIMOW	Adrian	- 1908	1 p. leg.
18.	" " piech.	GONIMOW	Zdzislaw	- 1895	-
19.	" " rez. lek.	GONIMOWSKI	Zdzislaw	- 1911	6 Bron. Telegr.
20.	" " piech.	GONIMOW	Isen	- 4 p. p. leg.	-
21.	" " "	GONIMOW	-	-	-

C.F. 7

22.	prof. rez. piech. prof.	Dr. GUTOWSKI	Schleslaw	- 1888 Instytut P. G.
23.	prof. "	HOFFMAN	Karol	-
24.	prof. rez. piech.	IM A CH	Roman	-
25.	" al. st. lot.	JAKUBAS	Indrik	- 1915 5 p. lot.
26.	" " "	JAKUBOWICZ	Hubert	- 1912 5 p. p. leg.
27.	" rez. art.	JANKOWSKI	Stanislaw	- 1906 3 D.A.P.L.
28.	" " lek.	Dr. JANKOWSKI	David	- 1900 5 p. p. kan.
29.	" " art.	JAKUB	Wolfgang	- 1914 23 PAL
30.	" " piech.	JACOBINO	Josef	- 52 p.p.
31.	" " "	JAKUBOWSKI	Benjamin	-
32.	" rez. piech.	K E P P E	Arwin	- 1901 28 p.p.
33.	" " lot.	KIDMAN	Piotr	- 1917 4 p. lot.
34.	" " prof.	Dr. KAMANNICKI	Wladaw	- 19 94
35.	" " apt.	KOMAN	-	- 2 Radowa
36.	" " piech.	KOWALCZYK	Edward	- 1910
37.	" " "	K O L	Piotr	- 1912 2 p. p. leg.
38.	" " lek.	Dr. KROGOLD	Jakub	- 1907 4 p. p. leg.
39.	" " "	Dr. KREMLA	Josef	- 1919 Sprit. Pol. 102
40.	" " piech.	KANER	Julian	- 1901 19 p.p.
41.	" " "	KRAWCZYK	Henryk	-
42.	" " lek.	KIDMAN	Nichol	- 5 p. p. leg.
43.	" " wzbr.	KISOWSKI	Ozelsaw	-

[illegible]

str.9

66.	prof. rez. lek.	"	SOZIMINIEZ	Jan	-
67.	"	lok.	DR. SADOWSKI	Stanisław	- 1904 Szpit. Pol. 303
68.	"	ins.	SCHONHAUT	Josef	- 1899 12 Dyr. piech
69.	"	kap.	SCHON	Borys	- 1809 3 p. ul.
70.	"	lek.	SEAL	Henryk	- 1896 D.O.K.K.
71.	"	lek. dent.	SKOTLICKI	Czesław	-
72.	"	"	DR. SLOWES	Salomon	- 1908 Szpit. Pol. 301
73.	"	art.	SLATSKI	Edmund	- 1896 D.O.K. II
74.	"	piech.	SPRIGINT	Zygmunt	- 1912 3 p. piech.
75.	"	lek.	DR. SPALACZESKI	Wacław	- 1899 Szpit. Pol. 301
76.	"	piech.	STACELAN	S. M. Łódź	- zwolniony z obczu
77.	"	"	STILER	S. Pomerania	"
78.	"	piech.	STULIS	Piotr	- 3 p. piech.
79.	"	"	STALIRO	Isaak	- 25 p. p.
80.	"	"	STOPIKOWSKI	Stanisław	-
81.	"	lek.	DR. STUNAR	Josef	- 1910 Szpit. Zwsk. 61
82.	"	piech.	STUSSER	Zygmunt	-
83.	"	kap.	TOILIK	Łomon	-
84.	"	"	TRZESINSKI	Włodzisław	-
85.	"	kap.	URBAKOWSKI	Jerzy	- 2 p. s. k.

						str. 10
86.	prof. rez.	lek. dent.	URUDA	Leonard	-	-
87.	"	"	DR. UNGER	Kund	-	-
88.	"	"	WARCOKI	Piotr	-	1906 Reon O.N. Kresna
89.	"	"	WASILEWSKI	Wladyslaw	-	1911 K.O.P.
90.	"	"	DR. WERSNER	Iszak	-	-
91.	"	"	WESTPALEWICZ	Stanislaw	-	1906 72 P.P.
92.	"	al. st. lot.	WICHKIEWICZ	Tadousz	-	-
93.	"	rez.	lek.	DR. WINKELMANN	Isch	1899 Kapit. Swak. 12
94.	"	"	"	WILLIS	Alexander	27 p. ul.
95.	"	"	"	ZYRZAK	China	-
96.	"	"	"	DR. ZELICHOWSKI	Natoli	1903 Kapit. Swak. 11
<u>CHORAZOWIE (Col. Places)</u>						
1.	chor. zaw.		DOLOTTO	Wacław	-	1892 7 Reon czolgow
2.	"	"	P E A N O	Jozef	-	1890 K.O.P.
3.	"	"	CANLIK	Jozef	-	1889 Flot. Linska
4.	"	"	JANUSZ	Karel	-	1896 46 P.P.
5.	"	"	LANDSIARA	Stanislaw	-	1896 K.O.P.
6.	"	"	SINGER	Jakub	-	art.
7.	"	"	S T U L O	Stanislaw	-	1899 K.O.P.

POLSKO-RUSKIE

1.	Pol. gen. rez. art.	MACIEJSKI	Zosimierz	- 1917 Dyon. art. Cecowicz
2.	Pol.	BENDER	Cieszyn	- 1908
3.	"	BARTOSZKI	Bydgoszcz	- 1910 gen. sep. modlin
4.	"	BARTOSZKI	Indziej	- 1917 gen. sep. modlin Ostrow-Tomczak
5.	"	BARTOSZKI	Roman	- 1918 41 p.p.
6.	"	BARTOSZKI	Cesary	- 1921 77 p.p.
7.	"	plut. rez. piech.	Wladyslaw	- 1918 4 p.p. 108.
8.	"	"	Zbyszek	- 2 1917 5 p.p. 108.
9.	"	plut. rez. kaw.	Custow	- 1922 4 p.p.
10.	"	kap. rez.	Wilhelm	- 1916
11.	"	"	Eugeniusz	- 1919 64 p.p.
12.	"	sierż. rez. br. panc. p. 108.	Leonid	- 1914 2 p.p. 108.
13.	"	gen. " art.	Helgard	- 1913 29 p.p. 108.
14.	"	kap. rez. piech.	Wladyslaw	- 1921 3 p.p. 108.
15.	"	plut. rez. art.	Leon	- 1914 13 p.p. 108.
16.	"	rez. piech. lek. br. 108.	-	-
17.	"	plut. rez. piech.	Polenow	- 1915 3 p.p. 108.
18.	"	wach. rez. kaw.	Mieczyslaw	- 1916 21 p.p. 108.
19.	"	plut. rez. art.	Michal	- 1917

					str. 12
20.	por. plut. rez. piech.	JANKOWSKI	Wladyslaw	-	1916 8 p.p. 188.
21.	" sierz. rez. san.	KAFEL	Jan	-	1911 Kapit. Pol. 504.
22.	" plut. " piech.	KAROLCZYK	Aleksander	-	1913 77 p.p.
23.	" " " art.	KARPINSKI	Karion	-	1918 Ser. Art. Wiodzi Mierz Polyski
24.	" plut. rez. piech.	KIERKUC	Jerzy	-	1919 77 p.p.
25.	" " ser. kaw.	KLECH	Tadeusz	-	1917 80 p.p.
26.	" sierz. rez. san.	KOHN	Joachim	-	1911 6 Dyw. Raborow
27.	" plut. ser. kaw.	KOLODKA	Wiktor	-	1916 8 p.szwel.
28.	" " rez. piech.	KOPONIEC	Ryszard	-	1912 82 p.p.
29.	" plut. ser. piech.	KONDRACZYK	Josef	-	1916 2 Dyw. Piech.
30.	" " " kaw.	KONDRACZYK	Czeslaw	-	1917 26 p.p.
31.	" " " kaw.	KOSINSKI	Edward	-	1916 1 p.p.
32.	" kpr. rez. piech.	KOWALCZYK	Antoni	-	-
33.	" " " "	KRAJEWSKI	Czeslaw	-	1917 8 p.p. 188.
34.	" " " "	KROL D	Wladyslaw	-	1914 82 p.p.
35.	" plut. rez. " "	KRZYWINSKI	Franciszek	-	-
36.	" " ser. lot.	KWIECZKA	-	-	-
37.	" kpr. rez. art.	KUPIECZYNSKI	-	-	1916 24 p.p. 188.
38.	" plut. rez. piech.	KUSCZYK	Leon	-	1912 26 p.p.
39.	" " ser. piech.	KUSCZYK	Tadeusz	-	1918 8 p.p. 188.

str. 13

40.	1ch.kpr. rez.kw.	IAKEL IULYIN	Stanisław	- 1918	20 p.ni.
41.	" " " piech.	IAZUKHINICZ	Josef	- 1917	5 p.p.leg.
42.	" " " "	IAZYA	Stanisław	- zmarł w Grodnie	
43.	" plut. rez.art.	IBODUSEWSKI	Wymunt	- 1917	23 M.A.I.
44.	" kpr. rez.piech.	IKUYCZAK	Karol	- 1905	K.O. Brodek " Agielonowski "
45.	" " " "	IOCHALSKI	Siergiej	- 1905	12 p.p.
46.	" " " "	IPATKIELICZ	Kazimierz	- 1912	52 p.p.
47.	" sierz. rez. piech.	IPACHNIEWICZ	Stanisław	- 1913	79 p.p.
48.	" plut. rez. piech.	IPAWICZUK	Nikolaj	- 1915	
49.	" kpr. rez.kw.	IPERICHONKI	Edziasław	- 1918	20 p.ni.
50.	" plut. rez. leg.	PIKO R	Adam	- 1917	12 D.P.
51.	" kpr. rez. piech.	PEKOPONICZ	Edward	- 1919	54 p.p.
52.	" " " "	PEKUSKOWSKI	Bolesław	- 1916	24 p.piech.
53.	" plut. rez. art.	PUCHALSKI	Julian	- 1918	24 p.A.I.
54.	" " " "	PUCHAWKO	Aleksander	-	
55.	" st. tel. rez.	PIJIN	Josef	- 1918	
56.	" plut. rez. piech.	PIKUSKI	Lucjan	- 1916	62 p.p.
57.	" plut. rez. piech.	PIKOR	Siergiej	- 1905	23 p.p.
58.	" kpr. rez. piech.	PIKORCZUK	Wiktoria	- 1912	76 p.p.

ser. l.				
29.	1st. rez. rez. rez.	PODOLSKY	also	-1920 21. ser. l.
30.	" 1st. rez. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1919 77 p. rez.
31.	" 1st. " rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1918 2 p. rez.
32.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1901 -
33.	" 1st. " rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1918 77 p. rez.
34.	" 1st. " rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1913 4 p. rez.
35.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1919 21 p. rez.
36.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1913 81 p. rez.
37.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1907 20 rez.
38.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1918 18 rez.
39.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1920 20 p. rez.
40.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1908 24 p. rez.
41.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1915 24 p. rez.
42.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1918 21 p. rez.
43.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1920 21 p. rez.
44.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1917 24 p. rez.
45.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1916 3 p. rez.
46.	" 1st. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1913 -
PODOLSKY : St. ICHAK : St. ICHAK (see comments above)				
1.	St. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1889 -
2.	St. rez.	ST. ICHAK	St. ICHAK	-1898 20 rez.
3.	"	"	"	"

1910.

1. Capt.	JANOWSKI	Jan	-1897	-
2. Bosman	RAJCHLONOWSKI	Isidor	-1902	marginally
3. Wache.	K. J. L.	Emil	-1898	-
7. "	ZIMINSKI	Michael	-1899	-

PLUMMER: (Platoon Leaders)

1. Plnt.	SLADKOWSKI	Isch	-1897	Francis's join.
2. " Capt.	PRZYBYL	Ignacy	-1905	S. P. U.
3. "	J. A. P.	Leopold	-1912	-

MAJORS: (Captains)

1. Capt.	BALON	Antoni	-1903	-
2. " Capt.	BOGAL	Edmund	-1914	4 P. U. P. Podolski.
3. "	BOLICHOWSKI	Jerzy	-1900	-
4. "	KONIKAI	Wladyslaw	-1904	-
5. "	K. U. P. S.	Henryk	-1915	-
6. "	LECHOWSKI	Jan	-1910	-
7. " Capt.	SEKULAK	Antoni	-	-
8. "	SOBAL	Bruno	-1900	-

ST. MICHAEL: (Reference)

		Str. 15.	
1. Str.	194		
2. Bomb.	MAJCEWA	1904	KOP
3. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
CORRESPONDENCE: (Pawar)			
1. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
2. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
3. Str.	WILKES	-	-
4. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
5. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
6. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
7. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
8. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
9. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
10. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
11. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
12. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
13. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
14. Str.	WILKES	1904	-
15. Str.	WILKES	1904	-

31.17.

16.	"	TRZYBIA	J. St.	-1902	
17.	"	PODZIABINSKI Wacław		-1918	chor. + strażnik
18.	"	RODZIMSKI	Lesz.	-1904	-
19.	"	RUBIN	Włodzisław	-1915	-
20.	"	BAROŁKO	Włodzisław	-1908	-
21.	"	BAROŁKO	-	-	wjechał z obrotu w Grzegorz w 1941 r.
22.	"	SOMERSCHIN	-	-	"
23.	"	TRZECIAK	Stefan	-1899	-
24.	"	WOLSKI	-	-	wjechał z obrotu w Grzegorz w 1941 r.
25.	"	TRZEBIŃSKI	-	-	"
26.	"	TRZEBIŃSKI	-	-	"

POLICJA KATYŃSKA: (Honor Guard)

1. Insp.	GOMCZINSKI	Włodzisław	-1890	Kom. wojskowy
2. "	TOMIŃSKI	Jan	-	" " Warszawa
3. podkom.	B. B. G. H.	Włodzisław	-1897	Kol.
4. "	BOBER	Jan	-1897	Kom. Prz. S. Nowogrodzki
5. Kom.	BUCHOWSKI	Stefan	-	" " Grzegorz
6. "	LOFACIŃSKI	"	-	-
7. podkom.	JANOWSKI	Włodzisław	-1894	Warszawa

31.17.

16.	1913.	FLAKA	Jan	-1908	
17.	"	POSIADKOŃSKI Władysław		-1918	chor. + strażnik
18.	"	ROLAKOWSKI	Jan	-1904	-
19.	"	RUDZKI	Stanisław	-1918	-
20.	"	SAŁOŃKO	Władysław	-1906	-
21.	"	SIOMAK	-	-	Wjechał z obrotu w Gradowie w 1941 r.
22.	"	SOMMERSTEIN	-	-	"
23.	"	TRZECIŃSKI	Stefan	-1899	-
24.	"	WOLSKI	-	-	Wjechał z obrotu w Gradowie w 1941 r.
25.	"	WROBLEWSKI	-	-	"
26.	"	WROBLEWSKI	-	-	"
27.	"	WROBLEWSKI	-	-	"

POLICJA KATYŃSKA: (Home Guard)

1. Inspr.	GODCIELSKI	Władysław	-1890	Kom. woj. insow
2. "	TOMIŃSKI	Jan	-	" " Warszawa
3. podkom.	SEKORCH	Wojciech	-1897	Kol.
4. "	SOŁT	Jan	-1897	hac. Urz. Gł. Nowogrodzki
5. Kom.	PODOLSKI	Władysław	-	" " Warszawa
6. "	PODOLSKI	-	-	-
7. podkom.	JANOWSKI	Władysław	-1894	Warszawa

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Str.	Imię i nazwisko	Wzrost	Waga	Barwa włosów	Barwa oczu	Barwa skóry	Barwa zębów	Barwa paznokci	Barwa włosów	Barwa oczu	Barwa skóry	Barwa zębów	Barwa paznokci
8.	podkom.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
9.	poster.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
10.	przed.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
11.	st. post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
12.	"	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
13.	"	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
14.	rezerwa	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
15.	st. post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
16.	rezerwa	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
17.	st. post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
18.	przed.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
19.	post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
20.	"	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
21.	st. post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
22.	rezerwa	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
23.	post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
24.	rezerwa	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
25.	"	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
26.	post.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
27.	rezerwa	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe
28.	st. przed.	180	75	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe	ciemne	niebieskie	białe	białe	białe

Chr. 19.

29. st. post.	LEMCZYŃSKI	Franciszek	-1896	-
30. post.	MAKULON	Włodzisław	-1914	-
31. post.	MARCIAŁKOWICZ	Edward	-1911	-
32. rezerva	MARSZAŁEK	Josef	-1907	-
33. post.	MAZEK	Jan	-1913	-
34. "	KUŃNICH	Piotr	-1897	-
35. rezerva	KYSIAK	Stanisław	-1899	-
36. post.	POŁACHOWSKI	Jan	-1909	-
37. st. przed.	PRZYCHODZKI	Dominik	-1893	chory - granica
38. rezerva	ROMANOWICZ	Jan	-1901	-
39. przed.	SKIBA	Jan	-1891	chory - granica
40. rezerva	SOBIEK BIA	Przemysław	-1900	-
41. przed.	SOBOTA	Lernard	-1890	roztaczający na sąpłogostwo
42. st. przed.	SOKA	Wincenty	-1893	-
43. przed.	SZALIN	Albert	-1897	-
44. st. przed.	SZCZOK	Josef	-1909	-
45. rezerva	SZCZOK	Antoni	-1905	-
46. "	SZCZOK	Augustyn	-1910	Imaliła
47. st. przed.	TARNOŁA	Krzysztof	-1901	chory - granica
48. post.	TOM	Adolf	-1895	-
49. rezerva	TRZEBNICKI	Nikolaj	-1898	-
50. post.	WALCZAK	Przemysław	-1914	-

81. 1st. post.	WALTER HOFFMAN	Josef	-1895	-
82. 1st. post.	HERMAN KOTLIK	Zygmunt	-1900	chory - granica
83. 1st. post.	WILKIN	Wladyslaw	-1901	-
84. 1st. post.	WILKIN	Wladyslaw	-1895	-
85. "	WOLKOWICZ	Stanislaw	-1893	chory - granica
86. "	WOLKOWICZ	Juliusz	-1900	"
87. 1st. post.	WOLKOWICZ	Antoni	-1896	-
88. 1st. post.	WOLKOWICZ	Wladyslaw	-1898	-
89. 1st. post.	WOLKOWICZ	Oskar	-1902	-
CHIEF OF POLICE: (Boleslaw Polak)				
1. 1st. post.	CHAPMAN	Boleslaw	-1893	-
2. 1st. post.	CHAPMAN	Josef	-1900	-
3. 1st. post.	CHAPMAN	Josef	-1904	chory - granica
CHIEF OF POLICE: (Jan Gadowski)				
1. -	JANKOWSKI	Daniel	-1900	-
CHIEF OF POLICE: (Gadowski)				
1. -	JANKOWSKI	Boleslaw	-1913	chory - granica
2. -	JANKOWSKI	Boleslaw	-1901	chory - granica

№	Imię i nazwisko	Wiek	Wykształcenie	Praca
1.	Wojciechowski	1900	Wydział	Pracownik
2.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
3.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
4.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
5.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
6.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
7.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
8.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
9.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
10.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
11.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
12.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
13.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
14.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
15.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
16.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
17.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
18.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
19.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
20.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
21.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik
22.	Wojciechowski	1912	Wydział	Pracownik

			str. 22.		
23.	IMCZAK	Włodzisław	- 1903	Ind. 701.	
24.	LECHOWICZ	Henryk	-	-	
25.	ŁACIŃSKI	-	-	Konrad	
26.	ŁADOMIERSKI	Janek	-1919	Janek	
27.	ŁADYŃSKI	Tadeusz	-1923	Wojen.	
28.	ŁADYŃSKI	Włodzisław	-1887	Włodzisław Ładyski	
29.	ŁADYŃSKI	Stanisław	-1907	Włodzisław Ładyski	
30.	ŁADYŃSKI	Henryk	-	Wojen. 1907	
31.	ŁADYŃSKI	Zdzisław	-1910	Wojen.	
32.	ŁADYŃSKI	Włodzisław	-1924	Wojen. 1924	
33.	ŁADYŃSKI	Włodzisław	-1901	-	
34.	ŁADYŃSKI	Włodzisław	1904	-	
35.	ŁADYŃSKI	Wojen.	-1919	Wojen. 1919	
36.	ŁADYŃSKI	Wojen.	-1919	student szk. techn.	
37.	ŁADYŃSKI	Piotr	-1920	student	
38.	ŁADYŃSKI	Włodzisław	-1920	student szk. techn.	
39.	ŁADYŃSKI	Włodzisław	-1921	Wojen.	
40.	ŁADYŃSKI	Wojen.	1921	-	
41.	ŁADYŃSKI	Kazimierz	1911	-	

Mr. FLOOD. The exhibit will speak for itself. The first page of the exhibit indicates that what the witness has said is correct; but the point I want to make is that exhibit 2, which we are about to introduce on the record is a list of names of the survivors who were at Pavlishchev Bor and Griezowiec with this witness and who came from the three camps we have mentioned; is that correct?

Mr. A. That is correct. Notations on that list were made by General Wolkowicki.

Mr. FLOOD. You prepared this list yourself and were associated in its preparation and notation by others; is that correct?

Mr. A. No; I prepared this list personally, but I took advantage of the notes that had been made by General Wolkowicki.

Mr. FLOOD. A translation of the first page of exhibit 2, which is written in Polish, confirms the statement the witness has just made. Now, in order to save time, I want to get this information from this witness through the interpreter. Ask the witness: he has heard of the Katyn massacre?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. He knew that there were some 4,000 Polish officers at Kozielsk?

Mr. A. There were more than 4,000.

Mr. FLOOD. He knows that there were some 4,000 bodies discovered at Katyn?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. For the purpose of this discussion we will not use exact and precise figures, which the record already has.

Mr. A. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Has the witness heard or read at any time—and you can tell him that we have evidence which supports these statements—that the prisoners in batches being taken from Kozielsk were taken in the same kind of cars that his batch were taken from at Starobielsk?

Mr. A. The same kind of cars were used at Starobielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. Has the witness heard or read in any accounts or conversations he has had in connection with Katyn that the same kind of writings that he told us he saw on the prison cars which took him from Starobielsk, only using different destinations, were found on the roofs of the prison cars transporting the prisoners from Kozielsk?

Mr. A. When we arrived from these three camps at Pavlishchev Bor we began to discuss our respective trips and exchange our observations on those trips.

Mr. FLOOD. As the result of the conversations had at Pavlishchev Bor and Woloczysko with prisoners from Kozielsk and Ostashkov, this witness found out that similar writings were on other prison cars from the other camps?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I am interested now only in the writings on the cars that the witness saw from Starobielsk. Will you ask the witness to write down on a piece of paper what he saw on the car leaving Starobielsk. The witness, in the presence of the committee, wrote the following on a piece of paper, and we will ask the interpreter to read the Polish on to the record and then translate it into the record.

The INTERPRETER. The Polish is as follows: "Wysadzono nas w charkowie". The translation is: "We are being unloaded at Kharkov." Mr. Flood, I think I want to point out here that the wording of the

English translation is almost identical and similar to the translation of the previous witness.

Mr. Flood. That does not make any difference. I am only interested in what the words were. The words will speak for themselves. Mr. Chairman, I have pursued this last line of questioning for this purpose: in the entire investigations that have been made by this committee and other committees heretofore with reference to the fate of Polish military and civilian prisoners of various categories at the Russian prison camps at Kozielsk and so on, there is considerable evidence as to the fate of the prisoners at Kozielsk. There is little, if any, evidence as to the fate of the prisoners who have not yet been discovered alive from the camps at Starobielsk or Ostashkov. I would like the attention of the committee to the following analogy: we have quite a good deal of testimony describing certain writings found upon the prison cars taking the Polish prisoners from the camp at Kozielsk. Those writings indicate that those prison cars were stopped at and the prisoners unloaded from the cars at the railroad station for the town of Katyn, and it was the practice of prisoners in these cases and in many others to leave those writings as information for their friends who might follow. It is clear from the testimony that the prisoners taken from Kozielsk on these prison cars were later disposed of at Katyn. Since so far we have no evidence of what happened to the missing prisoners from Starobielsk, it is interesting to observe that the prisoners from the camp of Starobielsk were taken from the same in about the same number of batches with about the same number of prisoners to a batch; were inspected in the same way that they were at Kozielsk; were placed in the same kind of cars that the prisoners in Kozielsk were placed in and were transported following the same series of rumors as to destinations that were experienced by the prisoners at Kozielsk. This witness describes the marking on a car which says that the prisoners taken from Starobielsk were being disembarked at the station of Kharkov. I suggest that it is a perfect analogy to indicate that the prisoners from Starobielsk were disposed of in the vicinity of Kharkov in the same manner that the prisoners from Kozielsk were disposed of in the vicinity of the railroad stations mentioned by witnesses from the Kozielsk camp, namely, Gniezdovo. If it is so, that the guilty party of this case was Soviet Russia, this permits the theory that special execution depots were set up for various geographic areas for the disposal of prisoners from camps within that area, and that at sometime or other, if the circumstances would ever permit an investigation of the area geographically surrounding Kharkov as took place surrounding Katyn, it could conceivably produce the answer as to the fate of the missing officers from Starobielsk.

Do I understand you to say you have some other comments to make in connection with Kharkov?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. Flood. Will you tell us what that is?

Mr. A. After we arrived at Kharkov, our train car was not disconnected from the train, but a porter came by and he began cleaning out our car. I began a discussion with him and asked him, "Are we going to proceed further?" He replied in Russian, "Your people previously had been unloaded here."

Mr. Flood. Mr. Chairman, I have been advised by the interpreter that this witness has some additional testimony having to do with his

being taken subsequently by the Russians to Moscow to a place known as Villa of Bliss. I am advised and have been presented with certain documents purporting to be statements heretofore made by the witness to authorized representatives of the so-called London Polish Government. These are in Polish and should later be translated. I am advised that there is present the custodian of these documents of the so-called Polish London Government who is prepared to identify them. Will you mark for identification these two documents Nos. 3 and 4.

(The documents referred to were marked by the stenographer "Exhibit 3" and "Exhibit 4".)

I now show the witness exhibits 3 and 4 and ask him whether or not these are statements which he gave to authorized representatives of the so-called London Polish Government.

(The witness examined exhibits 3 and 4.)

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He does not have to read it all; just identify it.

The INTERPRETER. The witness says exhibit 4 is a proper document and a report made by him.

Mr. FLOOD. The answer is "Yes"?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, the exhibit 3 is his own personal document.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The witness states that it is his own personal account of what happened to him when he was in Russian hands?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you ask the witness to step down for a minute, and ask the other man to take the chair.

(NOTE.—Exhibits 3 and 4 later were withdrawn from the record when exhibits 5 and 6, photostatic copies of exhibits 3 and 4 were introduced at the conclusion of this witness's testimony.)

TESTIMONY OF JERZY LUNKIEWICZ

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, this witness is being called solely, I think, to identify the custody of the documents which we have been discussing.

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. I am not a witness; I am rather an expert.

Chairman MADDEN. You solemnly swear by Almighty God that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth and will not conceal anything?

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you been and are you identified with the so-called London Polish Government in any way?

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. Yes; I am in the service of the Polish London Government in London.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you exhibits Nos. 3 and 4 which you have just heard identified and discussed by the witness who has just stepped from the stand. Is that correct?

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you identify these as having been handed by you to me?

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. Yes; I do. These exhibits are in my custody for many years.

Mr. FLOOD. As a representative of the Polish Government, exhibits 3 and 4 have been in your custody until such time as you presented them to me this morning; is that correct?

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all; thank you; step down. Now will Mr. A. step back into the chair.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS A—Resumed

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, Witness, sometime in October 1940 were you taken from Giazowiec to Moscow?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How large a group was there with you? Were there seven of you?

Mr. A. Just 1 second and I will give you the answer. [The witness looked at documents.] There were seven.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were those all high-ranking officers?

Mr. A. One colonel, four lieutenant colonels, one major.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were not there two colonels?

Mr. A. And one more colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Two colonels, four lieutenant colonels, and yourself, the major—the lowest ranking officer?

Mr. A. Yes; I was.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And, without going into detail as to the others who were there, one of those in that group was the Colonel Zygmunt Berling of whom we have heard testimony; am I right?

Mr. A. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. From what you later learned, is it true that this group of officers of which you were a member was to be made the nucleus of the officers of the new Polish Army; is that correct?

Mr. A. It is. That was true; that was the purpose of this group; but shortly thereafter some of the members of this group began to drop out.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But the purpose, as you later understood, of having transported this group of seven to Moscow was to create the nucleus of a new Polish Army?

Mr. A. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. After you arrived in Moscow, did you personally participate in any discussions with any high ranking Russian officers, and, if so, with whom?

Mr. A. The first discussion I had was at Butelka, which was a gaol, and there I spoke to a high Russian NKVD officer.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you remember his name?

Mr. A. His name was Jegorow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was your conversation with him?

Mr. A. He merely took a deposition as to my background.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the course of the discussion did he attempt to find out whether or not you had any political affiliations?

Mr. A. No; they did not talk to me on that subject.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Subsequent to that did you have any conversations with any other high ranking Russian officers?

Mr. A. After we were transferred from the prison at Butelka to the prison called Lubianka—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened at Lubianka?

Mr. A. First they interrogated the oldest officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before we go into that, do you speak Russian?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And when you refer to conversations, either to those to which you have already referred or those which you will discuss in the future, in what language were those discussions?

Mr. A. They talked to us only in Russian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were talking about the conversations between the high-ranking officers and NKVD officers; is that correct?

Mr. A. I talked with only two of them—Jegorow and Mirkulow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When did you talk to Mirkulow?

Mr. A. I talked to Mirkulow during the latter part of October.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who was Mirkulow?

Mr. A. He introduced himself to me as the Minister of the Security of the Interior—State Security.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In this discussion this committee is particularly interested in what had been said in relation to the officers who were killed at Katyn.

Mr. A. Yes; I understand that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us whether, in the course of your discussion with Mirkulow, anything was said about the fate of the lost officers?

Mr. A. First I must tell you the discussion with Beria.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There was a discussion with Beria in which you did not participate; is that correct?

Mr. A. No, I did not, but I was told immediately about it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. We will get to that later; I will get to that point of the discussions with Beria, but I want first to find out what your personal discussions with Mirkulow were.

Mr. A. At these discussions with Mirkulow there was present another Russian officer, who did not introduce himself to me, but who I believe was named Rajchman.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was your discussion with these last officers?

Mr. A. He asked me if I could command an artillery brigade. I told him "Yes." I told him that the number of cannon in a brigade like that of artillery would not make too much difference to me; but I asked him "From where will we get other officers, since there are no artillery officers in Giazowiec." I asked him if we could not get any Polish officers from either Starobielsk or Kosielsk. To this I received a reply from Mirkulow: "We have committed an error."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to get the whole statement: What else did he say?

Mr. A. "We have committed an error. These men are not available. We will give you others."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was the conversation in which you personally participated with Mirkulow?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When was that, approximately?

Mr. A. This was in the latter part of October.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. 1940?

Mr. A. 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you inquire from Mirkulow why these officers were not available?

Mr. A. No; I did not ask him any further questions.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he say anything else with relation to these officers in Starobielsk?

Mr. A. No; that I do not recall at this time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have any other conversations personally with any other high ranking Russian officers regarding these lost comrades of yours from Storobielsk and Kozielsk?

Mr. A. No; I did not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, I think you mentioned also the fact that some of this group of seven which went with you to Moscow had conversations with Beria; is that correct?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. First of all, identify who Beria is; who is Beria?

Mr. A. Beria is a Minister of the Home Police.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was a Minister of the NKVD; is that correct—at that time?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the Interior Police?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He is now Vice Premier of Russia?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were not present during that conversation, were you?

Mr. A. No; I was not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know when it took place?

Mr. A. These were before my discussions by a few days.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Sometime in October 1940?

Mr. A. Yes; after the 10th of October 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know who were those who participated in that discussion other than Beria?

Mr. A. Yes, I do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who were they?

Mr. A. Lieutenant Colonel Berling; Colonel Gorczynski; Lieutenant Colonel Bukojenski; and Lieutenant Colonel Tyszynski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you learn of these discussions and when?

Mr. A. Beria first invited them to his office and then he invited them for dinner.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you find out about this discussion, and when?

Mr. A. Lieutenant Colonel Gorczynski told me of these discussions when he returned that night.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That same night?

Mr. A. Yes. He suggested to me that we go to the wash room, because he wants to tell me something very important.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he then tell you?

Mr. A. We knocked on the door and were released from our cells to go to the washroom. We sat down on the stools in the washroom, and he proceeded to tell me of his conversations earlier that evening with Beria.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, that was the same evening as the conversations took place?

Mr. A. They returned after midnight; so this was early in the morning.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. A few hours after the conversations?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us exactly what he related to you as to the conversations with Beria?

Mr. A. He said that there was a discussion proposing the formation of a Panzer division. Beria said that he wants to form or organize a Panzer fist. To this Berling asked or inquired: "And where will we get officers? I would want to have my officers from Starobielsk and from Kozielsk." Ostashkov did not enter into the conversation because Ostashkov had primarily border police and guards. To this Beria replied—in Russian, of course—that "We have committed a great blunder"; and he repeated that twice: "We have made a great mistake; we have made a great mistake."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What else was said there?

Mr. A. The conversation was extremely interesting and among other things he gave this detail: he took them to large map—a military map. He pointed to this large map and he pointed to the Ukraine and he said: "We will retreat in the Ukraine and we will attack from the north."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When Beria said "We have made a mistake: we have made a great mistake," did he indicate to these Polish officers to whom he was talking what he was referring to?

Mr. A. The mistake was made with the Polish officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And Colonel Gorczynski, in his conversation with you, indicated that that was the way he understood that?

Mr. A. Yes; that is the way he understood it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And, so far as you know, that is the way the others who participated in that conversation understood it also?

Mr. A. Yes; the same way.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you ever discuss that conversation with any of the other three Polish officers who participated in it?

Mr. A. In this prison you had to be extremely careful and cautious.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then you did not discuss it with Berling or Bukojenski?

Mr. A. And until some additional officers arrived at this camp from Kozielsk No. 2, I related my discussions with Berling to Captain—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have discussions with Berling?

Mr. A. No—with Beria. I related my discussions with Gorczynski to Captain Lopianowski, whom I trusted unequivocally.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you discuss this conversation with Colonel Berling?

Mr. A. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you discuss it with Lieutenant Colonel Bukojenski?

Mr. A. No; because he was to me the most suspected of the group.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Suspected of Communist affiliation?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you discuss it with Tyszymski?

Mr. A. No, I did not. It was extremely difficult to discuss these things with him, because he was for close collaboration with the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you ever have any other discussions with any other high ranking Russian officers regarding the fate of these officers?

Mr. A. I did discuss this with General Przedziecki when we were brought to the Ukraine.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, you related to him the conversation which you reported to us a few minutes ago?

Mr. A. Yes, but that was after, of course, we were removed from the villa. We did not want to cooperate with the Russians. Gorczynski and myself did not want to participate in these cooperations, when we learned that they are starting to send us Communists into this unit that was to be formed and when they demanded of us that we cooperate and work with Wanda Wasileska.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Wanda Wasileska was one of the Polish cooperators with the Russians?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So far as the officers in Katyn are concerned or any of the Polish lost officers, you had no other discussions with any other high ranking officers; am I right?

Mr. A. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now ask the stenographer to make as exhibits 5 and 6 these two documents. I show the witness exhibits Nos. 5 and 6 and I ask him if exhibit No. 5, which is a photostatic copy of exhibit No. 3, is a proper reproduction of No. 3?

Mr. A. Yes; it is.

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness exhibit No. 6, and ask him whether or not exhibit No. 6, which is a photostatic copy, is an exact reproduction of exhibit No. 4?

Mr. A. Yes; they are, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you ask the witness to step down from the chair for a minute? I am now recalling to the witness stand the witness Jerzy Lunkiewicz.

TESTIMONY OF JERZY LUNKIEWICZ

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness exhibits Nos. 5 and 6, and ask him if they are photostatic copies of exhibits Nos. 3 and 4, which he presented to me this morning.

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. Yes, they are.

Mr. FLOOD. We now return to this witness exhibits Nos. 3 and 4, and offer for the record exhibits Nos. 5 and 6.

(Exhibits 5 and 6 follow:)

EXHIBIT 5

Розривковий артифіціалізм

7.

2

RELACJA

W. 5.9.1899 ŁUKANOWICZ Józ. BRZESKO, kwatera KRAKÓW
matura gimnazjalna w 1919 roku, religia rzymsko-
kat., ukończył WYŻSZĄ SZKOLĘ NARODOWĄ DRYGUSZKA HAIŁA
PALESTYNA w 1946 r. 22 paź. brzo. ofic. 528 gen.

6.000. 1917 + the receipt of 6600000 2 p.p. 6600000

28. 10. 1914 22220 to 22225

1918 *apricis analogis alba orthocera*

LXI. 1918 1st & 2nd leg

24.12.1918 paper

31. 7. 1920 на нмз

12. 9. 1939 + rassing.

на факт « 1439 » определен года 2-е ШВОНУ каули
4139-го года (по Р. ЕКАРЗСКОГО).

Lycopodium obscurum L. var. *Krasnovskii* as the type locality
from KRASNOVODSK 40 miles S.E. 9. 1939 Holm.

6. Cenne przeliczenia na wypły z celami dydaktycznymi
podjętym przez nas TYSZOWIEC po MOSCISKA WZ
PRZEMYSŁA.

25. VII. 1941 Kilauea do P.S. 26. u 2550

1.5.1942 д.с. 6 ф.а.л. № 255R 634612/А Р.Б.С.Н.О.Т.У.

4. Словесно - иллюстративный 1968 г. работы в ВКО. СЗБСН.

Pondus sp. n. 1944. Leg. of water soluble ethylene glycol compound.
1946 vol. I, III. Col. 15. VII 1947 Kilo Sam. Ref. H. V. P. H. S. W.

1946 vol. I, III. cols 15, VIII. 1942 Kiefer Source. Ref. Hs. H. J. W. S. IV.

3. 12. 1947 property to P.R.P.R. No. 13751/P.R.C. files
Kris. Maheswari No. 3.

[illegible]

1. ovnogo term JEKORON na razplaku tlen to pihnovali.
60 procentov te iste covi padala il vyvencio na opet
15% pulatov do Rozi.

SCYSE with the probability of success:

Na oficjalne progi, które wstąpił SECZYŃSKI, MACIE
NIEBESKOWICZ - TANASZEK, ogłosił przemówienie LENINA
I STALINA, był to przemówienie o jednolitej walce na
światowim, then CORDANOWSKI, i ten przemówienie i innych
pół KUKULIŃSKI, oddał on do kasy -

[illegible]

[Translation copy]

Lt. Col. Artillery Corp, (Blank)

STATEMENT

Born: 5 Sept. 1897, in LUKANOWICE, county BRZESKO, wojew. KRAKOW, certificate of completed secondary education issued in 1919 in DEBICA, of Roman Catholic religion, married, two children with wife in Poland. Completed British Staff College in Haifa, Palestine in 1946 with a British diploma P. S. C.

6. VIII. 1914—Volunteered to the Polish Legions and assigned to 2-nd Infantry Reg. of Legionnaires,

28. X 1914—dangerously wounded,
1918—Austrian Army—Artillery,

1. XI. 1918—1-st Artillery Legionnaires Regiment,

24. XII. 1918—Commissioned as 2/Lieut.,

31. VII 1920—wounded,

12. IX. 1939—wounded,

1939—I went to war as commanding officer of the 3-rd howitzer battery attached to the 41-st Infantry Division /General PIEKARSKI/— I remained with this division throughout the campaign until the capitulation which took place on the 27-th of Sept. 1939 in the vicinity of KRASNOBROD. In an endeavour to break through enemy occupied country towards Hungary with a part of my battery I covered the distance from TYSZOWIEC to MOSCISKA near PRZEMYSL,

25. VIII. 1941—Joined the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R.,

1. I. 1942—appointed commanding officer of the 6-th Field Artillery Regiment in the U. S. S. R. within the 6-th Infantry Division,

In June and August 1944 wounded in Italy.

October 1944 appointed 1-st Artillery Staff Officer of the 3-rd Corps,

1. III. 1946 to 15. VIII. 1947 Director of Independent Dept. in the Higher Institute of Military Studies /I.W.S.W./,

3. XII. 1947—commissioned with the P.R.C. /Polish Resettlement Corps/ Ref. No. 13751/P.R.C. and appointed Director of Archives No. 3.

On the 1-st of October 1939 I was taken prisoner by the Russians together with the staff of my battery, in the vicinity of the village PODLISKI in the county MOSCISKA. I was taken via LWÓW to WOŁOCZYSKA from where on the 11-th of October 1939, I was deported with a transport of a few thousand Polish officers to the Starobielski camp. On the 25-th of April 1940, with a group of other officers I was transferred to PAWLISZCZEW BOR near JUCHNÓW and, from there, on the 13-th of June 1940 to the N. K. V. D. camp in GRIAZOWIEC. On the 8-th of October 1940 I was sent together with a group of 6 staff officers, to the BUTYRKI prison in MOSCOW.

Our group consisted of:

1/Col. GORCZYŃSKI, /Engineer Corps./,

2/P. S. C. Col. KÜNSTLER STANISŁAW, /Artillery Corps./,

3/P. S. C. Lt./Col. BERLING ZYGMUNT, /Infantry Corps./,

4/Lt./Col. BUKOJEWSKI LEON, /Artillery Corps./,

5/P. S. C. Lt./Col. MORAWSKI MARJAN, /Artillery Corps./,

6/P. S. C. Lt./Col. TYSZYŃSKI LEON, /Engineer Corps./,

7/Mjr. LIS JÓZEF, /Artillery Corps./.

We were taken to Moscow in a 3-rd class compartment of a passenger train and on the 9-th October 1940, we were sent from the station in a prison van to the BUTYRKI prison where, without being searched, we were placed together in a large cell. Food and treatment were good although strictly in accordance with prison regulations.

INTERROGATIONS AND TALKS: with certain from among our group of officers were carried on by NARKOM MIERKUŁOW and by N. K. V. D. Lt./Col. JEGOROW. I had only a short talk with JEGOROW during which he told me that I had an opinion of a talented artillery officer and asked me whether I want to fight against the Germans. Our conversation ended upon my giving a positive answer to this question. Two days later we were transferred in a passenger car to the ŁUBIANKA prison. Col. KÜNSTLER remained alone in the cell in BUTYRKI.

ŁUBIANKA: Several conversations took place with BERJA to which were called only GORCZYŃSKI, BERLING, BUKOJEWSKI and TYSZYŃSKI. BERJA entertained them with a supper at which cognac was served; there was

talk about the organisation of a Polish armoured brigade and about a not far off war with Hitler; that in the UKRAINE the Russians will retreat till the Volga whence a decisive offensive will be launched. To BERLING'S question of where to find so many officers and whether our comrades from STAROBIELSK and KOZIELSK were not available BERJA uttered the words: "WE COMMITTED A MISTAKE"/"MY ZDIELALI OSHIBKOU"/. Col. GORCZYŃSKI repeated to me these words the same evening or maybe it was on the morning after when I was with him in the toilet room.

MY CONVERSATION WITH MIERKULOW: After 14 days I was led and shoved through a cupboard into MERKULOW'S office. He watched me in silence until the coming of General RAJCHMAN. The latter asked me unexpectedly: "Are you a member of the Intelligence Service?" /"Wy nie robotnik wtorawa oddielenia?"/. I denied—although in the years 1925–1930 and 1934–1935 I worked in fact as an officer in the Intelligence Service in its branch directed against Germany. After which MERKULOW asked me whether I was capable of commanding a regiment and larger units. I answered in the affirmative and then I asked the question: "Will the officers from STAROBIELSK be available because in the GRIAZOWIEC camp there were only few left. To which I got the following answer from MIERKULOW: "No, don't count on these. A certain mistake had taken place. We shall find others". /"Etych nie patuczycie-wyszta kakaja to oshibka, drugich najdom"/. At the time, in October 1940, I presumed that these officers had been sent back to territories occupied by the Reich. It was only in February 1941 when I received several enquiries in letters from Poland asking what had happened with the inmates of STAROBIELSK that I began to feel strong suspicions about the whole case.

THE JOURNEY TO MALACHOWKA: On the 1-st of November 1940 we were transferred from ŁUBIANKA to a villa in MALACHÓWKA where we were placed in rooms in twos. The food was of a type served in best boarding houses in Zakopane. We had our own kitchen, own bathroom, luxurious cutlery and crockery, a separate cook and a maid. We were given a few Polish books and a lot of Russian literature to read. A few days later Col. MORAWSKI was sent back to BUTYRKI prison on account of a memorandum he wrote in the matter of the organisation of the Polish Army, the creation of the Polish Committee and the future Russian-Polish frontier.

THE ARRIVAL OF OTHER GROUPS OF OFFICERS: In December 1940 a group of officers from GRIAZOWIEC arrived whose members had obvious pro-communist inclinations. To this group belonged Col. DUDZINSKI KAZIMIERZ, Cpt. ROZEN-ZAWADZKI, Flight Lieut. WICHERKIEWICZ TADEUSZ, Lieut. of the reserve IMACH, and SZCZYPIORSKI and ensign KUKULINSKI. Towards the end of December 1940 arrived a few more officers formerly interned in LITHUANIA, namely Cpt. ŁOPIANOWSKI NARCYZ, Lieut. SIEWIERSKI, Lieut. TOMALA, and Lieut. X.

With the arrival of the new groups the entire atmosphere changed immediately and took on a pro-communist aspect. Studies of regulations were introduced which had to be translated from Russian. N. K. V. D. Lt./Col. JEGOROW'S visits became frequent during which he held long conferences with Col. BERLING. One day, in answer to a question put to him by Cpt. ŁOPIANOWSKI, JEGOROW said that in all 15% of the Poles from Polish territories had been deported to Russia.

POLITICAL SCISSIONS: Following a suggestion put forward by the communist group—SZCZYPIORSKI, IMACH, WICHERKIEWICZ and ZAWADZKI—who requested that the portraits of LENIN and STALIN be hung in the dining room—a general voting took place at which ŁOPIANOWSKI and I voted against this proposal while ensign KUKULINSKI threw in a blank card.

During a discussion on the problem of the U. S. S. R. in the presence of all of us I pointed to a map of Europe and said that the attitude of the U. S. S. R. towards Poland is best expressed by this map on which half of Poland had been already included for good within the boundaries of the U. S. S. R. a thing which had not been printed even in respect of Abissinia which was occupied by the Italians.—Hearing this BERLING wanted to beat me up, called me a swine and a fascist. Some time later Lt./Col. DUDZINSKI suggested that we write a declaration of collaboration with the editorial office of the "NOWE WIDNOKRĘGI" /"New Horizons"/ and a lively discussion ensued during which Cpt. ŁOPIANOWSKI declared that he wished to be taken back to prison. Once again a voting was held at which Col. GORCZYŃSKI, and Cpt. ŁOPIANOWSKI and I voted against the idea.

On the 25-th of March 1941, I was transferred together with Cpt. ŁOPIANOWSKI back to the BUTYRKI prison. On the way there in ŁUBIANKA, N. K. V. D. Lt./Col. JEGOROV beat me up and kicked me. In April 1941 we were taken together with 21 other officers to a camp in GLINSKIJ MONASTYR near PUTYWL in the UKRAINE. On June the 22-nd 1941 we were sent back to GRIAZOWIEC where we were kept however in isolated quarters and allowed to join the other group of officers only towards the end of August 1941.

I request that everything that I have stated above to be treated as court evidence and I wish to draw the attention to my former statements made in the Near East in BAGDAD and * * * /illegible/ * * *.

Everything I have said above is true to the best of my conscience and of my memory.

(Blank) Lt./Col. of the Art.

FOXLEY n/r HERFORD,
ENGLAND.
15-th of April 1948.

[Translation copy]

The 13-th Field Court Martial,
of the J. W. S. W. Command,

RECORD OF THE HEARING OF WITNESS

In the field, 23-rd December, 1945, started at 11 a. m.

In the case against:

In the presence of: Cpr. Auditor LUCZYWEK JAN,

Recorded by: Sergeant ROZMARYNOWSKI JAN.

After having been cautioned in accordance with Para. 81 of the Military Penal Code about the responsibility for giving false evidence the witness stated:

Surname and Christian name: Lieut. Col.

Date and place of birth: 5.IX.1897, LUKANOWICE, county of BRZESKO,

Religion: Roman Catholic,

Civil status: married,

Profession: regular officer,

Rank: Lieut. Col. Artillery Corps,

Unit and allotment: Staff College, Haifa M. E. F.,

Residence in Poland: Ostrów Mazowiecka,

Present residence: Haifa, Staff College,

Relationship to defendant and/or other persons concerned with the case:

Advised about his right to withhold answers pertaining to circumstances referred to in Para. 80 of the Mil. Penal Code declares that he will not avail himself of this right.

The witness then testified as follows:

In peace time I held, in the rank of a major, the post of Commander of the 2-nd Battery in the 18 Light Artillery Reg. in Ostrów Mazowiecka. I went to war on the 11-th Sept. 1939, as Commander of a Battery of the 51-st L. A. Reg. attached to the 41-st Infantry Division under the command of General Piekarski. On the 12-th Sept. 1939, I was wounded in a battle near Żelechów. However I retained the command of the battery of howitzers attached to our division until the day of capitulation which took place on the 27-th Sept. 1939 in the district of Krasnobród. From the 27-th Sept. till the 1-st of Oct. I tried to break through with part of my battery to Southern Poland. On the 1-st of Oct. 1939 I found myself surrounded in the neighborhood of Sambor and I was taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks.

I was transported first to Lwów and then to Wotoczyska where I was joined to a transport of a few thousand Polish officers / from the capitulation of Gen. Langner /. On the 11-th of Oct. 1939 I found myself in the Starobielsk camp / about 3.800 officers /. At the time of the disbandment of the camp I was transferred on the 25-th of April 1940 to a camp in Pawliszczew Bor from where again, after six weeks, I was sent to the Gрязowiec camp in the Wologda district. On the 10-th of October 1940 I was transferred to the Butyrki Prison in Moscow together with: P. S. C. Col. Kuństler, Col. Gorczyński, P. S. C. Lieut. Col. Berling, P. S. C. Lieut. Col. Tyszyński, P. S. C. Lieut. Col. Morawski and Col. of the Artillery Corps Bukojemski. In the Butyrki prison we were interrogated each of us separately. My questioner was Lieut. Col. of the N. K. V. D. Jegorov who asked me about my experiences as a battery commander in the fight against the Germans. He also asked me whether I was willing to fight on against the Germans to which I answered that I cannot imagine a Pole who would not be willing to fight them. After which I was sent back to my cell. After another few days we were transferred in a passenger car to the Łubianka prison. We were taken there by the commander of the Łubianka prison, N. K. V. D. Col. Mironov. In the Łubianka I was once asked whether I had at any time served in the II-nd Section /Intelligence/. I denied it and stated that I had always served as an officer of the Artillery Corps although, in truth, from 1925 to 1930 and from 1934 to 1935 I had been posted as an officer of the II-nd Section in Poznań, Katowice and Bydgoszcz.

I would like to mention that before my departure to Moscow I was instructed by Gen. Wolkowicki and P. S. C. Lieut. Col. Domoń to observe closely everything I was going to see and not to put my signature to any documents.

Towards the end of October 1940, Narkom. Berja invited Col. Gorczyński and Lieut. Cols. Berling, Tyszyński and Bukojemski to a party. After coming back from it they told us that they had been treated with food and brandy. Moreover they stated that:

1/ Berja spoke about war with Germany in the near future, and pointed to a map of Southern Russia saying:—"We shall retreat till the Volga and we shall strike at the Germans from the direction of the North Caucasus.

2/ That Russia was going to form a Polish armoured army and when one of the present officers remarked that for this purpose the officers of the camps of Kozielsk,

Starobielsk and Ostaszków will be needed Berja replied: "We made a mistake, yes, we made a mistake". /"My zdielali oshibkou, da zdielali oshibkou"/.

On the 1-st of November 1940 we were transferred to an isolated villa in the neighborhood of Moscow. There we were supplied with a number of Polish and Russian books and some Russian service regulations.

In December a group of Polish communist officers joined us /Cpt. Zawadzki, 2/Lieut. Imach, 2/Lieut. Szczypiórkowski, Flight Lieut. Wicherkiewicz and ensign Kukuliński/ and later on a few officers from the Kozielsk camp formerly interned in Lithuania. Various discussions ensued. During one of them, pointing to a map, I said to Berling that the lack of Poland on that map should give to us, Poles, sufficient indication of Russia's attitude towards Poland. There was also the question of hanging Stalin's portraits on the walls to which I objected. Further to that we were coaxed to signing a declaration of collaboration with Wanda Wasilewska. I refused to sign this declaration as did Cpt. Łopianowski Narcyz. After which I was removed to Lubianka where N. K. V. D. Lieut. Col. Jegorov threatened me in various ways. Later I found myself back in the Butyrki prison in the cell of Col. Künstler. There, N. K. V. D. Cpt. Ivanov tried to persuade me once again to cooperate with them stressing that they were in need of Polish nationalists and good patriots. I answered that I was quite satisfied with the prison and that I did not want to return there.

On the 7-th of April 1941 we were transferred together with a group of 21 officers headed by Gen. Przeździecki from Butyrki to Putywl camp on the river Sejm. On the 16-th of June 1941, we were sent back to Gruzowiec.

I reported the story described above to Gen. Przeździecki and to Gen. Wołkowicki and on the 25-th of August 1941 to Gen. Anders. In November 1942, when serving in the Intelligence service in Baghdad I wrote a report in this matter about 30 pages long. It would be difficult for me today, after so long a time, to recall from memory all the details described therein, but I beg to take into consideration as evidence the above mentioned report which I herewith confirm in full to be true and valid.

I wish to add—I have just remembered it—that in 1940 in a place of which I cannot recollect the name, when handing to me a letter from my brothers in America an N. K. V. D. officer suggested to me and asked whether I would not consider working for them as an agent in America. He told me that I had plenty of time to think it over and that having done so I should contact him about it. I did not avail myself of this offer.

Having read this whole statement over I have signed it—

Recorder:	/ signatures / (Blank) Lieut. Col. Art.
Rozmarynowski, Serg.	Military judge:
	/illegible signature/
	Łuczywek Jan, Capt. Auditor.

Mr. DONDERO. The record does not show what position the witness holds with the Polish Government in exile.

Mr. FLOOD. That has already been stated.

Mr. Dondero. I did not hear it, and I would like to know what position he holds.

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. I am a representative of the Polish Government in exile here.

[TESTIMONY OF WITNESS A—Resumed

Mr. FLOOD. I ask the stenographer to identify exhibits Nos. 7, 8, 9, 9A, 10, 11, and 11A. The witness has handed to him committee documents now marked "Exhibits Nos. 7, 8, 9, 9A, 10, 11, and 11A and we ask the witness, what are these documents?"

Mr. A. These are letters that I received in Moscow from my wife in which the various families of officers who were interned at Starobielsk with me were inquiring of her as to their whereabouts; they are seeking information as to whether I know where they may be. Since I knew these officers very well, I replied that I had no idea where these men were—that they were removed from Starobielsk earlier that year.

(Exhibits 7, 8, 9, 9A, 10, 11, 11A and their translations into English follow.)

[Translation from Polish]

MARCH 6, 1941.

DEAR (censored word follows): A few days ago I sent you a letter. Now I have a few problems to settle. First, Stefan wrote that they have heard from you and that made them very happy that you are alive. As regards their assistance for me, it is as I have already written you, it is not worth the trouble. It would cause them considerable expense, and I would gain but little. When you write them, tell them that the house brings us an equivalent of a hundredweight's worth of grain, and as for the rest, that which is indispensable for human life is not to be had in any case. I repair clothes as best I can, and we manage somehow with the rest. The other problem is that Mrs. Halszka Jedrz. wrote to me. *Her Marian is somewhere near you. Perhaps you shall manage to communicate with him; it is always nice to meet a friend.* The address is Moscow, Post Office, Post Office Box No. 11/c-41. Is Matyja with you? Gina is dying of fright, because Pomruki makes her life difficult. Obviously she fears experiences which we have already suffered together. Is she right? Majek [a nickname] has lost so much weight that only skin and bones are left. The Zielonkis have changed their place of residence and moved into the town, and Mrs. Tosia does not like it. Big Klara married a young doctor and now ridicules all those did not want her. Michalowa Klepacka has a new finacé. Fondest kisses.

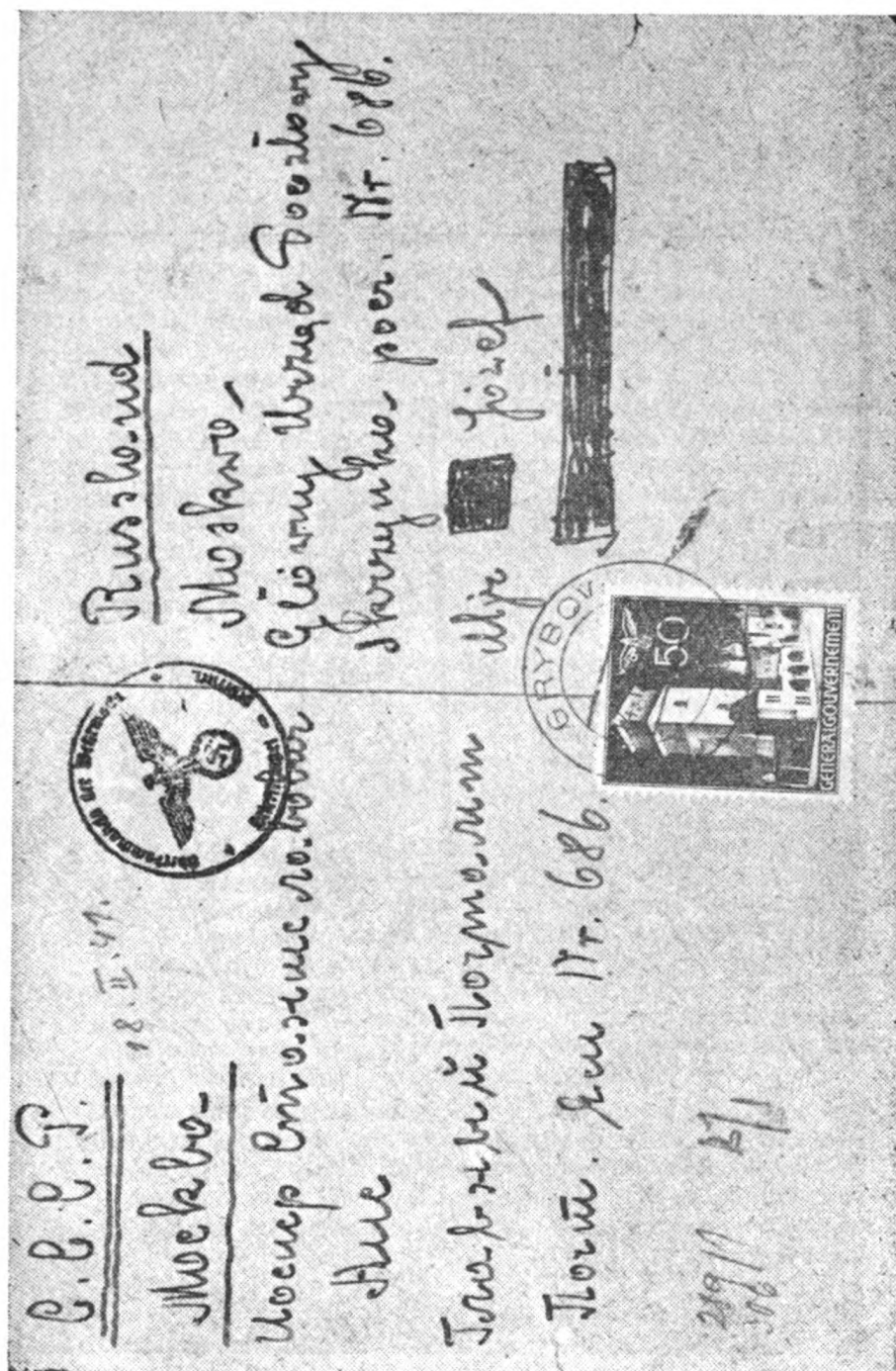
IRA.

Daddy, did you get my letter, after that one for Christmas? I shall write shortly again. I kiss you, Daddy.

OLENKA.

From: Irena -----, Grybow, Cracov District, German Mail East.
 Address: U. S. S. R., Russia, Moscow, Post Office Box 686.
 Joseph, son of Stanislaw ----- [in Russian]
 Major, son of Stanislaw ----- [in Polish]
 Moscow.
 Main Post Office, Post Office Box No. 686.

EXHIBIT 8



RETURN ADDRESS ON EXHIBIT 8



LETTER ENCLOSED IN EXHIBIT 8

14. I - 1941.

Nechany Tatusiu!

- Drugaj dentalsimy wotanie 3ei list z Moskwy... nie pisze juz nowet jak bandzo, wraždy nie cieszimny. — Z listu taturia wchodkujie ze wybora, sobie nas tatus takimi jakimi nas zostawit, jadac na wojne. A tu mytaja juz prawie 2 lata jak nie nie wickielimny a my zmienilimny nie i wosnetanie i zebnetanie. Wienio bardzo wrobit i ma 1m. 118cm. a ja 1m. 60cm (wiasnie przed chwila mierzylimny sie). Wienio wnet skieny 12 lat i dule z niego chlopaczko, chodzi w mieście do stajkary, odhiedriczy po taturiu zamirowanie do klatelidyki i „siaga“ ukradkiem znaaki od „Metewski“ które do naszego „marnika“ które „metewek“ skienie skada dla taturia. — A ze mnie listki sie smiga sie bedzie „nadrabai“ ming ojciec zuch... ~~at~~ dalej juz ~~nie~~. Wienio nie ma kto opowiadai bajek, wiec je sam opyt, ale jakos nie bandzo to lubi, woli zagladai do atlasu. Mnie boli czesto gardlo, ale przalim jetyemny zdrowi. Pozyczylam sobie narty (bo nart kontimny i narty zginety) i w tatunowych spodniach jeidzie po Sosninie, znalazlam dwa drobnych zjadai, ale rownie wspominaem otatnie ferie zimowe przed wojna, które spedzilimny tutaj we trojke. Tureja klase juz skienylam, wogole z hanki mamny bandzo dule trummbai, najple ze wien otatnego — z „matematyka“ daje sobie nowet dloni rade. Najponiej z „bramawstaim“ do nie ma, kto mnie pokierowai, a sama z tym sobie nie moge dai rade, ale myslie ze z czasem wnytko nie nadrobi. Na drugi jazyk o którym tatus pisai nie mam czasu... zresztą myslie ze nie bedzie potrzebny. Za to mamunia uparla nie na jazyk, stuyka stana i robi ~~nie~~ podlegi. Wnytko mamymy o tej chwili kiedy nie znoudi spotkamny i bedziemy juz razem i w nowim wiatnym domu. — Wczetylismy nie cenie teraz dule mazy, ~~metu~~ na które w normalnych czasach w ogole nie nie zwracalo uwagi. ~~metu~~ Metu, ze nie ma tego ztego co by na dobre nie wynio, wiec i wojna sie na to przydala. Wp: ja naliczylam nie wiesza, nowi ptenoi rowne po myslai w matie (czego dawniej nie bywato). Wienio „pucyje“ czesto buty, zeby byly ferne dlugo nie zwinerone i wygladaly jak nowe. Metewzek zabiera ze wnytkich belek w welym domu sukienki z welym, pruje, mierzai i robi nowe skorpelki, rekawierki i t.p. wnytkie listki robiu to samo. Wogole ool zama do wietozora. To czerowanie taturie i mierzanie, wnet na poriebachach wiec bedzie eer niz wiatowiej poriebachy. To sa tylko drobne przyklady. —
- Ja mam znouu kłopot ze nowimi zebami i musze jeidzie do J. Sazara, bo na miejscu dentysty nie ma, a to wnytko trwanie choro ~~kontu~~ a pieniedzy nie ma, wiec „restu“ magnackiej kłotumy spedzemy. Ale mimo „wnytko“ trzymamny nie dobre i jasnoputnymy w przyszloc. Wp: ja juz nie doci nymbum a i „Metewski“ chce wi nasladowai. — Wier przetylam taturiowi dwa ucielowani.
- Merika.

SECOND PART OF LETTER IN EXHIBIT 8

'Stocho, my Józefku!'. - To jest drugi list z tym roku 1941. -
 no tamte dwa Twoje pismo z listem jakieś dawnoś kłótnie
 odpisałam. - Ten ostatni Twój jest datowany 10. XII. - Myślałam, że
 znowu mnie nieś, może być, ale widzę, że Thier i mięso. -
 Ciem, że z kolei jeden dobrych myśli i urodziły - my też nie
 wie, że my się złożyłmi przeciwności. - i wiedzmy, że i dla nas
 noma. Głazdo. warte. - Jaka więc moim, zjednym, uśmiech, moim,
 porządki zwinie. - boim, że tylko wty nie było, grom. - Odkry
 Dobra robota. 4 kłosa - uśmiech, że ja, Józefku, mił, urodziły
 noma. - więc nie stracił, by tak było. - Był tylko koniec był
 Miki. - a w. to ja, piersi, nie ma, był, nie, urodziły.
 No ale mimo to duch nie upadł. - Odkry, myślałam, że
 wtedy z porządku nie chłopi, że dobre - to był, obch
 z głodu. - i, ale tego nie wiedział, co się z nami dzieje. -
 Ale teraz usposob, ja, lepiej, niż, eruj. - bo i my, też. - Myślałam, o
 Tem, że Ty, jedynak do nas, piersi, o. Józefku, były, to, obch
 i Ty, nie, nie, urodziły. - Jeśli, co, wien, o, kłótnie. - Józefku,
 i, Józefku, noma, o, mił. - piersi, ja, o, Tem, ale, nie, wien
 eruj, to, te, listy, obch. - i, tu, jest, z, tego, powodu, wielkie
 urodziły. - Wiedzi, wien, o, to, Józefku, noma, urodziły,
 się, obch, dobre - i, wien, ja, zjednym, piersi. - Jeśli, chłopi
 o, dom, to, urodziły, urodziły, się, - o, urodziły, urodziły, urodziły,
 o, Józefku, urodziły, mił, kłótnie, o, urodziły. - a, teraz
 kłótnie, 300, i, u, urodziły, bo, się, jej, urodziły, piersi,
 i, to, u, piersi, piersi. - Myślałam, że, Józefku, urodziły, urodziły,
 by, obch, urodziły, urodziły, obch, urodziły. - bo, 5, urodziły, urodziły,
 i, obch, piersi. - a, piersi, urodziły, urodziły. - Józefku,
 Ciz, urodziły, i, piersi, Józefku, urodziły, urodziły. -

Józefku

Józefku

Grybów - kłótnie
 Deutsche Post Osten

14. I. 1941.

[Translation from Polish]

JANUARY 14, 1941.

DEAREST DADDY: We have just received your third letter from Moscow. I shall not even try to tell you how glad we are. From your letter it would seem that you imagine us such as we were when you left us for the war. But it is two years since we have seen each other, and we have changed both physically and mentally. Wiesio has grown up. He is 1 meter 40 centimeters, and I am 1 meter 60 centimeters tall (we have just measured ourselves). Wiesio will be 12 shortly and is a big boy. He is in the fifth grade, has taken after you, and likes philately. He "steals" stamps secretly from "Metuszek" to put them in his album, the stamps which "Metuszek" studiously collects for you. My aunts mock me that "the good father will try to keep a straight face * * *" the rest you know. There is nobody now to read a bedtime story to Wiesio, so he reads it himself, but he prefers to look at the atlas. I suffer often from a sore throat. Otherwise we are all well. I borrowed skis (our skis and skiing clothes were lost) and in your trousers I ski in Sosnina, where I have discovered a number of good runs, but I shall always remember the winter vacations which the three of us spent together.

I have finished the third class, but in general we have difficulties with learning. I think you know why. In math I am doing well. I am not so good in French and there is nobody to assist me there. I think, however, that in time everything will be well. I have not time for the other language of which you wrote—and I think that it will not be necessary. Mama, however, decided to learn the language of Uncle Stefan and is making progress. We all live for the moment when we shall meet again and be together in our own home. We have learned to appreciate many things which escaped our appreciation in normal times. They say that there is nothing bad which will not eventually turn into good, and even war can be useful. And so, for instance, I have learned to hang up my coat after coming home (which I never did before). Wiesio polished his shoes so that they may last and look new for a long time. Metuszek "robs" our dolls of their woollen dresses and turns them into socks and gloves, etc., and the aunts are doing the same. From morning till evening repairs and refashioning—there will be shortly more repairs on our stockings than original material. These are only small examples. I have trouble with my teeth and I have to go to the dentist in N. Sacz, because there is none locally, and as this costs an enormous amount of money we are selling the rest of our possessions. But in spite of all that, we keep our spirits up and look with hope into the future. I have written enough and now "Metuszek" wants to write a few words. With fondest kisses, my Daddy.

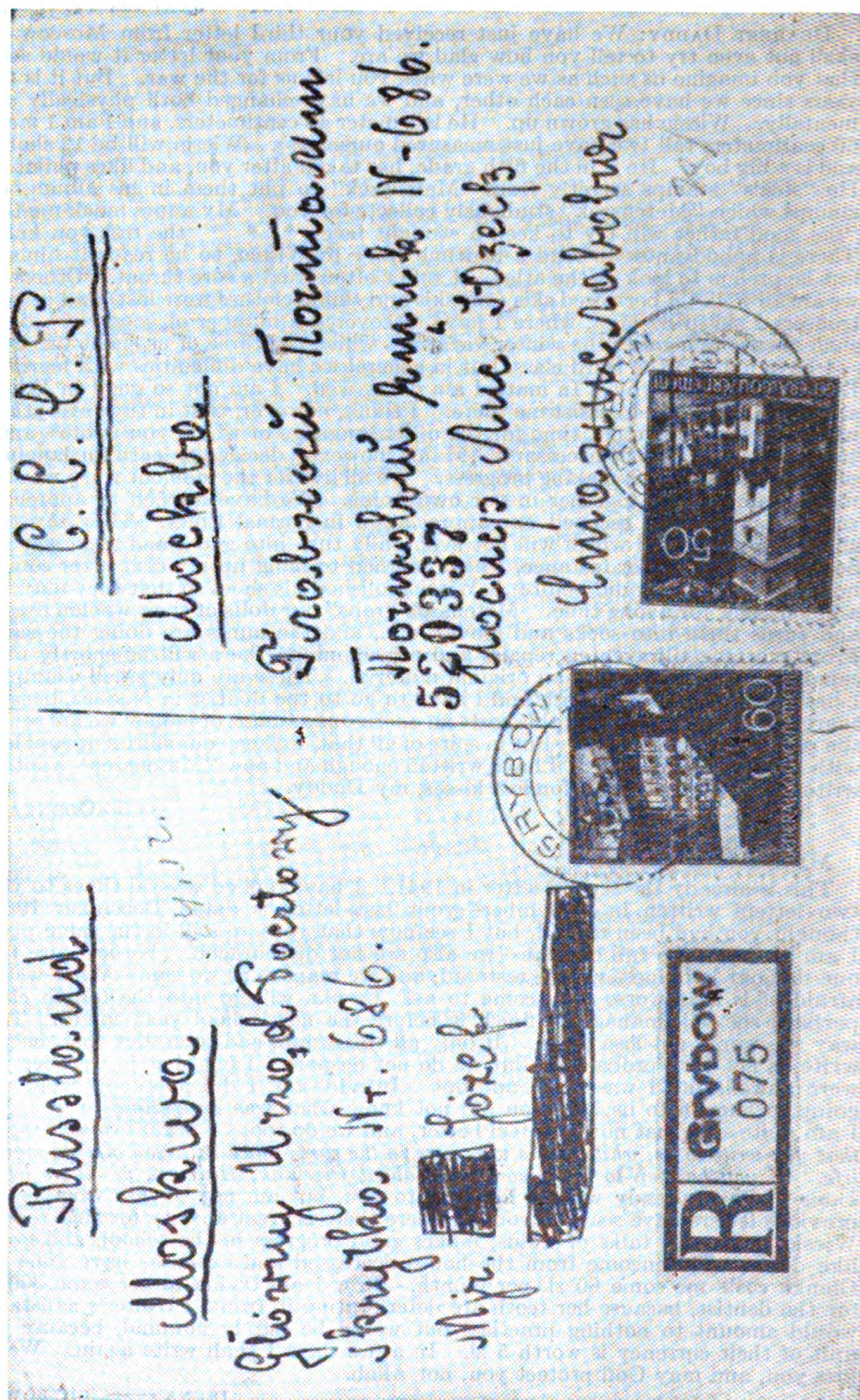
OLENKA.

MY DEAREST JOSEPH:

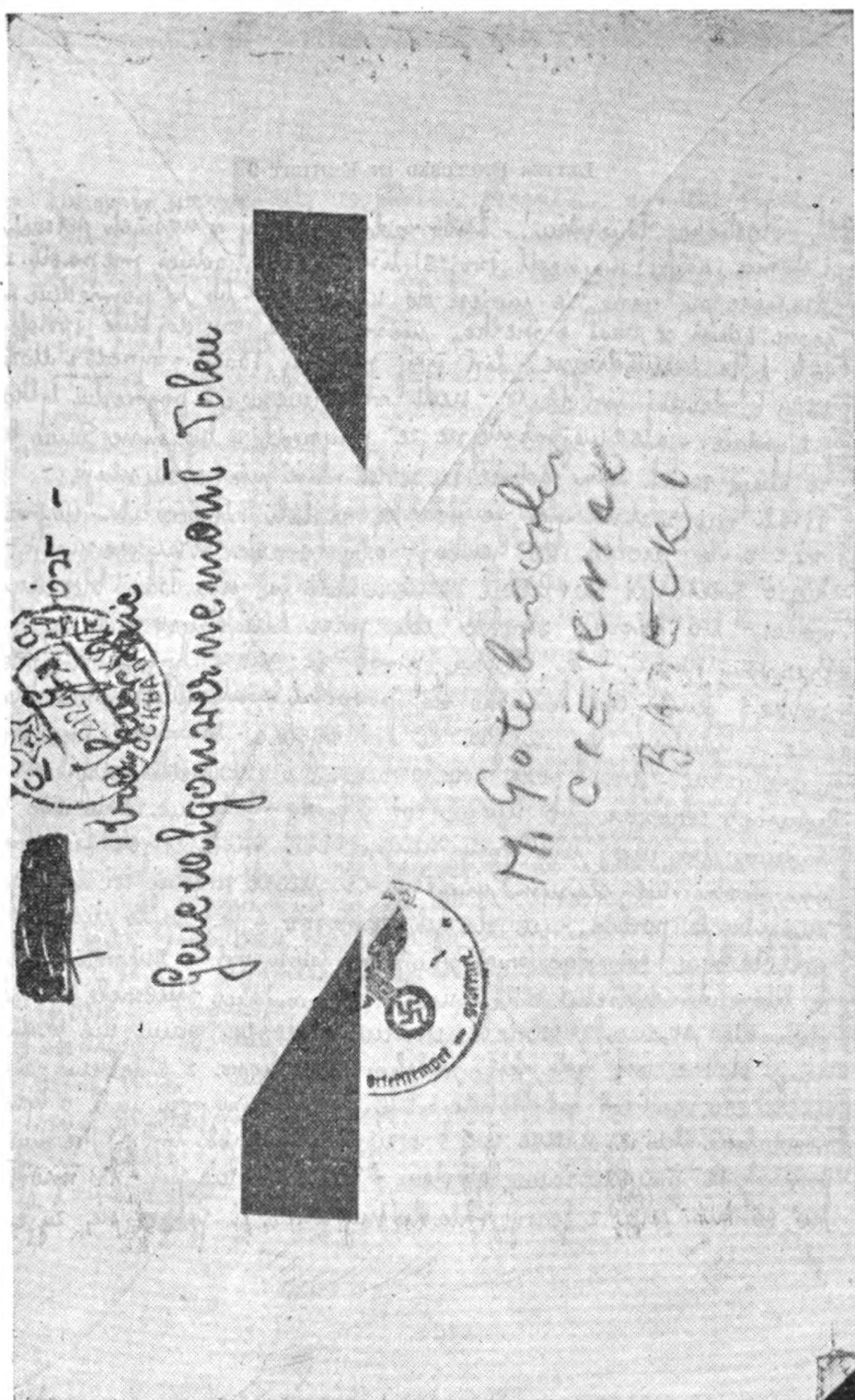
This is already the second letter in 1941. I have replied several times to your two letters written in November—your last letter is dated December 10. I thought you had been moved, but I see now that you are still in the same place. I am glad you are full of hope—we also are not discouraged. We are sure that one day our happiness will be restored, and we manage as we can. What we are afraid of is that worse may come to us. Olenka will go into the fourth class, perhaps she will manage to finish it before the new school year comes. That way she would not lose much. If only all this would end soon, but that, as you write, is not very probable. But we do not despair. I felt that in October you were unwell, and I was down and out. In addition, I did not know what was going to happen to us, and you did not know what was happening to us. But I am quite sure that now you feel better, and we do too. *I always console myself that you write to us, while others who were in the same place with you give no sign of life. If you happen to know something about Cierniak, Haiman, or others let us know*—I have already written about it to you, but am not certain whether the previous letters have reached you, and here there is great anxiety for that reason. Wiesio constantly talks of Tulus, makes good progress in the school, and grows like debts. The income from the house decreased and expenses have gone up. Olenka costs me some 60 zł. per month. Now I am trying to get some 300 zł. for the dentist, because her teeth are deteriorating in front. Wolter's assistance would amount to nothing practical but would be purely nominal, because one unit of their currency is worth 5 zł. In a few days I shall write again. We all kiss you, and may God protect you, not Allah.

IRENA —, GRYBOW.

JANUARY 14, 1941. Near Nowy Sacz, German Rail East.



RETURN ADDRESS ON EXHIBIT 9



Lukanow wie mo. ale wo. chleb i skromny porzek. starzy-
 tymu. odniez ie z starzys. nie sie. nie kadyje. bo i wieksze
 znowo, obrucie mienio. gollie - tyllko to co najwzrostniejsze. - Puno-
 me nie tchorimny i obwagi zyciowej. i nie wzmny ie gnoszalka
 i dla nas zwinieci. -
 i teraz chee li napisać co uwatworzo sie z zwinieci. - owo
 i troje uwatorki - gollie i ptozary - pio. mmo - ptole i krompho
 wiekta z przedpokoju i umywalki. troche skorup - Musz. to ma-
 troje ptozary. - bo to tyllko resztki tego co nie mie wystukto
 i troich wczery tyllko 1 para wielkiny, miedow, buty, co i 3 pary
 skorup i 6 kociwierzy - ubranie ktore bylo z Gr. i wozicistka
 buty - 1 ptole i 1 pto. z kociery oraz 1e ktore buty bronzowe
 wo. zwiniecijsz ptoze. - Ubranie i buty te miche bronzowe perno
 symedau - Noranie jezsze nie ale moie troche lez die. -
 i lcho. wot. ly jezsze 3 blyz. wy. - Pili. mny - ptole. - krompho. - cety
 kon z wielkino, i pociet. - i troje ubranie, pto. zeta buty. - dniein
 me kocienki i l. p! wzmny. - i pociet. moie kociet
 pierun. i 3 podlanki ktich tambyl. ze zoba. i sroje oraz
 dniein. me ptole. wczery, ktore lei miedow ze zoba. - by-
 to co wot. to utrzymo. nie. mmo. do mo. - ale wo. zeta. jst. -
 Norackiej wot. zeta. wo. to 150. - Wo. zeta. wczery miedow
 ja. teraz loko. loko. nie miedow nie wzmny. - Najwzrostniejsze je-
 dnak to, owo sie, krompho. zeta. pto. zeta. - o. zeta. pto. zeta.
 lez die. - Tbcievar gnoszalka. sie. zeta. - chisto. bym. - o. by
 nie dniein. - ze miedow i zeta. mny wo. to. - o. zeta. zeta. zeta.
 wane zeta. i miedow lei jony iotie lez die. zeta. zeta. zeta. zeta.
 pmo. zeta. jst. zeta. zeta. zeta. zeta. - Terciecia
 lez die. - dniein lei - Terciecia zeta. zeta. -
 Terciecia. - Terciecia. - Terciecia. - Terciecia. - Terciecia.

[Translation from Polish]

Translation of envelope, addressed both in Polish and in Russian:
 RUSSIA—MOSCOW—Main Post Office, Box Office No. 686, Major ———
 Jozef ———

In left corner of envelope, registration label R—Grybow 075.

At the bottom of the envelope, two postal stamps issued by the German General Government, one to the value of 60, the other 50 (no monetary unit indicated). The stamps bear cancellation postal marks Grybow 12.12.40.15.

At the back of the envelope, sender's name and address:

I. ——— GRYBOW,
Krakowskie General Gouvernament, Polen.

Over the name of the sender, a postal cancellation stamp in Russian, bearing the date 22.12.40, Moscow Main Post Office.

Under sender's address, a German cancellation stamp which reads: The High Command of the German Army, Postal Service's examination.

Below in red pencil, the names M. Golebiowski, Cierniak, Badecki, names mentioned in the letter, where the writer inquires about their whereabouts at the Kozielsk camp.

MARCH 20, 1940.

DEAR JOSEPH: There is again happiness in our hearts and at home because your third letter has arrived. The second one was lost somewhere. I am terribly happy that you are able to write to us because writing as before, somewhere into the great unknown, never being sure whether it will reach you, was hopeless. Your letter dated the 13th of November left Moscow the 28th of November, and today is the 12th of December. It therefore took a month; the previous letter took only three weeks. *But the most important thing is that it arrived, because other ladies whose husbands are where you are don't receive any letters.* They have written me from America that they have sent a parcel but that it was returned. So write if you can to Geneva that in case they receive any parcels for you they should be forwarded to your present address, because parcels are usually forwarded through the International Red Cross. Stefan wrote that they will send you another parcel. He doesn't seem to be doing too well but Wladek is doing very well. If I could send you something, I would send you some of your linen, because I managed to save one pair, and some socks, so that you wouldn't have to mend. I have about three pairs. However, I cannot send them because they will not accept parcels. *Have you written to Lisowski? He is still in the same place and perhaps will be in a better position to send something to you from his old supplies.* I would in exchange send something to his foster son who is a prisoner of war over here and whom I try to help as much as I can, although I have not very much myself. We ourselves don't eat any butter. We are well off when we have milk or coffee with bread. I try to get some from time to time for the children, but the adults have forgotten about this produce, which costs about 6 times as much as before. Don't think, however, that we are starving. It isn't that bad because we put together any money that we have and somehow manage to live. Of course there are no luxuries, but we have enough for bread and a modest meal, the more so because we don't buy any clothing, first of all because we do not have any money for it and secondly because there is none to be had, except what is most essential. We keep our spirits and courage, and believe that our star will once again shine for us.

And now I would like to tell you what was saved in the turmoil. Well then, your stamps, the dining room and study, the piano, the easy chairs and settee, the clothes-stand from the entrance hall, the washroom, and a little bit of crockery. I am calling it crockery because they are only the remnants of what has not been broken. From among your personal belongings, only a pair of shirts, your uniform, shoes, 3 pairs of socks and 6 collars, one suit which was in Gr. [Grybow], your skiing shoes, one pair of shoes, the pair of old patent leather shoes, and the old brown pigskin pair, remain. I think I will sell the suit and the two pairs of shoes—not just now, but perhaps later I shall have to. Oh yes! Three carpets also survived. The rugs, the silver, glass, and china, a whole basketful of linens and bedding, your suits, coats, shoes, the children's winter coats, etc., everything was lost. From among the linens, I still have the quilts, the eider-down, and 3 pillows, because I carried them with me; also my own and the children's clothing, which we also had with us. Whether what was left will survive I cannot say, but it is still there. I paid Nowacka 150 zl. for it. Our belongings

are being used by tenants, so everything is being ruined. The most important thing, however, is that the war should end happily; then the rest will be all right. Because Christmas is near, I want you to know that we think of you and long for you, and on Christmas Eve our hearts and thoughts will be with you, with the hope that we may celebrate the next one together. I kiss you with love; so do the children.

IRA.

I enclose a Christmas wafer.

IRENA ——— GRYPBOWA,
Krakowskie—General Gouverneman, Polen.

Along the edge of the letter: on one side—Please write whether you have any news about Cierniak, Feliks Badecki. It is important. Also about Mieczysław Golewowski.

On the other side, continued: Camp Kozielsk, Smolensk Province, Box Office No. 12, from Nowy Sacz 1 P. S. P. reseves. Please try to write to Kozielsk.

[Translation from Polish]

MY BELOVED ONES: Days, weeks, and years pass, yet it is only the beginning of the chaos of the old world; the destruction of war is now added to the sufferings of the world, and the flames of war begin slowly to envelop both hemispheres. War, destruction, hunger, and misery among nations are already old phenomena in the small sector of the globe on which we live. We must, however, persevere and await our fate, mindful of our national posts and of the inexhaustible values of the spirit of our nation. Mohammed said, "Nobody can escape fate, because Allah is great!"

I cannot describe to you how I yearn for you all; great poets, like our Adam Mickiewicz, have expressed it in words. Often in my dreams I am together with you all. I remember Wiesio as a small boy to whom I was telling so many fairy stories; how is he developing? And Olenka without school, for this so-called study is really no education at all. No, there is none anywhere; I suppose she does not want to know what Filachowska has written about marriage. Education gives contentment, self-assurance, and assures a permanent basis for one's existence. Despite my 43 years I am still learning, because as Socrates, the greatest of all philosophers, said: "I know that I do not know anything." Let Olenka pay special attention to mathematics and foreign languages; of course, in order to learn one has to have health, peace, and something in one's stomach, and also good intentions.

Irena, I am awaiting a reply from you to my two letters of October and November. I hope you have received them and that you will not worry about me. Winter here is somewhat late; since the first snow in October, which has now disappeared, none has fallen so far. I have rubbers so that I don't think I shall have wet feet. I also have my own socks and foot-clouts for wrapping up my feet. I live under hygienic conditions, am able to have a bath, to walk, and to read a lot of good books. Many things of which I have been ignorant I now understand, and I have benefited a lot. I would like for our children to learn a few foreign languages; I only now appreciate how one benefits from it, since I am able to read with ease books in a foreign language when none in our language are available.

Irena, darling, you need not worry about me at all. The worst has already passed, in particular the beginning of the road, when I was so weak that I was unable to enter the railway carriage, and later when anemia and finally apathy set in. All this has luckily passed, however; you all manage somehow and I have regained my health, strength, and faith in the future. I am keeping informed of the (international) situation better than you are able to, for I read communiques of both sides, as well as commentaries in the press.

I still have no letter from Stefan, but I shall try again to write to him. As to the severe winter, please do not worry. It is not so bad; the polar circle is still quite far from here, and I do have warm shelter and sufficient food. I have not as yet seen any bears, not even brown ones, [nothing] except crows and other birds. During the summer I was sunbathing and swimming in the river. Be of good cheer, for as the proverb goes: "He who is to hang will not drown." After all, I can't lose what I no longer possess, and moreover, the naked do not fear robbery.

REVERSE SIDE OF EXHIBIT 10



LETTER ENCLOSED IN EXHIBIT 10

1 grudnia 1940.

Kochany Józeczek!

List który dzisiaj pisałem, pierwszy dopiero około świąt
 dojdzie do Ciebie. - Jakże to będzie, szlag? - Będzie nam -
 bardzo smutno, że Ciebie z nami nie ma - uspokój się -
 choć sobie przypominam jak byłam przy tobie w tych trudnych
 dołach, że przynajmniej wiem co masz z sobą, dzieje się, że
 jesteś sobie radę - bo z tego roku było gorzej - chociaż
 przy tych okropnych i niesłychanych rozstrzelaniach, - wtedy
 było odprężenie, że uderzyliśmy się w ręce pod dołkami
 i spiny w łóżkach a nie w podłokach - wtedy było to
 tak, żeśmy potrafili jakoś przetrwać i przetrwać dalej.
 Ale to już nie wystarczy, należy do konspiracyjnej pryncypali
 o przetrwanie i jutro przed udzieleniem. - Wreszcie jedziemy do
 szpitala - Myśli mamy i serce będzie bliżej Ciebie - chociaż
 uroszcie jeszcze z sobą. - Myślę, nie raz w naszym miejscu
 minie i takich dołach, które tam przeżyliśmy
 kiedyś już będzie nam nie swój własny świat, nie
 chociażby okropny - ale własny. - i czy to będzie nasze
 nie czy bliższe? - Teraz chęć nie dzieje się teraz ży-
 jemy. - To i dzieje się, że. - o, ja, wiem że Kocha-
 jem, że kocha, że jest pokojowa - to zn. jeżeli będzie
 ono, gdzie ja, spokość i dobroć, bo stając się z na-
 dą, brzościszczych nie trzymamy. - Mam jednak
 nadzieję że to się niedługo poprawi. - Gdybyś do-
 szedł o ślepe konie - jeśli będzie, pozwolenie na
 świąteczne ślepe to również go tam gdzie Kocha-
 je.

[Translation from Polish]

DECEMBER 1, 1940.

DEAR JOSEPH: The letter which I am writing now will perhaps reach you by Christmas. What [kind of] Christmas will it be? We shall be very sad as you will not be here with us. Surely we shall even weep somewhat as we usually do on such occasions. It is well that I at least know what has been happening to you and that you are managing for yourself, because it was not going very well last year.

After those terrible 3 months of ordeal, a relaxation has come and we live at last under a roof and sleep on beds, not on the floor with my own coat serving as a straw sack and a blanket. Happily it has passed away as a nightmare. The future and the morrow are ahead of us.

With reference to Christmas—our thoughts and hearts will be with you, although we are far away from each other for the time being.

I often think about our home and the quiet happy days we lived through there. When shall we have a home in this world? A modest [home] hut of our own! Is this dream remote or near? Perhaps you want to know how we are living? The children are learning now. Stacha and I are cook and chambermaid by turns. This means that one week she cooks and I do housework and the next week our turns are reversed. We do not have a maid for reasons of frugality. I hope, however, that things will improve in the not too distant future, because I am seeking a commission-shop. If I am granted permission for a shop I will open it where Konfteil had a store, at the back of the house, below in this first room. And then together Stacha and we will carry on trade [selling] whatever [it is] possible [to sell], in order to survive this most difficult time. Mother also has a shop, for distributing textiles.

Apropos of Mother, do write positively whether Cierniak was with you at Starobielsk, because she received only one post card of [dated] November 29. She is enormously grieved over what is happening to him. Describe everything you know about him, as well as about Szafran Jaroslaw, the colonel from Vilna who also was at Starobielsk, and about Felek [Felix] Badecki. We do not know anything about Tolek (Anthony). He has discontinued writing. Romek (Roman) is still living as he did before, but at any time we are expecting him to arrive here with his family. Our ladies are living as [best] they can. Those whose husbands are in German captivity are much the happier, because they receive news [from them] every week and money from time to time. Although they live modestly, still they are able to live.

Tola (Antoine) G. works at the station of Ostr. as a cashier and Jedrychowska works at the municipal library. Mrs. Nowak lives by lecturing, Mrs. Sztark has a tobacco shop at W. They sold a lot at W. for a few tens of thousands (of zlotys), so they will not suffer want. Gina is at Ostr. because Moyek sends her money, and she also is seeking to open [a shop,] a liquor shop. Everyone shifts for himself as best he can. What do you think about my undertakings? The children are doing well and have appetites as never before.

On the occasion of Christmas and, in general, I kiss you and embrace you heartily.

IRA.

P. S.—To beloved father, kisses and Christmas wishes—may we live happily and see and celebrate next Christmas together already in our own home,

From OLENKA and WIESIU.

[Envelope addressed to:] Russia, Moscow, ——— Joseph ———, Central Post Office, P. O. Box No. 686

[From:] Irena ———, Grybow, Krakow, German Eastern Post.

REVERSE SIDE OF EXHIBIT 11



[Translation from Polish]

OCTOBER 31, 1940.

DEAR IRENE AND CHILDREN: At the beginning of October I received at last two postcards from you, from Ramek, and from Tolek. Since they were the first postcards since April, you may imagine how very pleased I was at having them. Often [two words illegible], but the reality is different, and distant as a dream. On the day of my departure, I received the photographs of the children, at Starobielsk. This gave me great joy, as I may look upon them often with tears in my eyes. How differently everything is developing, and all the forecasts deny the stubborn reality. In spite of all, I am optimistic, and I believe that after this long storm the sun will shine for us, too.

You are eager to know what I am doing and how I look. All summer long I was taking sun-baths in the polar sun and swimming. I play chess and read newspapers, magazines, many books by Soviet writers, and [two words illegible]. I now have a moustache, a beard, and some grey hair. I was in the ranks until October 1, 1939. I am well; I recovered long ago from the wounds I received on September 12. I suffered much, but it is getting better and better. I feed myself well—sometimes I even have butter, and there is no lack of tobacco, even though I smoke so much. The uniform and linen I wear are military, Polish, because mine was torn by bomb fragments and stained with blood. My boots are patched, but suitable enough for wear. I try to get galoshes for winter. From my entire equipment [one word illegible], only a blanket, a cap, a pair of old boots, and a watch were left. I survived the winter in the south—at -35° —well, although I had no warm clothing but an overcoat without a lining. In spite of this, I have been well. Don't worry about me. I know the language well and I am still improving in it. Generally, I feel better and better, and I have slept outside all the time. Now I would like to know how you shift for yourselves, because I know, more or less, what the situation there is. Unfortunately, I am not able to help you for the time being. I have not even been able to send you my greetings on your name-day [birthday] unless things change.

I have received only two letters from America. They were both dated April and I have not received the parcel sent from there. I wrote to Tolek; do write yourself to Romek. I am pleased that at least the stamps are saved. Olenka is perhaps a big girl already, and Wiesio a big boy. I have not seen you all for such a long time, although only 14 months have passed, and how many months will yet pass * * *. Every beginning must have an end and an epilogue. After a storm, nice rainbow weather comes.

There were many acquaintances from Ostrow, Bydgoszcz, and so forth at Starobielsk, but I do not know where they are now. Give me the address of Bronia Sz. and [one word illegible] Kalinkowa; perhaps I shall be able to write to them. This is about all. As I finish I kiss all of you heartily.

JOSEPH.

Russia, Moscow, Central Post Office, P. O. Box No. 686, Major -- Joseph -----

EXHIBIT 11A

25 XI. 1940.

Stochastische Prozesse:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[Translation from Polish]

NOVEMBER 25, 1940.

DEAR JOSEPH: You can't imagine how immensely happy you have made us with your letter. It is the first extensive news we have had from you. *Only the postcard of November 29, 1939, and a telegram of March 20, from Starobielsk reached us, and afterwards there was only a confused report that you were at Graizowier.* I wrote so at random, I wonder that my postcards ever reached you. We read your letter out loud at home, everyone studied it personally several times after that, and we read it to our friends as well.

I am pleased that you shift for yourself, and that you are full of good thoughts and cheerful. "Take it easy" should be your principle, and the rest will come by itself. We shall not escape our destination. When there is an end to this homelessness, you should be strong enough to establish a new home for yourself.

All our belongings have been lost in this storm, of course, except for some furniture and your stamps, and no one can know what will happen to them. Our crystal, plates, pictures, and all the baskets with linen, bedding, my suits and yours—everything has been lost. Only things which I had in suitcases and which could be carried easily have been saved.

Our present life is day-to-day vegetation. To survive is the question. Other people live in even worse conditions, and we do not suffer so far from the lack of the necessities of life, although we live economically. The children go to school. Wiesio goes to the third class. Olenka also learns. I hope she will finish the fourth class before vacation. They grow like Jewish usury, and outgrow their clothes. But I alter this, and make that longer, and in this way I keep them dressed. Olenka has an overcoat cut down from my old navy-blue one. Just after our arrival in December last year, I bought Wieslaw a sheepskin coat. So the children are well dressed. You saw them in the photograph. We were very pleased that you received it and that having it, you will be able to look at it sometimes.

I received a letter from America saying that they had sent you a parcel containing the articles you wanted, but that this parcel, which weighed 11 kilograms, had returned smaller by half. But they are going to send you another one. Write them if you can, because they do not know your present address and you may not receive it again. Wieslaw continues his father's hobby, collecting stamps for daddy. He woke up the morning after your departure and did not know that you had tried to wake him; he started to cry because his father had left. We have been touched many times, remembering this.

The address to Bronia is attached. Write her that the efforts to help her are being made here. Kazakhstan-Aktiubinska, Oblast Andrejewsko post region, Lewnocking-Selo settlement, Krasnojarsk. Write her that Tad goes to a commercial college. I do not know the address of Mrs. Kalinkowa. *Was Cierniak with you at Starobielsk, and what has happened to him? Mola asks you for news. Do you know anything about Felix Badecki? If you have any news, do write.*

Imagine that on October 2, 1939, Rowne left for Bialystok. Do not worry about us. We shift for ourselves. Take care of yourself and keep well, because we are waiting for your return. There is so much left to write about, and the page has ended. I kiss you ardently, ardently.

IRA, WIESIO.

I saw mother at Lukanowice. She is doing well. As they have enough to eat, they will not suffer.

Print your address, as it is difficult to read it.

P. S. We are mad with joy at having received a letter from daddy, and we read it 100 times. In the next letter Wiesio and I shall write, because this letter would be too long.

Olenka.

[Envelope]

Addressee: Russia, Moscow, The Central Post Office, P. O. Box No. 686, Major Joseph -----.

Sender: Irena -----, Grybow, Kracow, German East Post.

Chairman MADDEN. From your experience as a prisoner, and during the intervening period, have you decided in your own mind who committed the massacres at Katyn?

Mr. A. There is no doubt in my mind that this was the act of the NKVD.

Chairman MADDEN. The Russian NKVD?

Mr. A. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. All right. We want to thank you for your testimony here. Have you received any promises of emoluments or recompense from anybody for your testimony here?

Mr. A. No; I have not received any such promises or offers.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS B

Chairman MADDEN. I might state for the record that this witness is testifying under an assumed name, and his original name, which is identified with his experiences in the Polish Army, is known in the record with the committee.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf in respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony. That statement was just read to you by the interpreter in Polish.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you agree to that statement which has been read to you?

Mr. B. Yes; I agree.

Chairman MADDEN. Let the witness be sworn. Do you swear by the God Almighty that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, and that you will not conceal anything?

Mr. B. Yes; I swear.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed. I might state that if you can just confine your statement to what you know regarding Katyn without going into any long historical review of your experiences, it will help the committee a great deal.

Mr. FLOOD. You were taken prisoner by the Russians?

Mr. B. Yes; I was taken prisoner on September 28 together with my unit in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. And you were taken to the camp at Kozielsk?

Mr. B. I was taken before——

Mr. FLOOD. Well, you ultimately got to the camp at Kozielsk?

Mr. B. Yes, but before I was in the camp——

Mr. FLOOD. I think it will help us reach the pertinent part of your testimony if you just answer my questions. You were at Kozielsk?

Mr. B. Yes; I was.

Mr. FLOOD. When did you get to Kozielsk, in what month, if you remember?

Mr. B. On November 2, 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. On November 2, 1939, the Russians finally got you to Kozielsk after taking you to other places, is that right?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And when you were there, there were other Polish officers there with you?

Mr. B. Yes; there were.

Mr. FLOOD. 4,000 or 5,000 in round numbers?

Mr. B. I cannot tell the number because many officers were coming and going at that time. Just at the beginning of November was the time the transports were coming to Kozielsk from various directions.

Mr. FLOOD. While you were at Kozielsk, and during the time you were there, we understand that the Russians were taking groups of Polish officers, fellow prisoners, out of Kozielsk, taking them away—is that correct?

Mr. B. I heard only that there were some Polish military prisoners before us.

Mr. FLOOD. No, I mean at the time you were there?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were they taking any away while you were there?

Mr. B. Not in November, but afterward.

Mr. FLOOD. After November?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. When did you leave there?

Mr. B. I left Kozielsk on April 29, 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. And you got there in November 1939?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now between the time that you got there in November of 1939 and the time you left in April of 1940, there were a number of Polish brother prisoners taken out of Kozielsk, is that correct?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Then in April of 1940, your turn came, and you were also called up to be taken out, is that correct?

Mr. B. Yes, this is correct, but the general liquidation of the camp started on April 3, 1940. Before April 3, 1940, there were only some particular cases of some prisoners being taken away from the camp.

Mr. FLOOD. But you were taken away—do you remember the day in April?

Mr. B. Yes, I remember the beginning of the general liquidation of the camp.

Mr. FLOOD. But what was the day when you were taken?

Mr. B. On April 29.

Mr. FLOOD. And about how many men went with you when you were taken?

Mr. B. About 300.

Mr. FLOOD. And were you taken down and given an investigation, an inspection? Did they take things from you?

Mr. B. Yes, before they transferred us to the other guard at the gate of the camp, and then we were examined and all sharp objects were taken from us.

Mr. FLOOD. And then you were placed in a prison car?

Mr. B. No, just an ordinary car.

Mr. FLOOD. You were not placed in prison cars?

Mr. B. Not at Kozielsk gates.

Mr. FLOOD. But I mean after you got on the railroad train?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Regular prison cars?

Mr. B. Prison wagons.

Mr. FLOOD. And your whole group was placed on the train?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. In different prison wagons?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And where was the first place you stopped after you left Kozielsk?

Mr. B. Smolensk.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you stop any place after Smolensk?

Mr. B. Yes; it was the place where the unloading of the transport took place.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the name of that place?

Mr. B. I do not know; I gather from what I know now that it was Gniezdovo.

Mr. FLOOD. Now we have you on the prison train with all your brother prisoners, and you are now at the first stop at Smolensk?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us now in your own words what happened, what you say the minute the train left Smolensk from then on? Take it from there on in your own words.

Mr. B. Yes. We stayed at Smolensk for only a few minutes. We come to Smolensk at dawn, and the general impression which struck me during this transfer was that we were going very fast, comparatively fast, because usually the prison transports were very slow because other trains had priority before them, but we were traveling very fast. From Smolensk we traveled for a few minutes—it may be half an hour—in a northwestern direction, and after we traveled about 10 miles the train stopped, and unloading started.

Mr. FLOOD. The train stopped for the unloading of the prisoners?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now what time of day, if you remember, did you make the first stop after you left Smolensk, do you remember?

Mr. B. It was very early.

Mr. FLOOD. Early in the morning?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Was it daylight?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Could you see well?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The sun was up?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The weather was good?

Mr. B. Yes, it was a very nice day.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened; they unloaded the prisoners?

Mr. B. Yes. After some time—maybe after three-quarters of an hour or an hour—a column of NKVD entered our car and called my name and told me that I should be separated and brought me to another prison wagon.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that on the same train or a different train?

Mr. B. On the same train; it was a neighboring wagon because the prisoners had left the wagon before; it was an empty wagon. They put me in a separate compartment in that wagon; the compartment was locked up, and a special guard was placed in the corridor.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there anybody else in the entire wagon with you?

Mr. B. My feeling was that there were only two people locked up in the compartment, myself and the guard.

Mr. FLOOD. You are certain there was nobody else in your compartment?

Mr. B. I am certain there was nobody else; no.

Mr. FLOOD. And so far as you know, there was nobody else in the compartment but you and the guard?

Mr. B. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. All right.

Mr. B. The construction of the wagon is such that there is no window in the compartment, only a very small slit or opening just under the ceiling. So I got on the upper bunk in the compartment, and I was trying to show that I was going to sleep, but in the meantime the guard was looking in the other direction, and I tried to see what was outside.

Mr. FLOOD. Could you see out through that crack or opening?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you try to see out?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you see anything?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you see?

Mr. B. The wagon was standing not at the station, but somewhere behind the station, and there was some kind of square before the wagon; it was a square covered by grass, so it was a kind of lawn maybe, or square surrounded by small trees and very heavily guarded by the guards of the NKVD with fixed bayonets. There were two cars on the square, one autobus and another car of prison type without any windows.

Mr. FLOOD. Both were motor vehicles?

Mr. B. Yes, both were motor vehicles, both motor cars, and besides the guards of NKVD there were two NKVD officers, two Russian officers, standing there, one of them a colonel. I was very impressed by this fact because he was a very high ranking officer in the NKVD, and usually officers of such a high rank do not travel in the transports. The other officer was a captain of the NKVD. This autobus was approaching to the wagon.

Mr. FLOOD. To the railroad car?

Mr. B. Yes, to the railroad car, and the entrance to the autobus was from the back doors. The prisoners were asked to go into the autobus, and not stopping on the ground, but just to go from the railroad wagon immediately into the back door of the autobus. The autobus was of quite an ordinary type. The windows were painted, or rather smeared, with some white color—I imagine it was just smeared with lime—and the autobus took about 30 people. Then it went away, and returned after more or less half an hour—I cannot tell exactly, because I had no watch with me, but about half an hour—to take the next party, and it was proceeding for some hours. Then when the unloading had been finished, I was transferred by this colonel into the hands of the captain who was standing there, and I learned afterward that the captain was the head of the prison in Smolensk. He took me into that second prison car with a very heavy guard, because there were, I think, about five people with rifles besides the captain of the NKVD, and he brought me to the prison in Smolensk, not the

general prison, but to a special prison of the NKVD called an internal prison of the NKVD, in the basement, as I understand, of the main building of the NKVD, and I was put there into the basement into a separate cell. My impression was that I was the only prisoner in that basement, and I stayed there for about a week. I was not badly treated. The head of the prison came every day to see me and brought me some books. I got permission to buy various things from the prison shop, and the head of the prison, who used to come every day to see me, sometimes remained in my cell for about half an hour or three quarters of an hour.

Mr. Flood. At any time that you were in the NKVD prison in Smolensk, did you have any conversations with anybody, with fellow prisoners or Russian soldiers or NKVD, the superintendent or anybody about what you saw at the station?

Mr. B. Yes, I asked the captain of the NKVD, who was the head of the prison, what was the reason for my being separated from my comrades, and he did not give me any definite answer. He told me that he does not know why, because he is only the head of the prison, and he had an order to keep me for some time until a new order would come.

Mr. Flood. What is your opinion today? Why do you think you were separated, if you have any idea?

Mr. B. Yes. I was brought to Moscow from Smolensk after a week into the Lubianka prison, and I was incarcerated there for 10 months. As far as I understand, there were two reasons for taking me to Moscow. The first reason was that I was a professor of economics at a university in Poland, and I was at the head of the group which was doing research on the Russian economy, and I was connected with the research work of the German research institutes which were interested in eastern economic problems, so they considered me a very interesting person; in Moscow they knew my publications and my books, and they considered me a very interesting prisoner who could tell them very many things about the organization of anti-Soviet intelligence. I did not know anything about the organization of anti-Soviet intelligence, but they thought I knew.

Mr. Flood. Then the only reason why you think they kept you and separated you from the prisoners at the station and that you survived is because they thought that you could be of some further use to them?

Mr. B. Yes, that was the first reason. The second reason is because I was given the indictment; I was accused. They started legal proceedings against me. The second reason was that in one of the Soviet proceedings before the court in 1937, when there were various deviations in the Communist Party, my name was mentioned, and so the documents which I saw in connection with that legal proceeding were from 1937; and there was one Russian, who was apparently shot (because on that document it was told only that he was sentenced) who mentioned my name as a Polish economist who was connected with the Polish General Staff in making various investigations.

Mr. Flood. Professor, I want to establish a very clear fact again; although I think you have already made it very clear, I want it repeated for the record. Will you repeat for us the day that you left Kozielsk, the date, April the what?

Mr. B. April 29, 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. You left on April 29, 1940?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you left with how many other Polish officers?

Mr. B. About 300.

Mr. FLOOD. And you left Kozielsk on a wagon or a prison train, a train made up of prison wagons?

Mr. B. I do not know.

Mr. FLOOD. At least, yours was?

Mr. B. I know only about my wagon.

Mr. FLOOD. Yours was?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now do you know the time of day when you left Kozielsk?

Mr. B. Just after dark.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know or remember how long you traveled, how many hours before you made the first stop, or can you guess?

Mr. B. I do not remember any stop before Smolensk. There might have been stops, but I do not remember; if there were stops, they were very short.

Mr. FLOOD. But the first stop that you do remember was Smolensk?

Mr. B. Smolensk at the time of sunrise.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. At sunrise you got to Smolensk?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. How long were you at Smolensk before you moved on, about?

Mr. B. A quarter of an hour.

Mr. FLOOD. You stopped at Smolensk a quarter of an hour? You were at Smolensk for about 15 minutes?

Mr. B. Yes, or maybe a little more, maybe between 15 minutes and half an hour.

Mr. FLOOD. But no more than half an hour?

Mr. B. No more than half an hour.

Mr. FLOOD. Then you left Smolensk?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. How many stops did you make after leaving Smolensk before these officers were taken out?

Mr. B. There were no stops.

Mr. FLOOD. Only one?

Mr. B. Only one.

Mr. FLOOD. About how far in miles, if you know, or about how long in time, if you know, was there between Smolensk and that first stop?

Mr. B. My comrades and I tried to estimate, and our estimation was about 12, 13, or 15 kilometers.

Mr. FLOOD. And you checked that with other officers in your compartment, talking back and forward?

Mr. B. Yes, really it was the estimate of several officers.

Mr. FLOOD. But that was the consensus?

Mr. B. Yes, the general consensus.

Mr. FLOOD. And you remember that distinctly?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. All right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. About these 300 men that you left the camp with, did you know any of those 300 personally?

Mr. B. Yes, some of them I remember.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have seen lately, or later you have seen, the list of these bodies that were uncovered at Katyn?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you recognize in that list which was published the names of any men that left the camp with you as some of the 300?

Mr. B. I have known three names. There are only three names that I remember, because these people were usually mixed up; they took people from different barracks and different parts of the camp, but I remember three names.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And the last time you saw them was at this railroad station where you were separated from them?

Mr. B. Yes, and other names I have known on the list. I can say those names. The first was Mr. Tucholski. He was a lecturer at the Technical Institute in Warsaw. The second was Mr. Korowajczyk, and the third one Lieutenant Zoltowski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was his first name; was it Marceli?

Mr. B. I think so; yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. So you definitely identify three names of those from whom you were separated on that last journey?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now you have seen descriptions which the Germans and Russians both agree on as to what the bodies were wearing that were buried at Katyn. Now the last time you saw these men, were they wearing the clothes in which they were buried in the graves at Katyn, overcoats, boots and so on?

Mr. B. Yes, because we were all wearing overcoats and boots; it was at a time when the snow was lying.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, the way you have learned now and lately in the reports that are coming out, the way the bodies were found in the graves at Katyn, those are the clothes they were wearing when you last saw them?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Just one or two questions. Were you taken to Moscow?

Mr. B. I was taken to Moscow from Smolensk. I was about 2 weeks in prison at Smolensk, and from there I was transferred under special guard to Moscow.

Mr. DONDERO. You were put in prison at Moscow?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you talk with some Russian officers?

Mr. B. In Moscow?

Mr. DONDERO. Yes.

Mr. B. I talked to many prisoners there.

Mr. DONDERO. No. Did you talk with Russian officers?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What Congressman Dondero wants to know is did you talk with any high-ranking Russian officers regarding the fate of your comrade officers?

Mr. B. I was asking my interrogation judge and some higher officer of NKVD, whose name I do not know, to whom I was brought by my interrogation judge—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he tell you anything about the fate of your comrade officers?

Mr. B. They told me: "The fate of your comrades is very nice. They are being sent home to their families"; but they told me that because I conducted anti-Soviet spying, I have to stay in prison; that is what they answered me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One other question. When you were at this station Gniezdovo, did you hear any shouts or any other strange sounds?

Mr. B. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There was nothing unusual that you heard?

Mr. B. I heard nothing unusual.

Mr. FLOOD. Now I show you a list of names of the bodies that were discovered at Katyn which is already in evidence in the hearings in America, it was exhibit 5A in Chicago, and direct your attention to page 83 thereof and ask you if you recognize this name of Leonard Korowajczyk?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now direct your attention also to page 176 of the same exhibit, and ask you whether or not you recognize the name of Tucholski?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The first name is Tadeusz. I also direct your attention to page 198 of the same document exhibit and ask you if you recognize the name of Zoltowski. There are several Zoltowski's mentioned. Just see if you can identify from any additional information in this document the particular Zoltowski that you knew and mentioned in your testimony?

Mr. B. As far as I remember his name it was Marceli Zoltowski.

Mr. FLOOD. You identify Marceli Zoltowski as the man you knew?

Mr. B. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And I believe you said as far as you knew, he was a cavalry officer?

Mr. B. Yes, he was a cavalry officer.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. Now let me say this: From your experiences as a prisoner and from the testimony related here, have you in your own mind decided who was responsible for the murders and massacre at Katyn—in your own mind?

Mr. B. Certainly when I was in Russia—

Chairman MADDEN. Just answer briefly.

Mr. B. There is no evidence as far as I know of the actual murder, but there are very many corroborating circumstances which show that this was done by the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is that your personal opinion?

Mr. B. That is my personal opinion.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. Now nobody has promised any recompense or emoluments to you for coming here to testify today, or any day? Nobody has promised you anything to testify here, have they?

Mr. B. Certainly not.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all. We want to thank you for your testimony. The committee will now adjourn and will reconvene at 2.

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p. m., the select committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The next witness is Col. Stanislaw Lubodziecki.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony. Mr. Interpreter, will you interpret that in Polish to the witness?

(The admonition was interpreted to the witness.)

Mr. FLOOD. Ask him if he clearly understands the admonition.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says he is a former judge and that he understands the admonition very clearly.

Chairman MADDEN. You will be sworn. You solemnly swear by the God Almighty that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and not conceal anything, so help you God.

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF COLONEL STANISLAW LUBODZIECKI (THROUGH INTERPRETER, MR. ROMAN PUCINSKI), 54, SOLENT ROAD, LONDON, N. W. 6.

Mr. FLOOD. What is your full name, Colonel?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Stanislaw Lubodziecki.

Mr. FLOOD. You are a former colonel in what Army?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. In the Polish Army.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a colonel in the Polish Army in 1939?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. From 1919.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you on active duty in 1939?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. In 1931 I went into retirement.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you recalled up as a reservist in 1939?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. How did you appear in a Russian prison camp?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. As a retired officer of the Polish Army, I was entitled to wear the Polish Army uniform.

Mr. FLOOD. How did you become a Russian prisoner?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. While I was near the village of Zbaraza on September 17, 1939, a Russian unit had taken me prisoner.

Mr. FLOOD. What were you doing in uniform?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. I left Warsaw in uniform because I was anticipating that I would be recalled for active duty. I had notified the Polish Army that I was available and ready for recall to active duty.

Mr. FLOOD. To what camp did the Russians take you?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. First I was taken to a camp at Putivl District, Sumy County.

Mr. FLOOD. On what date, if you remember, were you taken to either of the three camps connected with this investigation?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. I was removed from the camp that I just named on November 2 and I arrived at Kozielsk on November 3, 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. You arrived at Kozielsk on November 3, 1939. How long did you remain at Kozielsk?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. To the 8th March 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many of the original group of officers at Kozielsk during the time you were there were in Kozielsk when you left there on March 8, 1940?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The question was how many remained?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes, how many remained.

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. In excess of 4,000.

Mr. FLOOD. When you left on March 8, 1940?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now where were you taken?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Myself and 14 others, consisting of Polish Army officers and civilians, were taken by rail car from Kozielsk to the city of Smolensk. I am able to give you some of the names of those 14 that were with me.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened to the 14?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. After remaining at the Smolensk camp for 1 day, I and another Polish officer, Capt. Leopold Lichnowski, were taken to Kharkov and we remained there 1 day and then we were transferred to Kiev.

Mr. FLOOD. What information do you have in connection with the Katyn matter?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. First, when we were still at Kozielsk, we were told that we would be taken out of there. They told us that they would take us to the German occupation zone, and later we were told that we would be taken to western Siberia, to the town of Barnaul. My friends told me that they were told by a Russian NKVD officer, who was a Pole, a Major Urbanowicz, that they are going to evacuate these prisoners from this camp.

Mr. FLOOD. What camp?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Kozielsk, but that if they knew where they would be evacuated to, their eyes would virtually pop out. When I arrived at Kiev, an NKVD officer, a lieutenant, told me that hereafter this train will be used primarily for transferring prisoners from Kozielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. To where?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. He did not tell me where.

Mr. FLOOD. How long were you a prisoner at any of the camps in Russia? When did you leave Russia?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. When I arrived at Kiev, the NKVD officer reported to his superiors that he had brought two officers from the camp numbered 13, and at that time I learned that our camp Kozielsk was known as camp 13.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you, to this day, ever meet or see or hear from any of your brother officers who were in Kozielsk at the time you were there, between November 3, 1939, and today?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. After I had remained at Kozielsk a few days, a group of 100 officers and civilians arrived there, and shortly thereafter they were again removed from the camp. In that group were included Colonel Widacki, who was the mayor of Tarnopol, and Lieutenant Colonel Kornilowicz, whose wife was the daughter of the famous Polish author, Henry Sienkiewicz. From this group I had met one of the officers, an artillery lieutenant named Bober, who was in the original group of 100, and I met him in the prison in Kiev in October of 1940. He subsequently joined the second division of the Polish Army and fought in Italy and is still today alive.

Mr. FLOOD. Did that officer ever tell you that he had been taken from Kozielsk to Pavilishchev Bor at any time?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Is there anything else you have to say in connection with Katyn? Did you discuss it with anybody? Did any Russians or any Poles ever discuss Katyn or Smolensk with you?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. I have always been very much interested in this matter. I have done considerable research and I have lectured on the subject and I have prepared a little brochure of my own.

Mr. FLOOD. What I want to know is: What direct information can you give us from your own experience, not from your research?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. A Polish officer had told me while I was at Kiev—he was being tried there also—that somewhere in the middle of 1940 he had observed in Kharkov, and in other villages where the NKVD was interrogating various Polish prisoners, large posters in color on which was a picture of a Russian bayonet and pierced through this bayonet on these posters were the caps of Polish officers, and there was some writing on these posters which said in effect: "This is the end of the bourgeoisie army."

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would like to ask this witness, Mr. Chairman, if he can identify from the official list of the corpses that were found at Katyn any of the names of those 14 that were taken with him to Smolensk and he had lost track of.

Mr. FLOOD. Suppose you let him take this list and go out in the other room and look at it. Meantime, we can take another witness. There is nothing further with this witness, is there? The witness is now being shown the official copy of the list of those who were discovered at Katyn and is being requested by the committee to examine that list to determine whether or not from that list he can find the names of any of the 14 brother officers who were taken by the Russians from Kozielsk with him to Smolensk. If he does so, he can notify the committee and we will immediately recall him for identification.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The next witness is Mr. Zygmunt Luszczyński.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony. Now, Mr. Interpreter, will you translate that for the witness?

(The admonition was interpreted to the witness.)

Mr. FLOOD. Do you understand the provisions of the admonition?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says that he does understand.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you swear by the God Almighty that you will, to your best knowledge, tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and not conceal anything, so help you God?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ZYGMUNT LUSZCZYNSKI (THROUGH INTERPRETER, MR. ROMAN PUCINSKI), 43, ANGEL ROAD, LONDON, N. W. 3

Mr. FLOOD. What is your full name?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Zygmunt Luszczyński.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you ever a member of the Armed Forces of Poland?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes, I was.

Mr. FLOOD. When and where?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was a captain in the Polish Army, and just before the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 I was the chief of the police in the province of Polesia, Brzesc.

Mr. FLOOD. When and where did the Russians take you prisoner?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was taken prisoner on the 24th September while I was in civilian clothes, and I had been informing General Kleberk of the strength and disposition of Russian troops in Brzesc.

Mr. FLOOD. To which of the three camps connected with this investigation were you taken by the Russians?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was arrested in Brzesc. I stayed there for 3 days and then I was transferred to Ostashkov.

Mr. FLOOD. When did you arrive in Ostashkov.

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. The trip lasted 2 weeks, and I arrived at Ostashkov in the middle of October 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. How long did you stay at Ostashkov.

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Until April 24, 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you taken on April 24, 1940?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. We were loaded into a train at Ostashkov. There were 7 cars and approximately 300 people in this particular train load.

Mr. FLOOD. To where were they taken?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. We were severely beaten as we were loaded into these prison cars. We were taken from Ostashkov to Wiasma, where we remained at the siding for 3 days; then six of the seven cars were disconnected and they went in some other direction, and the car in which I was present was taken to Babynino.

Mr. FLOOD. You finally were taken then to the camp at Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And at that camp at Pavlishchev Bor did you meet any other Polish officers from any other Russian camps?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes. At that time I met approximately 200 officers from other camps.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you meet any officers from Starobielsk?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you meet any officers from Kozielsk?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were from Ostashkov?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you were at Pavlishchev Bor with Polish officers who had come from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Pavlishchev Bor?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. How many went with you in that one car that was detached from the train from the Ostashkov camp to Pavlishchev Bor?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Approximately 50.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever hear from anybody—military, civilian, or anybody else—that was in those other six cars that left on the seven-car train with you from Ostashkov, to this day? Have you ever heard of them since?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Never. I have never heard of those people again.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever talk to anybody who, in any way, directly or indirectly, had ever heard one word from any of the people that were in those other six cars that left that train?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I have never; but, prior to our departure from Ostashkov, there were regular departures of trains every day consisting of some 200 prisoners that were removed from Ostashkov. They were going to the trains.

Mr. FLOOD. When you got to Ostashkov on October 15, 1939, you must have been one of the first prisoners that got to Ostashkov, were you not?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Ostashkov was quite a big camp?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes; it was a large camp on an island.

Mr. FLOOD. If you guess, or know, or ever heard, about how many prisoners at the most were ever at Ostashkov during this period of time?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. There were first of all the Polish police, approximately 2,000; then there was the border guard, approximately 300; Polish jail guards, or prison guards from Poland, approximately 200; the military police and officers and noncommissioned officers.

Mr. FLOOD. And civilians?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Civilians and clergy.

Mr. FLOOD. Judges?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. District attorneys?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Lawyers?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Priests?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Approximately 100 clergymen, priests.

Mr. FLOOD. Priests, Rabbis, and Protestant ministers?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Prominent businessmen?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes; and landowners.

Mr. FLOOD. Professors?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Intelligentsia?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Public officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Government bureaucratic officials?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes; members of the courts too.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many, in a round number?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Approximately 5,500.

Mr. FLOOD. From the time that you arrived at Ostashkov, October 15, 1939, what was done, if anything, by the Russians with any of the inmates?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. We were all interrogated during the time.

Mr. FLOOD. I mean, were any of the people who were in Ostashkov during the time you were there ever taken out of the camp?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Were they ever removed from time to time in transports by train, taken some place else?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Individuals were removed.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they ever take any trainloads of 300 or 400 like your trainload out of Ostashkov at any time between October 15, 1939, and April 24, 1940, when you left?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Up to the 1st of April the evacuation consisted of individuals. After the 1st of April there was a steady evacuation, almost daily, of trainloads consisting of from 200 to 300.

Mr. FLOOD. Of all the people that you saw, met, and talked to, Poles, who were in the camp at Ostashkov between October 15, 1939, and April 24, 1940, with the exception of the one carload who went to Pavlishchev Bor with you, have you ever seen or heard of any of those people since?

Mr. PUCINSKI. No. The witness wants to explain here that after he had arrived with his group at Pavlishchev Bor, about 2 weeks later another trainload of approximately 100 Poles arrived at Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. From Ostashkov?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. From Ostashkov. We were told at Ostashkov that we were being taken into the forests to cut timber when we left Ostashkov.

Mr. FLOOD. Ask him if he has anything further in connection with the camp or the people?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness points out that after the amnesty in 1941 he was a Polish intelligence officer, and that he and others participated in an extensive search, being given complete freedom in Russia, in an effort to find the missing officers from that camp, without any success.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you one of the investigators named by General Anders to cooperate with Czapski?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes; I supplied information. I was one of those named, and I supplied information to Czapski.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a member of one of the several commissions that was set up by General Anders, with the permission of the Russians, that operated in several different districts in Russia, looking for the Polish missing officers?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was not a member of one of those commissions, but I was the man who compiled and evaluated the information coming in from those commissions.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you located?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was in Tockoie.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you stay in that one place?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was the chief of the intelligence division of the sixth division.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have any conversations with any NKVD officers or with any Russian officials, civilian or military, at any time during the course of your search for the Polish officers with reference to the missing officers?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was in constant communication and discussion with the NKVD officers, because that was the most frequently discussed topic.

Mr. FLOOD. Do I understand you were chief of intelligence of the sixth army group?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes; I was.

Mr. FLOOD. Sixth Division of the Polish Army?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What was a sample conversation that you had of all these conversations you had with the NKVD officers with reference to the missing Polish officers?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I shall give you the name of Colonel Gulakewicz, who was an NKVD officer, who was assigned as liaison officer to our division.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened? What did he talk about?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. He had given me repeated assurances that the search for these missing Polish officers was continuing without end at the central headquarters of the NKVD.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that the only kind of answer you got?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. That is the only kind of answer we got.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that the kind of answer you got all the time?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. More or less these were the same kind of answers, evasive answers, which had apparently for their purpose a delaying effort.

Mr. FLOOD. And, as far as you are concerned, your search as intelligence officer for one or any of the Polish missing officers was without success.

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. We had tirelessly questioned everybody, every Pole, that came from all parts of Russia, from the northernmost parts of Russia, in an effort to find at least one name of those who were interned in any of those camps, and we were without success. There were at first indications that these officers may have been taken to the St. Francis Islands way up in the northern part of Russia, but our subsequent investigation proved that this was not so.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever get any hint, did you ever get any rumors, did you ever get any lead of any kind, from any Russians of any category, civilian, military or police, having to do with the missing Polish officers?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. We always thought that we were on the right track and that we would very shortly find them, but it all developed that our ideas and our beliefs were misleading.

Mr. FLOOD. That is not the answer to my question.

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. No; we did not.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask a few questions. What do you know personally, if anything, regarding the Katyn massacre?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I was convinced during my search in Russia that these people were dead.

Mr. DONDERO. The question is: What do you know personally, if anything?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. I have never been in Katyn, either before or during the actual investigation or search for these officers.

Mr. DONDERO. And you never talked with anyone who had been there?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. No; I never talked to those people, because they are not alive now. All our investigations kept pointing toward Katyn, and we used to send our own officers into that general area to talk to the inhabitants of the area, hoping that they might come back with some information or what-have-you.

Mr. DONDERO. You answered Mr. Flood that you had been in touch with many NKVD officers and what I want to know is: Did you talk with any of them who had any connection with Katyn?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. No.

Mr. DONDERO. And all the investigations made in search of these Polish officers were made in Russian territory?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Yes. We had complete freedom of movement. We had a free hand.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask you this: With all your experiences in the camp and then the work you did within Russian territory after you were out of prison, have you come to any conclusion as to who committed the murders, massacre, at Katyn?

Mr. LUSZCZYNSKI. Unquestionably Russia. There is no question about it. I have observed the tactics of the NKVD from the borderlands of Poland for the past 20 years, and I am well familiar with their tactics.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all, and we want to thank you for coming here and testifying today.

Col. Stanislaw Lubodziecki, recalled.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, you previously had testified, and at the end of your testimony the committee submitted to you a list of the officers who were found at Katyn, and we asked you whether or not you would find on that list any of the names of the 14 fellow officer prisoners who were taken by the Russians with you to Smolensk. Have you examined that list?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Yes; I have.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you find on that list any of the names of the 14?

Colonel LUBODZIECKI. Yes. I have found all five of the names that I had previously submitted.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Interpreter, will you read into the record, and give the page from the exhibit, and see that the record shows the names that the colonel identified from the list.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The first name that the witness points out is that of Capt. Josef Graniczny, whose name appears on page 58. The next name is that of Lt. Col. August Starzenski, whose name appears on page 160. The next name is that of a civilian, Julian Wasowski, whose name appears on page 180. The next name is Captain Lichnowski, no first name given, and the name appears on page 371.

Chairman MADDEN. We want to thank you for testifying, Mr. Lubodziecki.

**TESTIMONY OF MRS. JANINA KNOPP, (THROUGH INTERPRETER,
MR. ROMAN PUCINSKI), 54 SOLENT ROAD, LONDON, N. W. 6**

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which

may arise as the result of the testimony. Mr. Interpreter, will you translate that for the witness?

(The admonition was interpreted to the witness.)

Mr. FLOOD. Will you ask the witness if she clearly understands the admonition?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness understands the admonition.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you swear by God the Almighty that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes; I do.

Mr. FLOOD. How long have you been in London?

Mrs. KNOPP. From September 1947.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you born in Poland?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you married to a Pole?

Mrs. KNOPP. My husband was a lieutenant colonel in the Polish Army.

Mr. FLOOD. Was he in the Polish Army in 1939?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes; he was on active duty in 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you married to him at that time?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Was he taken prisoner by the Russians?

Mrs. KNOPP. As the commanding officer of his regiment he was retreating when the Russian invasion took place and he was taken prisoner.

Mr. FLOOD. To which of the three camps that we have been discussing in this investigation was your husband taken?

Mrs. KNOPP. He was taken to Starobielsk on the 1st October 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever write to him when he was at Starobielsk?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes; I wrote to him.

Mr. FLOOD. How frequently would you write to him—once a week?

Mrs. KNOPP. I wrote more frequently. I wrote at least every one week after he was there.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever send him any pictures of yourself or of your family or your friends, or newspapers, or anything?

Mrs. KNOPP. No. He had written me requesting that I send him a picture of myself and our little daughter, which I did, but he never received it.

Mr. FLOOD. Did he write to you frequently? Did he answer your letters?

Mrs. KNOPP. They were permitted to write only once every month, but for some reason or other I received letters from him about once every 3 weeks.

Mr. FLOOD. How did you first find out or learn that he was a prisoner of the Russians and at Starobielsk?

Mrs. KNOPP. In the 1st or 2d October I received a card from him in which he gave me his address as Camp 15, Starobielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. When did you first write to him—right away?

Mrs. KNOPP. Almost immediately.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you remember or recall, the date of the last letter that you had from your husband?

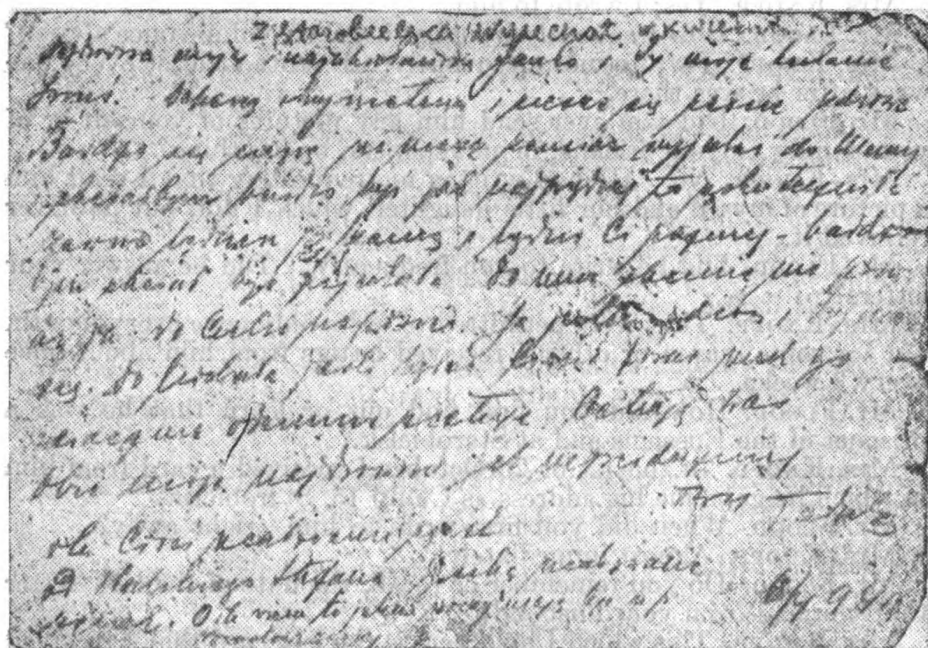
Mrs. KNOPP. This which I hold here is the last card that I received from him, dated the 6th of April 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness shows the committee a post card which we will ask the stenographer to mark as exhibit 12.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I state for the record that the date in Polish appears in the reverse of what it does in the United States. The day is first and then the month. "6/4" is the 6th day of April.

(Post card referred to was marked as "Exhibit 12," and is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 12



(NOTE.—A translation of this card appears on following page immediately after exhibit 13.)

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is shown for identification exhibit 12; and I ask her: Is this the card that you tell us was the last word you received from your husband at the camp at Starobielsk?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes, this is the last card I received from my husband, and I received this card in mid-June. I had been taken to Russia around the middle of April and this card had gone to Lwow and it was then forwarded to me in Russia, where I was put to work in a factory making bricks.

Mr. FLOOD. By the Russians?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. But the card was addressed to your home address by your husband?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And was received at the home address?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And forwarded to you in Russia; is that correct?

Mrs. KNOPP. My husband addressed this card to Lwow, where I was staying with his parents. I was a fugitive. I was captured and I was taken to Russia, and the card was then forwarded to me.

Mr. FLOOD. I direct the attention of the witness to that part of exhibit 12 whereon is to be found the date, and ask her to read from the card what was the date of the card.

Mrs. KNOPP. 6th April 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. And was that date put on there in your husband's handwriting?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes, of course.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you identify that card and the writing of that date and that handwriting as that of your husband?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes, I do. There is on the card, in a different handwriting and a different pencil used, the notation that he has left Starobielsk in April and this notation was made on this card by a friend of his, apparently. I presume he was evacuated from Starobielsk and he probably left this card with a friend to have it posted and forwarded to me from Starobielsk, and the additional writing on here was apparently put on by that friend. I have the text of the card in which he says he is being evacuated from Starobielsk and that he will forward me the address. He says: "Do not write to me until I give you my new address."

Mr. FLOOD. The witness shows the committee a copy of the written matter by the husband on exhibit 12, which I will ask the stenographer to mark "Exhibit 13."

(Transcription of the material written on exhibit 12 was marked as "Exhibit 13," and is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 13

Karta pocztowa adresowana: "Lwow, ul. Sobieskiego 32, Janina Knoppowa". Adres nadawcy: "C. C. C. P. Starobielsk, skrzynka pocztowa Nr. 15, Tadeusz Stanislawowicz Knopp". Stempel pocztowy "Starobielsk" "12.4.40". Adres do Lwowa przekreslony i napisane: K. C. C. P. miasto Semipalatynsk, Cegielnia Nr. 2. Stempel pocztowy C. C. C. P. Zana Semei Wsch. Kazachstan 21.6.40".

Na odwrocie:

z Starobielska wyjechal w kwietniu

Najdrozsza moja i najukochansza Janko i Ty moje kochanie Inus. Depesze otrzymalem i ciesze sie, zescie zdrowe. Bardzo sie ciesze, ze masz zamiar wyjechac do Mamy i chcialbym bardzo, bys jaknajpredzej to skutecznila, zawsze bedziesz z Mama i bedzie Ci razniej—bardzo bym chcial, bys pojechala. Do mnie obecnie nie pisz, az ja do Ciebie napisze. Ja jestem zdrow i trzymam sie. Do Michala

jesli bedzie Ciocia pisac, niech go serdecznie ode mnie ucaluje. Caluje Was obie moje najdrozsze jaknajserdeczniej. Twój Tadzik. Dla Cioci ucalowanie raczek. Od Halskiego Stefana i Genka ucalowanie raczek. O ile wiem, to jakies rzeczy maja byc u p. Nowachowiczowej. 6.4.940.
Ex. 13

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is now shown exhibit 13, and I ask her if that is an exact transcription of the material written on the card by her husband that she told us about.

Mrs. KNOPP. It is.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you have that translated for the record? Read it to the committee now.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The card is addressed to Lwow, Sobieski Street, 32, and it is addressed to Janiana Knoppwa. The address of the sender is given as "C. C. C. P. Starobielsk." The stamp mark is number 15, and the name Tadeusz Stanislawowicz Knopp. The mailing stamp shows "Starobielsk, 12th April, 1940." The message on the postcard is:

My Dearest and my lovely Janko and you—my dear Inus. I received your telegram and am very happy that you are healthy. I am very happy that you are planning to go to mother, and I would like very much for you to do this as soon as possible. It will always be easier for you with mother. I would want very much for you to go there. Do not write to me at this time until I write to you. I am healthy and holding together. If our aunt writes to Michael, let her hug him for me. I send both of you my most sincere hugs and kisses. Your Tadzik. Also for aunt best wishes. Also best wishes from Halski, Stefan and Eugene. As far as I know there should be some things with Mrs. Nowochowicz—and the date is given as the 6th of April 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you ever seen a list of the names of any of the officers that were found at Katyn?

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes, I did in the book entitled "The Massacre of Katyn".

Mr. FLOOD. We now show you the list that has been placed in evidence at hearings in the United States of the men who were found at Katyn and direct your attention to page 264 thereof and ask you if you can identify the name as marked.

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes, I do, except that the age is incorrect. The age is shown as 10 years too much. It is a mistake.

Mr. DONDERO. Have you ever heard from your husband since that card was received?

Mrs. KNOPP. Not a single word.

Chairman MADDEN. Nobody offered you any recompense or emolument for coming here today to testify, did they—any pay?

Mrs. KNOPP. No; of course not.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is shown exhibit 14 and asked where she received that card, where did she get it.

Mrs. KNOPP. My mother was in the German zone. In 1942 she died and when she died some of her personal belongings were sent to me and amongst those was this card.

Mr. FLOOD. To whom is the card addressed?

Mrs. KNOPP. This card is addressed to my husband, my mother's son-in-law, at Starobielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. At the camp at Starobielsk.

Mrs. KNOPP. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. There is a stamp on the face of the card marked "Ret ur parti" and there is also a postmark from Moscow. Will you

read into the record the date of the cancellation stamp, postmark from Moscow, on the face of the card?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The date of the postmark is the 5th of June 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. That indicates with a stamp that the card was returned as stamped, as I have just read, to the sender, in this case the witness's mother, and the date was from Moscow; is that correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, that is correct.

(Post card referred to was marked as "Exhibit 14," and is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 14



Kochany Tadeu! Nie pisalem dotychczas
do Ciebie bo Lenka pisala podajac adres
ze lepiej nie pisac - ale nie przesadzaj
nie pisac - bo Lenka mowila mi
niektore co 2 miesiace - ostatnio pisala
ze robi starania aby przyjechac ale teraz
swoty idzie, i sa na koncie a jej z Lenka
nie ma - Tak czekam zeby przyjechaly
przyjechaly - Tak ze wroci mi Tadeu
Tadeu? Mnie on nie dopisuje - 24.5.1940
Serdecznie Ci pozycz i Ludwika - wiec
Ludwik nie chce jest jego brat. Stach M. 2

[Translation from Polish]

[Post card]

[Addressed to:]

USSR

Tadeusz Knopp

Starobielsk

Post Office Box 15

[From:]

Eugenia Zenerman

Rzeszow Gerinckstrasse 6

Dear Tadziu! I have not written to you, because Janka wrote, gave the address, and counseled not to write. Today, however, I have decided to write, because through Janka I get news only once every two months. Lately she informed [me] that she tried to get here, but although transports are coming to an end, she and [illegible] have not arrived. I am expecting them and wish they were already here. How is your health? My eyes are failing me. I kiss you fondly, [and] also Ludwik M. Perhaps Ludwik knows where his brother Staszek M. is? Eugenia Z. May 24, 1940.

Chairman MADDEN. We wish to thank you for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF TADEUSZ FELSZTYN

Mr. FELSZTYN. I speak English.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you give your name?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Tadeusz Felsztyn.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you will run the risk of actions in the courts by anyone who considers he has suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony.

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes, I understand that.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you agree to that?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes. Thank you very much.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you swear by the Almighty God that you will according to the best of your knowledge tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where do you reside, Mr. Felsztyn?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I reside in Spink Hill near Sheffield, in England.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you an officer of the Polish Army?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I was, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Since 1914 of the Polish Legion.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where were you in 1939?

Mr. FELSZTYN. In 1939 I was in the Institute of Armament Research.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In what capacity?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I was head of the general department; it was investigation of new discoveries.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you taken prisoner by the Russians?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes, I was taken prisoner on the 17th of September 1939.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where were you taken to?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I was taken as prisoner near Mizocz. I was a Commander of the Military Transport and the Institute of Research of Armament.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where were you taken from there?

Mr. FELSZTYN. From there I was taken to Szepeitowka and from Szepeitowka to a camp in the Ukraine near Sumy, and from there to Kozielsk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When did you arrive at Kozielsk?

Mr. FELSZTYN. It was the 1st day of November 1939.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long did you remain in Kozielsk?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I remained until the end of April—the 26th of April.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened on the 26th of April 1940?

Mr. FELSZTYN. We were taken to a military transport. There was a personal search. I was one of the last and it was rather a very superficial one, so that I could keep many of the papers which I had with me without any difficulty. The first were searched very exactly.

Chairman MADDEN. Talk a little more slowly.

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes. The first were searched very exactly, but as I was one of the last, I was searched very lightly. I could keep many papers with me without any difficulty.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where were you taken from Kozielsk?

Mr. FELSZTYN. From Kozielsk our train went to Sukiennicz. It is a Russian name.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you released there?

Mr. FELSZTYN. No; we saw an inscription in our train. We were waiting to go west to Smolensk. There was an inscription that we were alighting west of Smolensk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What do you mean by "inscriptions"—where were they?

Mr. FELSZTYN. You see, the Russian cars are done in such a way that at the end there is a hinge, and on a hinge is a bench, so that you can put it this way or horizontally.

Chairman MADDEN. The witness indicates the moving of a bench up and down.

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes. There was an inscription below the bench. The bench was horizontal; and in the corner of the bench—in a dark corner—there was a Polish inscription.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know how that got there?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes. The inscription was: "We were unloaded two stations west of Smolensk"; and there were some signatures. I did not know any of the signatures. I do not remember the names. There were three or four people who signed their names.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to you after that?

Mr. FELSZTYN. After that the train stopped there. We were stopped some hours, and after I was moving, instead of west, to east, and were taken to Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long did you remain at Pavlishchev Bor?

Mr. FELSZTYN. At Pavlishchev Bor Camp I think we remained a month.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then where did you go to?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Then we came to—what is the name?—Griazowiec.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened at Griazowiec?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I was in Griazowiec till General Anders came to us.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And then you became a part of General Anders' Army?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are you an expert in ammunition matters?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I was Head of the Infantry Research Commission for 4 years.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is 4 years prior to 1939?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes; it was 1926 to 1930. Later I was in the Military Institute of Research, and I was always very interested in ammunition, from my personal point of view, as from the point of view of sport, shooting sport, in which I was connected very strongly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you ever have any opportunity to examine bullets allegedly used at Katyn?

Mr. FELSZTYN. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What experience have you had in ballistics? You understand the word "ballistics"?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes; I understand. I was lieutenant of ballistics, at Warsaw University during 10 years.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are you also an expert in small arms?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes; I was an expert on a Polish-German incident in 1930 or 1931. I was a Polish expert in this frontier incident.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Also on munitions and small arms?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you ever seen any bullets allegedly used at Katyn?

Mr. FELSZTYN. No. The question that was put to me by the Polish command when the Katyn report came was: How could Russians use the 7.65 German ammunition?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have not seen the bullets?

Mr. FELSZTYN. No, I have not.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But you were given an account of the fact that 7.65 bullets were used?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Not bullets, but cases. Ammunition cases were found in the graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Shells?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Shells.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you made any report on that?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes, I have made a report.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you give us the report of your findings?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes; the report is the following: We had in Poland plenty of German Geco ammunition. The 7.65 caliber was very frequently found in Poland.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is Geco ammunition?

Mr. FELSZTYN. It is of German manufacture. It was also of the best German ammunition, and, as we did not produce much ammunition of 7.65 caliber in Poland, we imported plenty of German ammunition, mainly for private purposes, for shooting purposes, for sporting purposes. Many officers had 7.65 revolvers with them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know what type of revolvers were used by Russians?

Mr. FELSZTYN. The Russians had a Nagan gun.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What caliber is that?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I cannot tell you exactly. I have not much practice with them. I think it was 7.62.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you use 7.65 ammunition in 7.62 guns?

Mr. FELSZTYN. No; but they have another revolver, a pistol, the Tokarew pistol.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What kind of gun is that?

Mr. FELSZTYN. It is a pistol which uses 7.65 ammunition.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And is that a type of gun used by the Russians?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I have seen this gun in Russia myself.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you seen it in substantial amounts?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I cannot tell you. We had two or three of them to teach our soldiers all different kinds of ammunition. I remember very well we had two or three of them as models.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that a standard issue for NKVD officers?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I do not know that it is a standard issue, but I have seen it personally, and cavalry officers carrying these pistols, and I have seen them carry Polish pistols.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you tell us whether that type of gun could use 7.65 ammunition?

Mr. FELSZTYN. 7.65—it is just their caliber.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It is their caliber?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. 7.65?

Mr. FELSZTYN. 7.65.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then do I understand you to state that German ammunition could be used in that type of gun used by Russian officers?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Certainly it would. Certainly when you have to shoot much, it is far easier to shoot with the 7.65 pistol than with a Nagan, which has a very hard trigger; it is a very good revolver, but it is rather a tiring one if you have to shoot much.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything further that you wish to add in relation to this matter to which you have just testified?

Mr. FELSZTYN. About ammunition, no; but I have two things perhaps to add from the Kozielsk camp.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is there that you want to add?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I was living in the same building at the same time with General Minkiewicz, and he reported the talks he had with Comrade Zarubin. I remember two talks which are I think characteristic. One was the following one: It could be about February 1940, as this was a psychological seesaw in our camp and plenty of rumours, and General Minkiewicz came to the camp and asked him: "Do not make us nervous, as all the rumours are spreading, but tell us what do you want to do with us." Comrade Zarubin told him: "I do not think it would be right. Let us suppose we have decided to keep you to the end of the war. It could last 5 or 6 years. You would get mad if I told you. I assure you it would be inhuman. I assure you, general, it is better for you not to know what we want to do with you."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you a personal witness of this conversation, or was that conversation reported to you by the general?

Mr. FELSZTYN. The conversation was repeated to me by the general immediately after he came back.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know anything else having any bearing on Katyn?

Mr. FELSZTYN. When the transport started, Captain Alexandrowicz was asked by General Minkiewicz: "Where are the transports going?" The answer was: "You are going to the transit camps where

you will have to decide: Do you want to be given back to the Germans or do you ask to remain in Russia? Those of you who will have a very strong will can perhaps go to a new country." This is what Alexandrowicz said the moment the transports were ready to leave.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you personally ever seen Zarubin?

Mr. FELSZTYN. Yes, I have seen him many times.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you seen Zarubin who was the Ambassador in London?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I have seen only his photograph.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you find any resemblance in the two?

Mr. FELSZTYN. It looks to me to be the same person.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your best judgment is that the Zarubin who was at that time at Kozielsk—

Mr. FELSZTYN. It is my best impression—only from a photograph. I have never seen the man since. I recognized, when I was shown the photograph, very well the face and especially the hands of the man, as he used to speak keeping his hands on the table. I have a vivid impression of his hands, and when I saw the hands on the photograph, I had no doubt they are the same ones.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything further that you wish to add to the testimony?

Mr. FELSZTYN. I do not think so.

Chairman MADDEN. Well, we wish to thank you for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF MAJ. JAN KACZKOWSKI, 43 BROMLEY ROAD, LONDON, E 17

Mr. PUCINSKI. Major Kaczkowski.

Chairman MADDEN. What is your name and address?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Maj. Jan Kaczkowski, 43 Bromley Road, London, E. 17.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make your statements, I wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf in respect of libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony. You understand that?

Major KACZKOWSKI. I understand that and I agree.

Chairman MADDEN. Now you are to be sworn: Do you swear by the Almighty God that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Major KACZKOWSKI. I swear.

Mr. FLOOD. You are a major in the Polish Army?

Major KACZKOWSKI. A reservist.

Mr. FLOOD. A reserve major in the Polish Army?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were a reserve major on active duty?

Major KACZKOWSKI. I was there in Russia as reservist captain.

Mr. FLOOD. You are aware of the problem arising out of the Katyn investigation?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You know of the thousands of officers whose bodies were discovered there?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You have heard and read, as we have been advised by other witnesses, of the frantic efforts made by the friends and the families and relatives of the missing officers to find out where they were?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes, I do.

Mr. FLOOD. As a result of that I am advised that the Polish Government of General Sikorski, with the cooperation of General Anders, took some steps to try and be of assistance to the families and the friends of the missing officers; is that correct?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you identified with such a project?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes. May I speak Polish?

Mr. FLOOD. At this point the witness wishes to talk in Polish. Mr. Pucinski will translate. You were identified with that Polish Government project?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes (through interpreter).

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us in your own words what you did in your capacity and how this was set up?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes. In November of 1941 a special Bureau which would deal with the families of the officers who had been in these three camps was set up in General Anders' staff and I became the chief of that bureau. The purpose of this bureau was to try and locate all the soldiers who had been evacuated or transferred into Russia, to bring them back into the Polish Army, and then to give material assistance to their families. At the beginning Mr. Czapski was especially assigned to prepare a special project with our bureau of those Poles who had been taken prisoner and sent to the three camps, Kozielsk, Ostashkov, and Starobielsk. Later, however, that duty was assigned exclusively to myself and Mr. Czapski was assigned to go into Russia; that is, to go all over Russia in an effort to locate these men.

We had received hundreds and thousands of letters—thousands of letters every day from families both in Poland and in Russia seeking out help in establishing contact with their relatives and for material help. Included in these letters were hundreds of postcards written in these three camps, Ostashkov, Starobielsk, and Kozielsk, written to the women who subsequently were writing to us asking us to locate their husbands or their sons. The cards were attached to the letters as evidence that these people had been in these three camps. I retained about 150 of these postcards as evidence that these people were in those camps, but I had returned all the others because the return of these cards had been in most cases requested by the families; they wanted to keep the cards as mementoes. Most of the postcards that I had seen had the last dates either in February, March, or the first few days of April. Now, most of the families that had been writing to us from Russia had been evacuated from Poland during the early days of April 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you say most or all of those cards?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says that none of these cards that came into his hands and which he examined were dated later than about the 10th or 15th April, 1940.

Major KACZKOWSKI. In all the correspondence that was sent to us the families stated that they had lost contact with their husbands or sons no later than about the middle of April, 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In all these many thousands of letters which you received, have you received one from any person inquiring about his loved one in any of these three camps which indicated that they had heard from them after April 1940?

Major KACZKOWSKI. No; none.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Not one?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Not one card or brief—not one. In every instance where these letters came to us they assured us that following or subsequent to about the middle of April these families had endeavored to get some information about their husbands or sons by either writing direct to the NKVD in Moscow or writing direct to the commanders of their respective camps. In all of these cards that I have seen which were returned from the camps or from Moscow there was a notation that the card had been censored in Moscow and that the prisoner who was being sought had either left or his whereabouts were unknown. Up to July or August of 1942 these families kept writing and inquiring about these men and they kept getting these answers. There is not much more that I can add to my testimony.

Mr. FLOOD. All of this testimony you are giving now, all of this reference to letters from the families, deals particularly with the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov; is that correct?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Not all.

Mr. FLOOD. Others?

Major KACZKOWSKI. There were some cards, some briefs, letters, written about persons who were not in these camps.

Mr. FLOOD. But most of them?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes, most of them.

Mr. FLOOD. Most of them were about men who were in those three camps?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes, they were about men who were in those three camps.

Mr. FLOOD. You had 150 cards that you had not returned?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you do with those 150 cards?

Major KACZKOWSKI. I left all the papers at my office in August of 1942 in Russia for Lieutenant Rudnicki, who was military attaché in Kuybishev—all papers.

Mr. FLOOD. All the records of your bureau?

Major KACZKOWSKI. All the records, money, and so on. Only one officer of my bureau, that is Mr. Voit, was left in Russia, and was sent to Kuybishev together with Lieutenant Rudnicki.

Mr. FLOOD. At the time when you left Russia, you were then chief of this bureau that we are talking about?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And when you left charge of the bureau, you left all of your records and money, including these 150 cards, with the military attaché you have just named?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes; Rudnicki.

Mr. FLOOD. During the time that you were chief of this bureau, did you yourself engage in any conversations or any communica-

tions with Moscow, Russian attachés in Kuybishev or any place else in connection with the search for the missing Polish officers?

Major KACZKOWSKI. I was in Kuybishev at the Polish Embassy; I was sent there by General Anders. I had been asked to seek these Polish officers also, but we accepted the answer we received from the Polish Embassy that Moscow answered there are none.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you yourself ever engage in any conversations with any of the Russians?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Never. The wife of a lieutenant veterinary, Dr. Drapalski, told me that she was in Kolhus in Siberia, and she has written many letters and every day had gone to the chief of the NKDV asking where is her husband who was in Kolhus. After some time this Russian officer became very interested in this wife; she was very young; and he told her: "You will not see him in Europe alive. You seek another husband, because it is not possible that you can find your husband in your life." That was the only thing that showed that something was wrong with him.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know the name of that woman you talked to?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes; she is now in London, but the address is unknown to me.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever see a list of the names of the officers whose bodies were found at Katyn?

Major KACZKOWSKI. We have grouped these names.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the name?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Drapalski.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the first name?

Major KACZKOWSKI. I cannot tell you.

Mr. FLOOD. Was it Erazem?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Veterinary doctor, lieutenant.

Mr. FLOOD. Now I direct the attention of the witness to the list of the names of the Polish officers who disappeared from these three camps and specifically to page 41 thereof and ask him whether or not the Drapalski now found there with the description of his rank in the army and duty in the army is the name of the officer whose wife he was talking to.

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes, that is the same. I have known this man, this lieutenant, and his wife.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you read from the document you are now holding the man's name and spell it correctly, and the information thereon describing him.

Major KACZKOWSKI. Drapalski. Now comes the Christian name: Erazm; second lieutenant, veterinary doctor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness is reading from page 41.

Chairman MADDEN. Is there anything further?

Mr. FLOOD. I would like you to give us the names of any associates who were with your Bureau during this work that you were carrying on, as you describe it, who might be available to testify here.

Major KACZKOWSKI. Here is a lieutenant or captain named Voit; then Captain Lubomirski. These two men are here.

Mr. FLOOD. Are these two men whose names you have just given us here now?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And they were identified with you and the work you described in Poland and Russia?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Thank you for testifying today.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You heard the last witness describe who the next witness is.

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. My name is Eugeniusz Lubomirski, captain of the Polish Army.

Chairman MADDEN. Captain, before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered that he had suffered an injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony. You understand that?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes, I understand.

Chairman MADDEN. Now you are to be sworn. Do you swear by Almighty God that you will, according to your best knowledge, testify to the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What is your rank and name?

TESTIMONY OF CAPTAIN EUGENIUSZ LUBOMIRSKI

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. My name is Eugeniusz Lubomirski; my rank is captain.

Mr. FLOOD. You have been and I believe still are identified with the London Polish Government?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. In what official capacity are you identified with that organization today?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. I was A. D. C. to General Anders during the whole war and during the whole campaign in Italy and since then I am his personal secretary here in London.

Mr. FLOOD. I believe it has been brought to the attention of the committee that you act as interpreter for the general?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. So that you understand English and Polish quite well?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard the previous witness, the Major, who has just testified?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were in a position here where you could hear that testimony?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Every word as he gave it?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you subscribe and corroborate the testimony given by the Major?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. I can completely confirm. I heard what he said and I confirm completely 100 percent what he said, because I worked with him and he was my superior in that office for military families in Gangi Gul in Russia.

Mr. DONDERO. You have not anything to add to that report?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. I have here the written statement which I made in 1949 and left it in the archives of the organization of former Polish prisoners in Russia. It says practically the same about those letters which, while doing my work, I read. In most of those letters the thing which struck me was that all of the families seeking information about their husbands, brothers, sons, and so on, repeatedly stated: "The last news I had about him was March, April, 1940." That was striking, and I usually put a red mark about it.

Mr. FLOOD. The purpose of the question was to find out whether or not you had anything that you could add to what the other witness before you said?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. I do not think I can add anything.

Mr. FLOOD. While this is being read in Polish by my colleague Mr. Machrowicz, may I ask you this: You heard the former witness recollect a conversation that he just happened to remember that he had with a certain lady?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Beyond what the major testified to, will you tax your memory for a minute and see if you can recall any such particular incident which was peculiar and personal to your experience in this job which either the major or your other associates might not have known about—any conversations, any personal experience, any telephone talks, any particular letter or incident during the entire job of this nature that you think would be helpful to the committee. Can you think of any such thing?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. No; during the time of my work in that office I could not add anything beyond that which is said in the written statement. Only I remember that during the whole time also when I was with General Anders and acting as interpreter, always the question of those officers came up.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have any conversations or communications of any nature whatsoever with any Russians of any standing—military, civilian, or N. K. V. D.—during the course of this search for the missing Polish officers?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. No, nothing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Subsequent to the time that you were working with Major Kaczkowski, you became adjutant of the commander of the Second Corps in Italy?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you continue in that capacity to receive letters of the type that you had been receiving when you were working with Major Kaczkowski?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. There again in Italy while working as adjutant to General Anders at our office, we received, of course, a great number of letters, including several letters from France, Switzerland and other countries in Europe. They were all from families who had written of having received letters from Kozielsk and Starobielsk, in 1940 and never again since 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. Did any of those letters indicate a date subsequent to April 1940?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Again the same phrase was repeated there: "March or April."

Mr. FLOOD. And nothing beyond?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. There were perhaps five or six letters.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness has shown the committee a document which I will ask to have marked as "Exhibit No. 15." I now show the captain exhibit 15 and ask him if that is the statement that he gave in 1949 in connection with this same matter?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes, it is.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you submit that now as an exhibit for the committee?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

(The report was marked "Exhibit 15" and entered in the record.)

Ex. 15

Eug. LUBOMIRSKI, kpt.
6, Fairholt Street,
London, S. W. 7.

Dnia 15 czerwca 1949.

Do:

Polskie Stowarzyszenie b. Więźniów Sowietkich, Londyn.

Oswiadczenie.

Stwierdzam, że w czasie mojej pracy w Biurze Rodzin Wojsk. i Poszukiwań Armii Polskiej w ZSRR na czele którego stał kpt. Kaczkowski, w czasie od kwietnia 1942 do lipca 1942 w Jangi Jul, przez moje ręce przeszło bardzo dużo listów i kartek, które pisane były przez osoby poszukujące swoich krewnych oficerów i szeregowych, co do których z korespondencji od nich otrzymywanej wiedzieli, że znajdowali się w końcu roku 1939 i w zimie i na wiosnę 1940r. w obozach Kozielsk, Starobielsk lub Ostaszkowie. Znamiennym w tych listach było, że prawie we wszystkich podkreślano, iż nie mogą zrozumieć dlaczego poprzednio, to znaczy do marca i kwietnia 1940r. (i te daty stale się powtarzały), raczej regularnie od nich otrzymywali wiadomości i odpowiedzi na listy do nich kierowane, a od powyżej podanego czasu wszelka korespondencja się urwała. Takich listów mam wrażenie było aż kilkaset. Podkreślałem w tych listach te daty czerwonym ołówkiem, gdyż wówczas kiedy właściwie nie konkretnego o losie tych jeńców nie było wiadome, te daty najbardziej rzucały się w oczy jako stale powtarzające się. Listy te były adresowane do Biura Poszukiwań Armii i pochodziły oczywiście od krewnych wywiezionych do Rosji, którzy zarówno przed wywiezieniem, a następnie i na terenie Rosji od jeńców otrzymywali korespondencję. Listy te były zbierane i winny się znajdować w archiwach Biura Poszukiwań, które o ile mi wiadomo zostały przekazane przez kpt. Kaczkowskiego przed jego opuszczeniem Rosji, attaché wojskowemu przy ambasadzie R. P. w Kujbyszewie, płk. Rudnickiemu. Sam takich listów czy też kartek nie posiadam.

Później w czasie mojej pracy w adiutanturze D-cy 2 Korpusu we Włoszech mogę stwierdzić, że wpłynęła tak samo pewna ilość listów od osób przebywających na terenie Szwajcarii, Francji i innych, którzy nawet przebywając w 1940r. na zachodzie, otrzymali kartki z tych obozów w Rosji i w których to listach znowu się te same daty powtarzały. Z datą późniejszą od kwietnia 1940r. nikt od nich korespondencji nie otrzymał. Te listy oddawałem do Oddziału Kul tury i Prasy, zwracając uwagę że należałoby je pieczołowicie przechowywać. Powinny one zatem znajdować się w archiwach Oddz. Kult. i Prasy 2 Korpusu.

EUGENE LUBOMIRSKI, Kpt,
EUG. LUBOMIRSKI, Kpt.

[Translation from Polish]

Captain Eugene Lubomorski
6 Fairholt Street
London, S. W. 7.

June 15, 1949

To the Polish Union of Former Soviet Prisoners, London:

Deposition

I certify that during my work with the Bureau of Families of Men in the Service in search of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R., headed by Captain Kaczkowski, a large number of letters and postcards went through my hands from May 1942 to June 1942 in Jangi Jul; these letters were written by persons in search of their

relatives, officers and enlisted men. These persons knew from correspondence with their relatives in the service that the latter were placed by the end of 1939 and in the winter and spring of 1940 in the camps in Kozielsk, Starobielsk, or Ostaszewo. It is noteworthy that all of these letters [to the Bureau of Families] emphasized, I do not know for what reason, that before March and May of 1940 (these dates are continuously repeated) they received information rather regularly [about their relatives] and replies to letters sent to them, but that from the above-mentioned date all correspondence ceased. I have the impression that there were several hundred such letters. In them the above-mentioned dates were underscored by red pencil, although at that time nothing was known definitely concerning the fate of these prisoners of war. And these dates hit the eye, since they were constantly repeated. The letters were addressed to the Bureau for Search of the Army, and evidently were sent by the relatives of those who were deported to Russia. Both before and after the deportation, the relatives received correspondence from the prisoners in the territory of Russia. These letters were collected and must be kept in the archives of the Bureau for Search which, so far as I know, were handed over by Captain Kaczkowski before he left Russia to the military attaché of the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev, Colonel Rudnicki. I do not possess any such letters or postcards.

Later, at the time when I worked at the adjutant's office of the commander of the second corps in Italy, I may certify that similarly a certain number of letters was received from persons who resided in the territory of Switzerland, France, and other countries. While these people remained in the West in 1940, they received postcards from the camps in Russia, in which letters the same data were repeated. None of these persons has received any correspondence with a date later than May 1940. These letters I gave to the section of Culture and the Press, drawing their attention to the fact that they should be carefully preserved. They must be available in the archives of the Section for Press and Cultural Affairs of the Second Corps.

Signed,
Eugene Lubomirski,
Captain.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have any of those letters which you received or do you know where they are at present?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. No; the unfortunate thing is that those letters, as Major Kaczkowski said, were sent to Kuybishev to the military attaché and I think they never left Russia. It was difficult to get things out. So that there are none. There are some of those letters which were collected from different people here in England which Dr. Stahl had.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What about those you received in Italy?

Captain LUBOMIRSKI. They may be in some of the archives but difficult to find because when it was moved to England at very short notice, all those things were packed together, and it is possible that in some of a great number of boxes some of those cards are still there, but it is very hard to find because a great number of boxes were stored all over England for the better times when we can arrange a better storage for them.

Chairman MADDEN. Captain, we want to thank you for coming here. Now will the next witness state his name and address?

Mr. VOIT. Roman Voit, 48 Holland Road, London, W. 14.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness does not understand English too well, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MADDEN. We want the record to show that the admonition read in English now is being translated for the witness into Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you understand the provisions in the admonition?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says that he does understand.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you swear by God Almighty that you will according to your best knowledge tell the truth, the pure truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMAN VOIT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROMAN VOIT (AS TRANSLATED BY MR. ROMAN PUCINSKI)

Mr. FLOOD. What is your name?

Mr. VOIT. Roman Voit.

Mr. FLOOD. You were at one time, I understand, identified with the Polish Government of General Sikorski and of General Anders?

Mr. VOIT. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You were identified with that part of the Government which was a bureau set up for the purpose of rendering aid and information to the relatives and the families and the friends of the missing Polish officers?

Mr. VOIT. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You were present here in the room, I believe, and you heard the evidence of the last two witnesses?

Mr. VOIT. Not too well; I do not hear too well.

Mr. FLOOD. You can hear me?

Mr. VOIT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were identified with a bureau set up by General Sikorski and General Anders under the command of Major Kaczowski?

Mr. VOIT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were also working with Major Kaczowski, and with you was Captain Felsztyn, who just left the stand?

Mr. VOIT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. They told us that they received in this bureau thousands of letters from relatives and friends and the families of the missing officers; is that correct?

Mr. VOIT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you employed at that bureau during the same period of time with the other two officers whose names I have just mentioned?

Mr. VOIT. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. The other officers testified that these communications came in all during that period of time by the thousands; is that right?

Mr. VOIT. Maybe not in thousands, but as far as I know from my own contact there were hundreds of those letters.

Mr. FLOOD. Many of these communications were post cards?

Mr. VOIT. Most of them were post cards.

Mr. FLOOD. That had been received by the relatives and friends and families from the men who were in Kozielsk and Starobielsk?

Mr. VOIT. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And those were the cards that these people sent to your office to see if you could help locate those officers?

Mr. VOIT. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you yourself ever have any conversations or communications with any Russians, military, civilian or NKVD, of any category in connection with the missing Polish officers?

Mr. VOIT. No; only with the Polish families in the Russian territory.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the date that was stressed in your mind as the last date or dates that any of these families or friends had received any word or information from the missing officers in the three camps?

Mr. VOIT. As far as I can remember, the dates were January, February, March, and possibly some in April of 1940.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have any personal reminiscence, any personal incident, by telephone, in writing or in conversation with any of the relatives, families or friends or anybody else, Polish, Russian, or anything any time any place anywhere, which would be of help to this committee?

Mr. VOIT. There was constant fear and theory that these men had disappeared, that these men had been killed, and this bureau tried to console these families with the hope that they would be found.

Mr. FLOOD. Now after the major, the chief of this section, left Russia, did you remain?

Mr. VOIT. Yes, I did; I went to Kuybyshev with Colonel Rudnicki.

Mr. FLOOD. When the major, who just left here, who was chief of the section, turned over the files and records to Colonel Rudnicki, who went to Kuybyshev, did you go with Colonel Rudnicki to Kuybyshev?

Mr. VOIT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you take the records and documents with you?

Mr. VOIT. Yes, and I personally packed them.

Mr. FLOOD. When was the last that you saw the documents in Kuybyshev?

Mr. VOIT. I took them with me.

Mr. FLOOD. From where? What I want to know is what happened to the documents after they got to Kuybyshev. Did they leave Kuybyshev?

Mr. VOIT. The Russian authorities objected to my staying at Kuybyshev, so then I left for Iraq, but the documents remained there with Colonel Rudnicki.

Mr. FLOOD. And was he the Polish military attaché at Kuybyshev?

Mr. VOIT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. So the last that you know of the documents and records is that when you left Kuybyshev to go to Iraq, the documents and records were at Kuybyshev in the possession of the Polish military attaché, Colonel Rudnicki?

Mr. VOIT. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Any further questions?

Mr. VOIT. May I make a further statement? I know as a matter of fact that when Russia broke off diplomatic relations with Poland in 1943, the Polish officials in these various locations were burning and destroying their records and documents; but we continued our search for these officers and kept contact with these families after the whole operation was transferred to Iraq, to Palestine, and to Egypt.

Mr. FLOOD. After you left Kuybyshev, did you ever get word any place or ever hear anything in that bureau from any of the officers at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, or Pavlishchev Bor about these missing officers?

Mr. VOIT. No.

Chairman MADDEN. We want to thank you for coming here this afternoon and testifying.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This gentleman coming up now is the only surviving Polish general who was interned in either of these camps.

Chairman MADDEN. General, will you give the reporter your full name and address?

General WOLKOWICKI. My name is Jerzy Wolkowicki, and my address is Penross Camp, Pwillelli, Wales.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make a statement, General, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of actions in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered an injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness will now have interpreted for him in Polish the admonition just rendered by the chairman. Does he understand the provisions of the admonition?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says that he does understand the provisions of the admonition.

Chairman MADDEN. General, do you solemnly swear by God Almighty that you will according to your best knowledge to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

General WOLKOWICKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. JERZY WOLKOWICKI, PENROSS CAMP, PWILLELLI, WALES

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your name is Jerzy Wolkowicki?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you a general of the Polish Army in 1939?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes, I was a general from 1927.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In what branch of the service were you in 1939?

General WOLKOWICKI. I was a commander in the reserve army of Gen. Dom-Biernacki, and then I was the commanding officer of the combined division entitled or named "W".

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And while in such command, were you taken prisoner by the Russians?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When?

General WOLKOWICKI. September 26, 1939.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And were you subsequently interned at Kozielsk?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; I arrived at Kozielsk at the beginning of November.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of 1939?

General WOLKOWICKI. 1939.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How many Polish generals were there at the Kozielsk camp at that time?

General WOLKOWICKI. Five.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And how long did you remain at Kozielsk?

General WOLKOWICKI. Until April 26, 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened to you on April 26, 1940?

General WOLKOWICKI. On that date I, and a group of approximately 96, were taken from this camp after undergoing a very intensive search at the camp.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were the other four generals in that group, too?

General WOLKOWICKI. No; three of them were removed before I was, and one after.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know what became of those three who were removed before you?

General WOLKOWICKI. No; I do not. I do know that they were subsequently found among those in Katyn.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know their names?

General WOLKOWICKI. General Minkiewicz, General Smorawinski, General Bohaterewicz, and Admiral Czernicki.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I hand you this exhibit 5A of the Chicago hearings, which shows the list of the officers found in Katyn and direct your specific attention to page 114, and ask you to find the name of General Minkiewicz there?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; Henryk Minkiewicz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was among those who were found dead at Katyn?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I ask you to look under the letter "S" and see if you find the name of General Smorawinski?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; Mieczyslaw Smorawinski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you find it at what page of the exhibit?

General WOLKOWICKI. Page 157.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now I direct your attention again to the same exhibit, and ask you whether you find under the letter "B" the name of General Bohaterewicz?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; Bronislaw Bohaterewicz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. On what page?

General WOLKOWICKI. On page 24.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I direct your attention again to the same exhibit and ask you whether you find therein the name of Admiral Czernicki?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; Ksawery Czernicki.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you find it on what page?

General WOLKOWICKI. On page 36.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that all four of your colleagues, the three generals and the admiral, are in the list of those who were found dead at Katyn, is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know when they left Kozielsk? If you do not know the exact date, can you give us the approximate date?

General WOLKOWICKI. No; I do not recall the exact date.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When did you leave?

General WOLKOWICKI. April 26.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. April 26 of 1940?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And did they leave before you?

General WOLKOWICKI. Three of them departed before I did, and those are General Minkiewicz, General Smorawinski, and General Bohaterewicz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long before you did they depart?

General WOLKOWICKI. About 10 days.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then I understand that Admiral Czernicki was still at Kozielsk when you left?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have any knowledge as to how long after you Admiral Czernicki left Kozielsk?

General WOLKOWICKI. I had learned from a subsequent group which had arrived at Pavlishchev Bor after our arrival there that Admiral Czernicki was evacuated from Kozielsk about 3 days after my departure.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. During the time that you were at Kozielsk did you at any time have any opportunity or occasion to talk to any of the Russian officers regarding the fate of your fellow officers who left before you?

General WOLKOWICKI. I frequently asked them where these men were taken.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And what answers did you get?

General WOLKOWICKI. That they do not know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you ever get any answers when you had any other occasion to inquire about their whereabouts?

General WOLKOWICKI. I do not recall who this officer was, but I did talk to one White Russian officer at the camp who told me that these men would be turned over and surrendered to the Germans.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now from Kozielsk you were taken to Pavlishchev Bor, is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How long did you stay there?

General WOLKOWICKI. We remained there 1 month.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And during the time you were at Pavlishchev Bor, did you have any opportunity or occasion to inquire of any of the Russian officers there as to the fate of the other Polish officers?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes. We were not permitted to carry on any correspondence. I, however, on September 9, 1940, wrote the following communication to the NKVD.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The NKVD at Pavlishchev Bor?

General WOLKOWICKI. In Giazowiec.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And is this paper which you now hand to the committee a copy of the letter which you sent?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is a copy of the letter which I wrote. I always made a separate copy for myself of any letter to them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And in that letter you complained about the lack of knowledge as to the fate of these officers who left the camp before you did, is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. As the result of this letter which I had written to the NKVD headquarters in Giazowiec, we were permitted thereafter to correspond with relatives and friends.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Prior to this letter, you were not given the right to correspond with your relatives?

General WOLKOWICKI. No, prior to this they permitted us to write only two letters, and we had never received any answer to those letters.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And as the result of this letter, was that changed?

General WOLKOWICKI. In October of 1940 they permitted us to correspond with the outside world, and then we started getting letters from Poland.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And did these letters indicate that the families and relatives of these officers were unable to hear from them, is that correct?

General WOLKOWICKI. My wife had written me a letter inquiring about three people in particular.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you make any inquiry of any Russian authorities as to the whereabouts of any of those people?

General WOLKOWICKI. I then went to the Russian officials and inquired of them why they are permitting us to write letters and not permitting those others to write letters to their loved ones.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who did you go to?

General WOLKOWICKI. I went to captain of the NKVD Wasilewsky.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When you say those others, you mean those which your wife had written to you about, is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What answer did you get from this captain?

General WOLKOWICKI. His reply was that he did not know in which camp these men were, but that most probably they did not want to write to their families.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Other than that did you have any other conversations with any Russian authorities about these officers, or any other missing officers?

General WOLKOWICKI. I received another subsequent letter from the wife of a colonel whose name I would rather not reveal at this time, and she was inquiring about her brother. Later more of the people in the camp began coming to me and telling me that they also are receiving letters from families in Poland inquiring why their relatives are not writing to them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a result of these complaints which had come to you from these various relatives, did you make any other attempts with the Russian authorities to find out the whereabouts of these missing officers?

General WOLKOWICKI. In January of 1941 I again went to Captain Wasilewsky of the Russian NKVD and had a conversation with him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did he tell you?

General WOLKOWICKI. I told him that many others are receiving letters similar to those that I am receiving, and I threatened at that time to write a letter to the headquarters of the NKVD.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did the captain tell you?

General WOLKOWICKI. He told me the same thing: "They most probably do not want to write to their families."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you do anything further about it?

General WOLKOWICKI. I told him that I could understand if one or two or three were reluctant to write to their families, but when we are getting hundreds of letters, that I cannot understand.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you do anything further about learning of their whereabouts?

General WOLKOWICKI. He assured me that he personally would write to the NKVD, and that the NKVD would contact these various prisoners that the families were inquiring about and instruct them to

write to their families. He asked me to prepare for him a list of names of those who were making the inquiries and said that he would forward that list to the NKVD and have those men instructed to write home to their families.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you give him such a list?

General WOLKOWICKI. I informed all the others about this assurance, and I was brought 130 names, and these names I took and gave to Captain Wasilewski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you hear further from him about it?

General WOLKOWICKI. This discussion was in February. In March, again I went to Captain Wasilewski and I asked him what results he had obtained, because I was continuing to get these letters. He told me that he had written a letter to the NKVD and that I most probably would have an answer.

In April, at the end of April 1941, I again inquired on this subject. Captain Wasilewski told me he doesn't know why I am not getting a reply.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you hear anything further from him after that?

General WOLKOWICKI. After that, the Germans declared war on the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you had no other contacts with any Russian authorities regarding the whereabouts of these lost Polish officers?

General WOLKOWICKI. No; I did not. But I did report to General Anders in Moscow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You reported to General Anders the things that you just told us; is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything further that you can tell us regarding the whereabouts of these lost Polish officers?

General WOLKOWICKI. I can leave this letter with you.

(The witness produced a document.)

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think that is a letter you received asking your assistance to locate certain lost officers; is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. That is correct.

Mr. DONDERO. Is that going to be made a part of the record?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have any objection to a copy of this letter which you sent to the NKVD being made a part of the record?

General WOLKOWICKI. No objections. I will leave that for you.

Mr. FLOOD. Have this marked as "No. 16."

(The document referred to was marked as "Exhibit 16.")

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is shown exhibit No. 16, which is a copy of a letter that he testified he wrote on the date mentioned, to the NKVD, in connection with these matters.

Will you look at the exhibit, and I will ask you if that is such a copy?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is.

Mr. FLOOD. That will be offered in evidence.

Chairman MADDEN. It is accepted.

(The document marked as "Exhibit 16" was received in evidence and is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 16

Order jeńców wojennych
"Gryznowice"
6/IX/1940r.

Komisariat Łukowy Spraw Wewnętrznych.
(N. H. W. D.)

Między do spraw jeńców wojennych.

Jako najstarszy stopniem wojskowy polski
w łonach jeńców "Gryznowice" pozwalam sobie
Zwrócić się do N. H. W. D. z następującym
prośbą: o wyrażenie: od wyrażenia z Koniakowa,
Stanowiska i Ostrawca jeńców, znajdu-
jących się w tym samym obozie, upłynęło z
góry, 4 miesiące. Za pomocą tego czasu
prawie nikt z nas nie otrzymał jeńców.
Wiem konsekwencji od swych rodzin.

Pozwalam nam dwa razy za ten okres
pisać do rodzin, jednakże listy te nie
otrzymaliśmy dotąd ani jednej odpowiedzi.

Muszę ze smutkiem stwierdzić, że wma-
ten tego prawie w obozie wielkie prze-
gnanie, które znajduje swój wyraz
w ciągłych rozmowach o listach i nie-
porozumieniu o tej rodzinie. Władze mi nie
ze z tego powodu mogą nawet zejść
wypadek samobójstwa. Nikt nie
chce wiedzieć w tłumaczeniu wstę-
pować, że rzecy nas nie fity.

i do starego niemieckiego.
 Proszę więc N. H. W. D., aby sprawa ta
 niepodlegała rozpatrzeniu ponownie i
 uregulowaniu jej tak, jak to było w zimo-
 wanych okolicach. Jeśli długie listy są niemo-
 żliwe, to korespondencja powinna odbywać się
 na kartkach pocztowych z odpowiednim i odpowiad-
 ającym przebiegiem. Chciałbym również przed-
 łożyć od przysługującej dlań niepełnowartości o
 bliższych. Daje więc N. H. W. D. znakomitym
 i słowem ustaleniom korespondencji, jeżeli z
 radami dla terenów, rajstych przez S. S. B.
 przy pomocy powierniczych ewentualnie innych
 a dla terenów, rajstych przez niemieckie, przy
 pomocy polskiego eselowanego krypta w film-
 branie. To ostatnie już było przesłane.
 Nadmieniam przy tym, że z otwartymi
 dawniej listów jest nam wiadomo, że w
 opozycji niemieckich można pisać o na-
 tyłdasiu, otwierając zaś korespondencję za-
 słowi nieogramioną.

Włodzisław
 Genrat Korynady S. S.

[Translation from Polish]

PRISONERS OF WAR CAMP "GRJAZOWIEC"

September 6, 1940

People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (N. K. V. D.)
Office for P. O. W. Affairs

As senior officer of the Polish Army in the Grjazowiec POW camp, I take the liberty to address myself to the NKVD with the following declaration: Over four months have passed since our departure from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszkow and our arrival at the present camp. Since that time practically nobody has received any communications from his family.

During that time we were permitted to write to our families twice, but we have received no reply to our letters.

I must state with distress that the prisoners have become extremely despondent; the only topic of conversation is the lack of correspondence and their anxiety about their families. I fear that suicides may take place. Nobody believes the explanations of the camp authorities: that our relatives do not write, and that explains why there are no letters.

I therefore request the NKVD that the matter of correspondence should be reviewed and arrangements made as they were in the winter camps. If long letters are impossible to arrange, proper typical correspondence cards could be introduced. Even the slightest information is better than the depressing lack of information about nearest relatives.

It is suggested that perhaps the NKVD could make the proper arrangements through the Soviet Red Cross as regards correspondence with families on the territories occupied by the USSR, and for the territories occupied by the Germans, through the Polish Red Cross in Warsaw. This last method has been practiced in the past.

It is known from the correspondence which we have been receiving that in the German POW camps it is permitted for [the prisoners] to write once a week, and the reception of letters is unlimited.

Wolkowicki,
Major General, Polish Army

General WOLKOWICKI. This is the original, and I had written the Russian version of this letter to the NKVD.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The letter you sent to the NKVD was in Russian, but this is a copy of that same letter written in the Polish language; is that correct?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. General, why is it that of all the general officers at Kozielsk—and general officers are very important people—why would it be that of all the general officers there, as well as the admiral who was there, that you were the only one that survived? You do not know the reason, but what guess do you have?

General WOLKOWICKI. I am a former Russian naval officer. Before World War I, I was a Russian——

Mr. MACHROWICZ. General, that was before Poland was formed in 1919; is that right?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There was no Poland at that time, and you were then a Russian naval officer?

General WOLKOWICKI. I was a Russian naval officer before World War I.

Chairman MADDEN. And you attribute that fact to the reason that you were spared death?

General WOLKOWICKI. I was also in the battle of Tsushima. I was on the ship which was surrendered by a Russian admiral to the Japanese. I was the only officer who opposed the surrender of this ship, and that is why their attitude toward me was one of considerable interest.

Chairman MADDEN. How old are you?

General WOLKOWICKI. Sixty-nine.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you offered any command with the Polish Armies under the Russian command?

General WOLKOWICKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. After August of 1941?

General WOLKOWICKI. No; because I already was a deputy commander of the Sixth Division under General Anders, and then my attitude toward them was such that they wouldn't dare make me such an offer.

Chairman MADDEN. Is that all?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

General WOLKOWICKI. I have with me here a certificate of an inoculation against typhus, which all of these men received. I wish to point out that it was these certificates that were found in great numbers on the Polish soldiers whose bodies were discovered at Katyn.

Chairman MADDEN. May we see that?

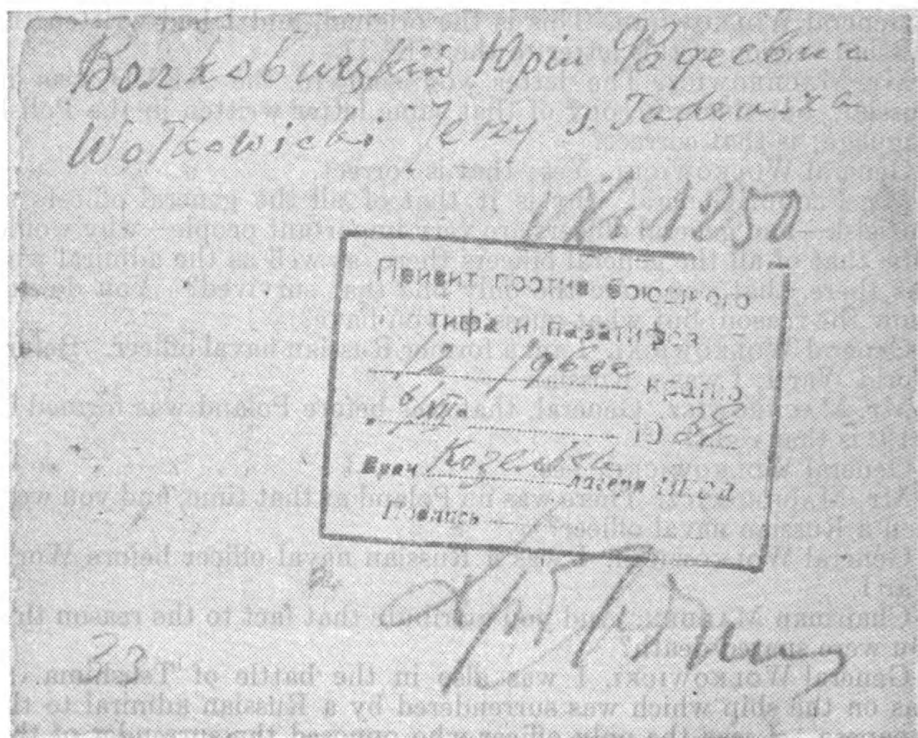
(The document referred to was handed to the committee.)

General WOLKOWICKI. This is the only document that the Russians permitted me to keep. They had taken all of my other documents, including my letters, away from me.

Mr. FLOOD. Will the reporter mark this as "Exhibit 17"?

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 17" and is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 17



[Translation from Russian]

Wolkowicki Jerzy S. [son of] Tadeusz
 [Written in Polish:] Wolkowicki Jerzy S. [son of] Tadeusz

Wolkowicki has undergone injections against typhoid fever and paratyphoid twice: December 6, 1939. The physician of the camp of the NKVD [Peoples' Commissariat for the Interior] in Kozielsk.

[Signature illegible]

General WOLKOWICKI. All my other documents were taken away at the time I left Kozielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is shown the document marked for identification "Exhibit 17" and I ask him whether or not this is the typhus-innoculation certificate to which he referred?

General WOLKOWICKI. Yes; it is.

Mr. FLOOD. Were all of the officers and prisoners at Kozielsk inoculated against typhus and given one of these certificates, as far as you know?

General WOLKOWICKI. I believe that all of them were.

Mr. FLOOD. And of all the things they were permitted to keep with them, as far as you know, when they left Kozielsk, as in your case, this certificate was one of those things?

General WOLKOWICKI. I had mine in my pocket, and when the soldier that was searching me looked at it he gave it back to me.

Mr. FLOOD. You have seen certificates subsequently, that were found on the bodies of the soldiers at Katyn, that were similar to the certificates of inoculation at Kozielsk?

General WOLKOWICKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. This is offered in evidence as well.

Chairman MADDEN. That exhibit is received in evidence.

Are there any further questions?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I might say, for the record, that I am now looking through the exhibit which is the list of the names of the officers found at Katyn. I have found quite a number of notes that such inoculation cards have been found on the bodies.

Chairman MADDEN. General, from your broad experience as a former Russian officer, naval officer, and from your experience in contact with the Russian people over these long years, and also from your experience in the prison camp at Kozielsk, and also from the experience and the information you have received since you were released from the prison camp, can you state, in your opinion, who you think committed the massacres and murders at Katyn?

General WOLKOWICKI. On the basis of my own personal observations, it is my belief that the massacre at Katyn was perpetrated by the Russians.

Chairman MADDEN. That is all, General. We want to thank you for your testimony here today; it is very valuable.

General, did anybody promise you any pay or consideration or emolument or any reward to come here to testify today?

General WOLKOWICKI. Nobody.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Gentlemen, this is Mr. Moszynski.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Moszynski, would you spell your full name for the record?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. M-o-s-z-y-n-s-k-i; Adam.

Chairman MADDEN. And your address?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Penhros Camp, near Pwllheli, in north Wales.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony. Do you understand that?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear, by God the Almighty, that you will, according to your best knowledge, testify the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I suggest he make a brief statement on how he prepared the book and then we can interrogate him.

TESTIMONY OF ADAM MOSZYNSKI, PENHROS CAMP, NEAR PWLLHELI, NORTH WALES (WITH THE AID OF INTERPRETER ROMAN PUCINSKI)

Chairman MADDEN. Will you proceed and make a statement in your own words regarding what information you would like to convey to the committee?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I will report in Polish because I understand English, but it is easier for me to speak in Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you begin: This committee has had before it at its hearings in the United States of America and here in London today a document to which it has been referring and to which it has asked certain of the witnesses to refer for the purpose of identifying the names of the Polish officers whose bodies were found at Katyn. We now show you that document and ask you if you were identified with its preparation in any way? [It is exhibit 5-A, introduced in Chicago.]

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes, of course. I have a copy. Yes; this is the same.

Mr. FLOOD. What is it?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. This is the list of all prisoners of war who were in three camps: in Kozielsk, in Ostashkov, and in Starobielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you been identified in any way with the particular document to which you refer? Have you prepared it or been connected with its production?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I prepared this document on the ground of the German official book *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn*.

Mr. FLOOD. Are you referring to the so-called German white book?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes; entitled "*Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn*; ausgegeben in 1943, in Berlin."

Here is the list of some 2,000, with some hundred, prisoners of war who were exhumed in Katyn in 1943. It was the first set.

The second set was the list which was prepared by the Polish Red Cross in Katyn during exhumation in 1943. Then the third set was

the list which was prepared in the Polish Army in Russian through Dr. Kaczkowski.

Then I have identified the names with official yearbooks of officers. I have received these books from the general staff. In addition to that, I had compared the annual officers' yearbooks that are in the possession of the Polish Army General Staff here in London, in exile.

Mr. DONDERO. Where did you get those names? Where did they come from originally, the names that made up that book by the Germans and then copied by you into your book?

What I want to know and what the committee wants to know is: Where did that list of names come from that made up that book by the Germans?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to ask a question on that. Do you know how the Germans assembled their list, the Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. The Germans had prepared this list on the ground of documents found in the graves.

Mr. DONDERO. That is what we want to know.

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. But there were many mistakes because there were the names written in Russian letters, in Polish letters, and they were read by the Germans; and, therefore, I must identify the names if it was possible for me.

Mr. DONDERO. Kannst du Deutsch lesen? [English translation: Can you read German?]

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one question, Mr. Moszynski.

There has been some talk about the German list not being a completely reliable list. Can you make any comment as to that?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I can verify the fact now, on the basis of my own investigation, that the bulk of those names included in the German book agree with the list prepared independently by the Polish Red Cross at Katyn and also with the list prepared by the bureau which was headed by Mr. Kaczkowski, the Family Service Bureau.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Moszynski, as I tried to explain, the Germans prepared their list—that is in answer to Mr. Dondero's question—on the basis of the documents which they found on the bodies.

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But such a list could be in error because there could be some occasions when one person might have a document bearing someone else's name?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Of course; of course.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And such instances were found; were they not?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As, for instance, the case of Franciszek Biernacki, which has been mentioned by some.

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are familiar with that instance?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you explain the error in that case?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. It is conceivable that one of the corpses found at Katyn may have had in his possession a letter or something which had

been written by Biernacki. As far as I recollect the details on that, Biernacki had left behind, when he was evacuated from Poland, his bankbook, and one of his friends, who was close by, had taken the book and then subsequently the friend had fallen in Katyn, and it was Biernacki's book that was found on another body.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that the natural conclusion of the Germans was that this man, other than Biernacki, who had Biernacki's book, was Biernacki?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Other than such occasional errors, you found the German list in substance to be correct; did you?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. It might be interesting to observe for the record at this point that when this committee goes to Frankfurt, where it will sit next week to conduct hearings, there will be present and testifying the various former German Government officials who, under the direction of Von Ribbentrop and Goebbels, prepared the white book and in other ways conducted the investigation at Katyn.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I want the record to show that I had asked the witness in the German language whether or not he could read German, and he answered "Yes."

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I personally had translated from German into Polish the various notes that are included, notations that are included in the German text of items that were found on the bodies of these men.

Mr. DONDERO. Were you at Katyn personally?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. No. I am a prisoner of war at Starobielsk camp and I am alive; so is the General Wolkowicki from Kozielsk, so I am from Starobielsk. I had been interned at Starobielsk, and we met together in Pavlishchev Bor and then in Griazowiec.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you also used the list of a group of Poles who were examining the bodies at Katyn under German supervision? You used, in preparation of this document, a list prepared by a group of Poles who were in Katyn during the German occupation?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. German occupation, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you have made several revisions of this book; have you?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I had to rectify some names on the ground of the official yearbooks of officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How much time have you spent on the preparation of this book?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Eleven months.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And, to the best of your knowledge and belief, that is as complete a record of the lost officers at the three camps as is at the present time available?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes. This list was in the beginning published in the weekly White Eagle, a newspaper. This list was also further corrected when the list was reprinted in the Polish newspaper White Eagle, and on the basis of the publication of these names in this newspaper I had had some correspondence, including a letter from one Pole whose name had been listed as dead, and he, in fact, is alive.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But none of the officers who were in Kozielsk, in Starobielsk, or in Ostashkov, later proved to be alive; is that not correct?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. This list does not include any names of those who are known to be alive.

Mr. DONDERO. The Russians claim that the Germans shot these men. Did the Russians make a list of the dead?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I have no knowledge of such a list.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. If there were such a list, you would probably have heard of it; is that right?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes; I would have most probably heard about it. I was in that type of service in the Polish Army that I had access to various secret documents, which probably would have borne that out.

Mr. DONDERO. The Germans were the first to make a list of these men who had been shot; were they not?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes; that is correct.

Chairman MADDEN. Did you have any knowledge as to the number of clergymen—ministers, priests, rabbis—that were in these camps, these prison camps?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. How many?

Chairman MADDEN. Do you know of any that were there at all—clergymen, priests, ministers?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes; of course.

Chairman MADDEN. About how many would you say, just roughly?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. For instance, there were about 440 doctors in Kozielsk; in Starobielsk, where I was, were also about 400 doctors. Then there was in Starobielsk a group of judges; they were brought to Starobielsk from Lwow. Then there were about 10 priests. In Starobielsk also was a rabbi.

Chairman MADDEN. Any ministers?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. In Starobielsk, no ministers, but in Kozielsk there were.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you the total number of names found, in this book of yours?

Mr. DONDERO. Wieviel? [How many?]

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. There are 3,794 names from Camp Kozielsk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of those who were lost from Camp Kozielsk?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That represents what percentage of the total lost from that camp?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. 73 percent.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that you have assembled the names of 73 percent of those who were lost at Kozielsk; have you?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Actually, it is a little more than 73 percent. I have here a letter from one of the Polish policemen who was interned in Kozielsk No. 2. That camp was established in the period following the liquidation of Kozielsk No. 1. This policeman had read on the wall in the kitchen in Kozielsk camp an inscription written with a knife which carried the following message, in Polish: "There were five thousand of us Polish officers here."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us how many your list contains of those from Ostashkov?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. It is very little; it is only 1,231. It is about 20 percent.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Twenty percent of those who were known to have disappeared from Ostashkov?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes. I arrived at the total number of Polish prisoners at Ostashkov on the basis of information furnished by those gentlemen who survived the Ostashkov liquidation.

And from Starobielsk it is better.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How many do you have?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. 3,343 names. It is 87 percent.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Besides that, what other names do you have?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Besides that, there were 2,703 without names and also 145 without names, only the items found on their bodies in Katyn are described.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In Katyn?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. In Katyn.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All in all, you have 9,515 names; do you?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that represents what percentage of the total number of lost officers at Kozielsk, Ostashkov, and Starobielsk?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. The total number I count about 15,400 persons. They are not only of officers, but other persons, because we know that the graves also contained bodies of civilians and clergy.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You account for 15,000 lost persons in those three camps?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes; 15,400.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you have assembled, of those 15,000, 9,515 names, or about 53 percent of the total. Is that correct?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Of the remainder, about whom all the rumors have been going around as to what may have happened to the officers that have never been found or whose bodies have never been found, you are aware, as is the committee, that there had been a lot of rumors as to what may have happened to them or where they went. From your experience in this matter, do you care to offer your opinion or your guess as to what happened to the remainder of the prisoners from Ostashkov and from Starobielsk?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. I am sure there are three Katyns in the world. One Katyn is in the Katyn Forest, near Gniezdovo (Smolensk); the second Katyn, of Starozlsk, could be near Kharkov, and the prisoners of Ostashkov, near the White Sea.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is your best opinion; is that correct?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. When you mention the White Sea, are you referring to those thousands that were allegedly drowned on the barges.

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes. To the best of my knowledge, based on considerable research on the subject, the prisoners in Ostashkov were placed on two very old barges, and when the barges were towed out to sea they were destroyed by Russian artillery fire.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many, would you say, drowned on the barges in the White Sea at that time?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. More than 5,000. It is the whole remainder to the total number of Ostashkov prisoners. There are alive only 120 from Ostashkov.

Mr. FLOOD. You feel that somewhere in the vicinity of Kharkov there must be graves similar to those found at Katyn, which contain the bodies of those not yet discovered from Starobielsk?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Yes. When I left Starobielsk on May 12th with 19 others in my group, there remained in that camp 11 Polish officers from a total of 3,920. Another officer and myself sitting in the rail car on our way away from Starobielsk had observed an inscription carved with a pen knife. The inscription was: "We arrived at the station at Kharkov. Most probably we will be unloaded or removed from the train."

Chairman MADDEN. Is that all, Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Would you have any opinion as to why you were saved and not murdered?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. Those of us who have survived have thought about that a great deal. Looking over this group of the 400 survivors, we have come to the conclusion, if the Russians had any particular reason for selecting us, that reason was that they wanted a complete cross section of all the Polish prisoners that were ever detained so that they could subsequently say, "Why, you have these prisoners here."

Chairman MADDEN. From all your experience in research in the prison camp and outside, since the beginning of the war, have you formed an opinion as to who committed the massacres at Katyn?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. No other; only the Bolsheviks.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you mean by that the Russians?

Mr. MOSZYNSKI. The Russians.

Chairman MADDEN. We wish to thank you for your testimony; it is very valuable.

The committee will meet at 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 6:20 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m. Thursday, April 17, 1952.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
London, England.

The Select Committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 111, Kensington Palace Hotel, De Vere Gardens, W. 8, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Dondero, and O'Konski.

Also present: Roman Pucinski, committee investigator and interpreter.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

The record will show that present at the hearing today are the Chairman, Congressman Flood, Congressman Machrowicz, Congressman Dondero, and Congressman O'Konski.

We will now proceed.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Gentlemen, this is General Bohusz-Szyszeko, who was the first military attaché of the Polish Government in Moscow after Poland and Russia reestablished diplomatic relations in 1941.

Chairman MADDEN. Just state your name to the reporter.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Lieutenant General Bohusz-Szyszeko. The first name is Zygmunt Peter. The address is Chester; 44 Lower Bridge Street.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who had considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony.

Mr. Interpreter, will you translate that admonition for the witness? (The interpreter translated the admonition.)

Does the witness clearly understand the provisions of that admonition?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says he does understand the provisions of that admonition.

Mr. FLOOD. Will the witness rise and be sworn?

Do you swear, by God the Almighty and Omniscient, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth and you will not conceal anything; so help you God?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF LT. GEN. ZYGMUNT PETER BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO,
44 LOWER BRIDGE STREET, CHESTER, ENGLAND. (WITH THE
AID OF INTERPRETER, ROMAN PUCINSKI.)**

Mr. FLOOD. What is your name?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. My name is Bohusz-Szyszeko.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you at any time identified with the Polish Army?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, I was in the Polish Army before the war and during the war in the present Polish Army.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your rank?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Lieutenant general.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a lieutenant general in the Polish Army in 1939?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. No, in 1939 I was major general.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that at one time you were a military attaché for the Polish Government.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Not attaché; I was first chief of the Polish Military Mission in Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. When was that? What year was that?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. From the 1st of August 1941 to the last of December 1941.

Mr. PUCINSKI. December 31?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. December 31.

Mr. FLOOD. Who appointed you to that position; who named you?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. General Sikorski.

Mr. FLOOD. General Sikorski at that time was the chief of the Polish Government; was he not?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes; he was Prime Minister.

Mr. FLOOD. Who went with you? I am not interested in the names especially, but what was the make-up of the Polish Military Mission?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Two persons. One is a high Polish officer and the second, secretary of the Polish Embassy in Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. If those are all there were, will you give me the names, please?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, sir. It was a Major Bortnowski, and the secretary was Mr. Arlet.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you go from Kuibishev to Moscow?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. No; I went from London, from London by airplane to our hangars in Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you put up by the Russians or by the Polish Ambassador? Where did you stay? How were you put up there in Moscow?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. First in a hotel and later in the Polish Embassy.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was the Ambassador for the Poles at that time?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Mr. Kot.

Mr. FLOOD. What is his full name?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Stanislaw Kot.

Mr. FLOOD. And Stanislaw Kot was the Polish Ambassador in Moscow on August 1, 1941, when you arrived there as chief of the Polish Military Mission?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes. But Ambassador—Professor Kot arrived later, a month later, the 1st day of September.

Mr. FLOOD. But during your term as chief of the Military Mission, Ambassador Kot, starting in September, was the ambassador to Moscow, was he?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. The answer to your original question is "Yes."

Mr. DONDERO. What year?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. So that, from August 1, 1941, until that day in September when Ambassador Kot arrived in Moscow, you were the chief representative of the Polish Government in Moscow?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, one of your chief missions, I suppose, was to inquire as to the whereabouts of certain missing Polish officers; was it not?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes; because I was this officer who was designated to make a military agreement with the Russian Government.

Mr. FLOOD. You were the military officer who participated in the protocol with the Russian military?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you just go on in your own words and describe for us the thing in which we are chiefly interested at this time, which is: Any conversations, any communications, that you, as the ranking Polish representative, as chief of the official Polish Military Mission in Moscow, conducted with any Russians? Tell us who they were, their names, rank, and the tenor and the nature of the entire conversation until Ambassador Kot got there.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. After the military agreement between Poland and Russia was established or reached, several conversations followed with representatives of both the Russian Government and the Russian Army. Among those authorized by the Russians to carry on these conversations was Major Zhukov, who was the chief of the security division of the Russian Army. That particular position is comparable to a general in the Army. He had the title of Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Government.

Representing the staff of the Russian Army was Major General Panfilov. The Polish Government was represented by General Anders and myself in these discussions. At that time, General Anders already had been nominated by General Sikorski as the Chief of Staff of the Polish Army being formed in Russia.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, I want to make the record clear.

Although General Anders was with you in the conversations, the fact remains that you were the chief of the Military Mission and General Anders was Chief of Staff of the Polish Army; is that right?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. No; General Anders was not chief of staff; he was commander in chief of the Polish Army.

Mr. FLOOD. But you were chief of the Military Mission?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Military Mission, yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness was asked whether General Anders had already been on the scene there at the time the witness arrived in Moscow. He said that General Anders was in Lubianka prison at that time.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. At the first conference, which was conducted during the middle of August 1941, one of our first demands——

Mr. FLOOD. The first conference took place in the middle of August in Moscow, did it not? And by that time General Anders already was released from Lubianka prison and joined you in this conference.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes; in Moscow. General Anders was released.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us, as you best-recall, who appeared for the Russians?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. General Panfilov and General Zhukov, these two.

Mr. FLOOD. And for the Poles?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. General Anders and I.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Our first request was that we be supplied with a list of all the Polish officers who were at that time being held in Russia, because neither could the London Government nor the English mission, which was there at the time, give us this information. And we had no definite details as to the names or the number of Polish officers being held in Russia. The only basis of information that we had as to the numbers was a speech made by Molotov in 1939, who at that time had announced that the Russians had taken prisoner in excess of 250,000 Polish soldiers and an excess of 10,000 Polish Army officers.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the occasion of the Molotov statement?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. He made that announcement after the cessation of hostilities in Poland.

Both Zhukov and Panfilov assured us that they would provide us with such a list of names; and at a subsequent conference, not the next one but the one immediately following the next one, or the third conference that we held, they did give us a list of Polish officers from Giazoviec.

The list was composed of a pad of names which were typewritten, and we received a carbon copy and it contained 1,100 names of Polish officers and about 300 names of noncommissioned officers and police officers, and a few civilians. The names were all Poles.

We immediately began to study this list in the presence of the two Russian delegates at this conference. General Anders and I began studying the names contained in that list because we wanted to determine immediately who was on this list and which of those men on the list could be utilized in the proposed Polish Army, which of them could be commanding officers of divisions and various other Army units. We immediately registered our surprise after examining this list, that there were virtually no names of high-ranking Polish officers. There were only three generals on this list.

There appeared on this list the names of only three generals, who were Generals Walkowicki, Przewdziecki, and Jarnuskiewicz; and just a few colonels and lieutenant colonels. We realized immediately that there should have been many higher-ranking Polish officers on this list. We asked them at that time in which camps and, "Where are the rest of the Polish officers and when will their names be furnished us?"

To this, General Zhukov, the NKVD head, replied that those names would be furnished us later because at that time they could not locate and assemble the names.

We did not pursue our demand for these names any further at this particular conference, but we did single out at this conference the names of three particular Polish officers that we were seeking.

Mr. DONDERO. Did General Anders speak Russian, or was it done through an interpreter?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. General Anders understood Russian.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you understand what they said?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Myself, again, I speak Russian fluently.

The three that we named in particular were Lt. Col. Adam Soltan, who was formerly the Chief of Staff for General Anders; Colonel Janiszewski, who was a very good friend of mine and my own aide, and Dr. Major Delawau.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I want the record to show that I asked the question whether this witness understood Russian, and he answered that he did and that General Anders understands Russian and speaks Russian.

The purpose of that question is to be sure there was no misunderstanding between the Polish representatives and the Russians.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes. You are completely correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right, now, will you proceed with your statement, General?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. These three particular officers we wanted very badly because we knew of their experience and we needed them to help in the organization of the Polish Army in Russia. We received no adequate information on these men either at this particular conference or at any other subsequent conference that we held when we repeated the demand for additional information as to their whereabouts.

I later learned that two of these men definitely were on the list of the Katyn victims. Soltan and Delawau were definitely on the Katyn list, and I am not certain of the third one, Janiszewski. At no time during the six conferences that we held with them regarding the formation of Polish armies were we successful in obtaining any details of information as to the whereabouts of the Polish officers that we were seeking.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have now mentioned six conferences. You have already related three. Would you be able to state within what period of time these six conferences took place: Were they within a short period of time?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. About 6 weeks—one conference each week.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At this point would you state what the general attitude was of the Russians at the first, second, and third conferences: Was it of hostility, or was it an amiable attitude; what was it?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Their attitude in general was a very pleasant one, except whenever we raised the question of the whereabouts of the Polish officers; then they appeared to become very much disturbed and rattled, and they always managed to evade the particular subject.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did that attitude continue during all six conferences?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now proceed with the rest of your story.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. At that time we had no idea what was the fate of these Polish officers. We suspected that they might be somewhere in the far northern prison camps of Russia and that they cannot be immediately delivered to us, and because of that our demands for their return at these particular conferences ended. At the end of our particular conferences our Ambassador Kot had arrived in Moscow, and we thereafter assigned the whole effort to locate these soldiers to the diplomatic staff, namely, Mr. Kot, who was now in Moscow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are we correct in assuming, then, that from that moment on, all further negotiations with regard to these lost officers were carried on by Ambassador Kot; is that correct?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you subsequent to that, as chief of the Polish military mission in Moscow, have any other conferences or discussions with any Russian officers or officials?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As to the fate of these Polish officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, the whole time, because I was in the Embassy.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You then became a member of the staff in the Embassy?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In what capacity---as military attaché?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. As chief of military mission.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the Embassy?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us what your subsequent conversations or discussions were with regard to these lost officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. What I have now just related was the first phase of our efforts to locate the Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt. I am sorry, General, that I had to leave the room when I was questioning you. We had a telephone call in from the chief of the American mission at Berne, Switzerland, in connection with Professor Naville, whom you will remember. Before you go into the second phase, I would like to ask you this: I understand that up to this point in all your conversations with your Russian opposite numbers you had complete cooperation for the purpose of your military mission?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In everything except whatever had to do with talks about missing Polish officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, you are right, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Up until this time did you have any conversations with Stalin, Vishinsky or Molotov?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Or Beria?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. No, only with Field Marshal Shaposhnikov, who was Chief of Staff of the Red Army, but not about the officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Not about the officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you detail for us, if there is any such, any incident of particular interest, any really important incident which you think the committee should know about; with any of the Russians, military, civilian or otherwise, in the conferences or outside the conferences, socially or officially, before you go to the second phase—regarding the Polish officers only now?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes. We discussed this matter with them very frequently, and, just like in all our conversations, they were very amiable and discussed things very freely with us; but the moment that we raised the point of the Polish officers our conversation ceased and there was a war between us.

Mr. FLOOD. Even socially, having a drink at some place?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Even socially. I can give you one concrete example of my own personal conversation with General Zhukov, who, whenever we learned definitely the name of a Polish officer and his whereabouts and we asked General Zhukov to help us get this man released, he was very agreeable and did that almost immediately; but when I asked him for the third time in one of our private discussions for the release of Colonel Janiszewski and Dr. Major Delawau, he told me very bluntly: "Please do not ask me about these men, because in this particular case I cannot help you."

Mr. FLOOD. Was there any mention at any time made by you to any of the Russians in connection with camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What was said about any of those three camps?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. They never gave us any concrete answer as to the whereabouts of the officers from these three particular camps. Subsequently at Pavlishchev Bor and Starobielsk there were Polish soldiers and our own people went there to mobilize these Polish soldiers, but they found no officers.

Mr. FLOOD. We are interested in just your particular job at this time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. General, now will you relate to us an account of this so-called second phase or your discussions in Moscow, when they were, and so forth?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes; our second phase of the conversations consisted mostly of our discussions with them giving the information that we had available as to the names of officers who we believed should be in Russia, and we provided them with such a list. A strange circumstance arose in that we received absolutely no assistance from the Russians in compiling a list of the Polish officers that we were seeking, and whenever that subject was brought up, they would then ask us: "Well, who specifically are you looking for: who do you believe should be in Russia?" It was then that we began preparing the list of Polish names which we gathered from other Poles who had reported to us and who had had conversations with Polish officers in Russia at some time or other. Every Polish soldier who reported to the Polish Army in Russia was very carefully interrogated and was directed to search his memory for the names of any Polish officers that he may have seen at any camp in Russia where he himself may have been interned. This list was necessary so that we would have a basis for official diplomatic intervention through our own Ambassador in

Russia. The preparation of this list and gathering this information lasted approximately another 6 weeks. It was obvious that the lists that were prepared at first were incomplete. But our first list, even though it was incomplete, already contained approximately 3,500 names of Polish officers, names which we were able to get from other Poles reporting to us. It was this list that formed the basis for our official diplomatic intervention through Ambassador Kot with the Russians, and then subsequently through General Sikorski personally, who conducted the conversations with Stalin in November of 1941. Neither the official intervention by Ambassador Kot nor the personal conversations of General Sikorski with Stalin resulted in any particular success.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What personal part, if any, did you play in the interventions of Ambassador Kot in this matter: did you participate in the conferences he had, or what part did you play?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes; I prepared the material and the list, but I did not personally participate in those conversations which were conducted by Ambassador Kot.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And I imagine the same is true—you did not personally participate in any of the conferences held directly by General Sikorski with Stalin?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you anything further to add in that respect?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes; the last phase of my particular investigation was that since we had no success in our official negotiations with the Russians, we returned again to an effort through the military to locate these officers. This, of course, was done in two ways: Through official channels and through unofficial channels. Officially Major Czapski was nominated by General Anders to deal with the military in an official way. He had the proper letters of authorization for him to do this particular work. His assignment was to contact the top command of the NKDV, and through them it was his assignment to try and learn as to the whereabouts or fate of the Polish officers. Our unofficial efforts consisted in sending our own people to the various locations and camps that had been suggested from time to time where these Polish officers might be still held captive. Particularly did we send people to the far north. Those are the points from which there were no Polish officers reporting to us when the Army was being formed. From among those that we had sent unofficially and secretly into these northern sections of Russia to get some information on the Polish officers, very few returned, and those who did manage to return could not give us any additional information. At this time I already had been named as Chief of Staff of the Polish Forces in Russia; and since I was the Chief of Staff then I was directly in command of sending Major Czapski into the official channels and these various other people through the unofficial channels into northern Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just to make the record clear, when you speak of the Polish Army in Russia, you are referring to General Anders' army; is that right?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes. This all happened during the summer of 1942. This for the most part consists of the highlights of

the knowledge that I have of our efforts to locate these Polish soldiers. If you have any particular questions, I shall be happy to answer them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There were no further direct contacts made with any Russian officials other than those about which you have told us, so far as it relates to the missing Polish officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. We had made constant efforts not only when I first arrived there but also when I became the Chief of Staff to locate or get some information as to the whereabouts of these Polish officers, and all through 1942 our efforts were completely without success.

Mr. DONDERO. Did all of this happen before Germany attacked Russia?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. All of this was after Germany had attacked Russia and the Poles established diplomatic relations with the Russians.

Mr. DONDERO. What was the date of the German attack?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. The 22d of June 1941, and I arrived in Russia on the 4th of August 1941.

Chairman MADDEN. Let me ask the general this: In the conferences that you had with the Russian officials regarding the missing officers, their statements to you, as I understand it, were that they did not know anything about these missing officers; is that right?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. You are familiar with the time when the Germans, the Nazis, made the broadcast announcing the finding of the graves at Katyn, are you not?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. How soon after this Berlin broadcast announcing the finding of the thousands of bodies at Katyn did the Russians come out in a broadcast and state that the Germans killed these Polish officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. This broadcast was in 1943 and the Polish Army was in the Middle East at this time. We left Russia in 1943.

Chairman MADDEN. I understand it was within 24 or 48 hours that Moscow came out and stated that the Germans killed these people?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. We at that time, of course, no longer were in Russia; the entire Polish Army had been moved out of Russia and we were in the Middle East.

Chairman MADDEN. But do you know how long after the Berlin broadcast announcing the finding of the graves was it that Russia broadcast and accused the Germans of killing them?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. I do not recall exactly; it is difficult for me to fix the exact time; but it was very shortly after that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness points out that they were shocked and taken by complete surprise when the Russians announced their version, particularly after the German announcement, and they were extremely disturbed over the question; "Why did not the Russians tell us where these men were if they had known that they were there during our entire negotiations?" They had claimed all along that these Polish officers had been sent to labor camps somewhere in the Smolensk area. Why could not they have told us at that time that "We had sent them to these labor details in Smolensk," and that the

Germans had taken them prisoner. Instead we received the reply from Stalin that maybe these men had fled or escaped to Manchuria. Mr. MACHROWICZ. General, I want to hand you now the official exhibit which was identified yesterday by Mr. Moszynski as the so-called Katyn list of the missing officers of the Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov camps. You have mentioned three persons in whom you were particularly interested in finding, Lieutenant Colonel Soltan, Colonel Janiszewski, and Dr. Major Delawau.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I hand you the exhibit I have just described and call your attention to page 291, and ask you whether you find there the name of Maj. Adam Soltan, whom you were trying to locate at that time?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you find there his name as one of those who were found missing in Katyn?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now I will call your specific attention to page 259 and ask whether you find there the name of Colonel Janiszewski whom you have also mentioned?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes, the same.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the same person?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have been unable to find in that exhibit the name of Dr. Major Delawau. Do you find it there?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Delawau is not there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to correct myself, when I say that the names of Lieutenant Colonel Soltan and of Colonel Janiszewski are on the list of Katyn, I want to correct that as being on the list of those who have never been heard of.

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. It is my understanding that Colonel Soltan was among those found in Katyn.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At any rate, General, he has not been seen since April 1940; is that correct; he has never been seen alive?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. General, I have just three final questions to tie your testimony altogether here, with particular reference now to the so-called second phase of your investigation after Ambassador Kot reached Moscow. In all of your conversations with the Russians from that point on, regardless of who they were publicly, officially, or privately, did you still find the same attitude any time you mentioned missing Polish Officers?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Otherwise, there was an atmosphere and an attitude of cooperation in everything but the question of missing Polish Officers; is that true?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You mentioned that during this period of time after the Ambassador arrived, the second phase, you were getting lists of names of officers from different Polish prisoners that were released and were coming in to Polish camps from all over Russia; you were getting names from them as best you could?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. But at no time from no one, Pole or otherwise, did you get any names of any officers who were at Koziesk, Starobielsk or Ostashkov except those who had been taken to Palvlishchev Bor?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Finally, as the Chief of the Polish Military Mission and as a ranking Polish general and as subsequent Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Forces under General Anders, you, of course, at that time were fully aware of that provision in the protocol of rapprochement between the Soviet and the Poles which provided that the Russians were to release all Polish prisoners of all categories, military and civilian; is that not correct?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And yet, despite that protocol, in all conversations you had at any time with any Russians, military, civilian or NKVD, about missing Polish officers, the Russians insisted that the Poles produce lists of names; is that not right?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And at no time did they assume the burden that they had agreed to under the protocol of releasing everybody?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Several times, in reply to our demands that there are still many Poles being interned, and that they should be released, we received official answers. One of those answers came directly from Mr. Stalin, who said: "If all of these Poles are not released, it is the fault of the lower echelons within the NKVD."

Mr. FLOOD. But the fact remains that they were not released?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. DONDERO. Have you been promised any reward or pay for coming to testify or did you come here voluntarily?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. I came here voluntarily, without any compulsion. I have been offered no remunerations for my testimony.

Mr. DONDERO. As a result of your experience and contact with the Russians and the position you held, what is your opinion now or then as to who committed this crime of killing the officers in Katyn?

General BOHUSZ-SZYSZKO. There is no doubt or misunderstanding in my mind. I am certain that this could have been done only by the Russians.

Mr. FLOOD. May I say for the committee, General, that we are very grateful that you would take your time to come here. We know that you welcome the opportunity of stating the truth, but, even so, we appreciate it very much.

**TESTIMONY OF EDWARD RACZYNSKI, 7, ARMITAGE ROAD,
LONDON, N.W.11**

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered that he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony. You understand that admonition clearly?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes, I do.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you rise and be sworn, please. Do you swear by Almighty God that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the pure truth and you will not conceal anything, so help you God?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, will you tell us your connection with the Government of General Sikorski, the Polish Government in London, during the years that you were here in that connection?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I was appointed Polish Ambassador.

Mr. FLOOD. By whom?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. In London, by the former Polish Government. The Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time was Colonel Beck in 1934—that is in prewar days—and I was Ambassador in London since November 1934.

Mr. FLOOD. You continued to be Ambassador in 1939?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I continued to be Ambassador throughout until recognition from the Polish Government was withdrawn in July 1945. So I remained Ambassador in London for 11 years.

Mr. FLOOD. For 11 years from 1934?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. From 1934, November, until July 1945. I have to add that during General Sikorski's prime ministership, after the signature of the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, there was a change in the Polish Government. The Polish Minister of the day, the Honorable A. Zaleski, withdrew and presented his resignation and in August 1941 I was entrusted with foreign affairs of Poland first as Acting Foreign Minister of Poland and a few months later as Minister of State in Charge of Polish Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FLOOD. But during that period of time that you have just described, when you took over your new position in the Polish London Government, you were still in residence in London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What capacity do you now hold with the so-called London Free Polish Government?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I am holding no official position at all. I have for some days been chief Polish adviser to the British Minister of Labor and National Service.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you recall who was Ambassador from the Soviet to London in 1943?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The Ambassador of the Soviet Government to the British Government in London was Mr. Myski.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you tell us in what capacity the Soviet representative, Bogomolow, served in London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes. Bogomolow was the Soviet Ambassador to the Polish Government.

Mr. FLOOD. In London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. In London.

Mr. FLOOD. During what period of time?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I could not tell you the exact date of his appointment, but he was appointed, in any case, the first and the only Soviet Ambassador accredited with the Polish Government in 1941, and remained as the Soviet Ambassador to the Polish Government up to the day of the breaking of the Polish-Soviet relations.

Mr. FLOOD. For our purposes, Mr. Bogomolow was the Russian Ambassador to the Polish Government in London during the time of conversations and communications dealing with the Katyn incident.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you, in your own words, and paying as particular attention as you can to the Katyn matter only, describe for the committee your conversations, if any, and your communications, if any, with Mr. Bogomolow, or with any other governments or any other persons on the Katyn matter.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The question of Katyn, as you know, I think, from other sources, has caused very serious concern to the Polish Government immediately after it was realized that at the moment of the release of the civilians and of military persons in Russia, a very large number of Polish officers did not turn up. This had become clear already before the end of the year 1941, and had been, as you will remember, discussed by General Anders and by other officers and by General Sikorski during his visit to Moscow in his conversations with Marshal Stalin at the beginning of December 1941. The same information came, naturally, our way here in London and we were trying to check every piece of news in order to find some clues pointing to the whereabouts of the missing Polish officers. After so many years, one's recollections cannot be located with absolute precision to 1 day or 1 hour, but I do remember that on several occasions in these days at that time we received contradictory and curious information regarding the presence of some of the missing Polish officers in very far away regions in Russia. According to one information which is present to my memory, the Polish officers apparently had been sent to the Kolyma district, which is situated far north on the Arctic Ocean and it is not accessible except in certain weeks.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When you speak of these representations made to you, would you be specific and state on the record who gave you the information and when, rather than a general allegation.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. It was not information communicated to us in any way officially. It was hearsay news coming from fellow Poles from Russia. A certain large number of Poles had been released. These were flocking in large numbers to certain points, like the Polish Embassy in Moscow and later in Kuybyshev, and other points. Polish agents were established under a welfare organization under the Polish-Soviet Treaty and these refugees were flocking to these centers and they were anxiously questioned as to whether they had any information to supply regarding missing Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. As a result of all of this information, as a result of these rumors, as a result of all these communications and personal writing that was coming to you as the Polish Ambassador here in London, did you communicate with the Soviet Ambassador to the Polish Government, Mr. Bogomolow?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I did.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us the first time you made such a communication in writing any person?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The first communication in writing which I made was on the 28th January, 1942. I have the text here.

Mr. FLOOD. May I see the document, please?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I even had a copy made.

Mr. FLOOD. May I have it?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. This document is published in this volume, the Polish-Soviet Relations 1918-43, Official Documents, which was issued by the Polish Embassy in Washington by authority of the Government of the Republic of Poland. These documents are absolutely authentic.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness shows the committee a copy of a letter just mentioned, and will the Stenographer mark this as "exhibit 18."

(The letter referred to was marked as "exhibit 18," and is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 18

[Translation copy]

NOTE OF JANUARY 28, 1942, FROM MR. RACZYNSKI, POLISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO AMBASSADOR BOGOMOLOV, CONCERNING THE FAILURE TO SET FREE A NUMBER OF POLISH CITIZENS, AND SPECIFICALLY A NUMBER OF POLISH OFFICERS

No. 49/Sow/42

LONDON, *January 28, 1942.*

Mr. AMBASSADOR: The Polish Government regrets to have to bring to Your Excellency's notice that, according to information just received, the liberation of Polish citizens detained on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in labour camps and other places of detention has not been completely carried out. In a number of cases the local administrative authorities of the Union do not apply in full the provisions of the Soviet Decree dated August 12, 1941.

In this respect I have the honour to mention in particular the painful fact, that of all the officers and soldiers registered in the prisoner of war camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov, 12 generals, 94 colonels, 293 majors and about 7,800 officers of lesser rank have so far not yet been set free. It must be emphasized that investigations carried out in Poland and in the Reich, have made it possible to establish definitely that these soldiers are not at present in occupied Poland, nor in prisoner-of-war camps in Germany.

According to fragmentary information that has reached us, a certain number of these prisoners find themselves in extremely hard circumstances on Franz Joseph Land, Nova Zembla and on the territory of the Yakut Republic on the banks of the Kolyma River.

I must add that the question of the fate of Polish citizens, civilians and military, has been the subject of several consecutive interventions by the Polish Embassy at Kuybyshev, which will soon be in a position to submit a new list of names of all these persons to the Government of the Union. The same question was also the subject of a conversation in Moscow on December 4, 1941, between the Polish Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. During the course of this conversation General Sikorski was relieved to receive an assurance that the necessary instructions would be issued to the competent Soviet authorities and that all the prisoners would be set free.

Referring to the letter and spirit of this conversation and of the understandings reached by our two Governments, I have no doubt that Your Excellency will share my conviction that the efficient and speedy execution of the provisions of the supplementary Protocol to the Polish-Soviet Agreement signed in London on July 30, 1941, concerning the liberation of Polish citizens, imprisoned or detained in prisoner of war camps or labour camps, rests on imperative motives of humanity and justice. Your Excellency will no doubt also share the Polish Government's opinion that special importance should be attached to the favourable development of our mutual relations, as desired by the political leaders of both our countries united in the common struggle against the invader.

In requesting Your Excellency to be so good as to bring the contents of this Note to the attention of Your Government, I take this occasion to assure Your Excellency of my highest consideration.

I have the honour to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI.

His Excellency
Ambassador Alexander Bogomolov
Ambassador of the U. S. S. R. to the Polish Government.

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness for his attention exhibit 18 marked for identification and ask him whether or not exhibit 18 is a copy of the letter sent by him to Mr. Bogomolow on January 28, 1942. Just answer yes or no.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us the substance of that communication? What was that letter?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. This letter was the first official note which I addressed to Bogomolow to tell him of the information available at the time regarding the number of the missing officers in Russia and asking him to give us information on the subject.

Mr. FLOOD. By the way, exhibit 18 is an English translation of the letter of which you speak, is it not?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; it is.

Mr. FLOOD. What was in the letter in substance?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. As you will note, in this note I am mentioning the fact that we had received some information, or alleged information, regarding the presence of some of these men in the Franz Joseph Land, Nova Tembla, and the territory of the Yakut Republic and the Kolyma River, which I mentioned before.

Mr. FLOOD. That is the gist of the letter, which will speak for itself and will be in the record. Did the Russian Ambassador Bogomolow reply in writing?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The Russian Ambassador Bogomolow did give me a reply in writing.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that reply, or the original?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No, I have not the original. I have a copy of that reply. I have not a copy made, but it is in this collection of documents.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell me on what page of the document Bogomolow's reply is to be found?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. It is to be found at page 118 under No. 38.

Mr. FLOOD. At this time the committee shows the stenographer a document to be marked as "exhibit 19."

(Document headed "Polish-Soviet Relations 1918-43" was marked as "exhibit 19" and appears in the appendix of the record of the London hearings.)

Mr. FLOOD. For identification, exhibit 19 is referred to as "Polish-Soviet Relations 1918-43, Official Documents, issued by the Polish Embassy in Washington by authority of the Government of the Republic of Poland," marked "Confidential," and I show exhibit 19 to the witness and ask him if he can identify, as an official representative of that said Polish Government, that document.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You tell me that on page 118 of exhibit 19 is to be found the reply of Bogomolow to your communication; is that correct?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the date of Bogomolow's reply to your first letter?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. March 13, 1942.

Mr. FLOOD. At this time we offer in evidence that part of exhibit 19 only which is called No. 38 and is to be found at pages 118 and 119 of exhibit 19. It will be marked "exhibit 19A" and entered

at this point in the record. Will you tell us the gist of Bogomolow's reply?

EXHIBIT 19A

No. 38

NOTE OF MARCH 13, 1942, FROM AMBASSADOR BOGOMOLOV TO MR. RACZYNSKI, POLISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IN REPLY TO HIS NOTE OF JANUARY 28, 1942

The Embassy of the U. S. S. R. to the Polish Government.

No. 57.

LONDON, March 13, 1942.

MR. MINISTER: In reply to your Note of January 28, 1942, I have the honour, by order of the Soviet Government, to bring the following to your notice:

The Soviet Government cannot agree to the statements contained in Your Excellency's Note. According to these statements the liberation of Polish citizens, including officers and soldiers, detained on the territory of the U. S. S. R. in labour camps and other places of detention, has not been completed, because, it is alleged in the Note, the local Soviet authorities have not applied to their full extent the provisions of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. of August 12, 1941, concerning the amnesty of Polish citizens.

In the reply by M. V. M. Molotov's Note of November 8, 1941, addressed to Mr. Kot, and in the Aide-Mémoire of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of November 19, it had already been announced that the amnesty of Polish citizens had been strictly carried out. An appropriate investigation conducted by competent Soviet authorities after the conversation held on December 4, 1941, between the Polish Prime Minister, General Sikorski, and the Chairman of the People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R., J. V. Stalin, completely confirmed the above statement; besides the People's Commissar in the spirit of his Note No. 6 of January 9, 1942, addressed to the Embassy of the Republic of Poland, gave additional detailed explanations on the carrying out of the amnesty in favour of Polish citizens.

As the Polish officers and soldiers were liberated on the same basis as other Polish citizens under the Decree of August 12, 1941, all that has been said above applies equally to the Polish officers and soldiers.

As regards the statements contained in Your Excellency's Note, alleging that there are still Polish officers who have not yet been set free, and that some of them are on the Franz Joseph and Nova Zembla islands, and the banks of the river Kolyma, it must be stated that these assertions are without foundation and obviously based on inaccurate information. In any case, whenever it is learned that there are certain isolated instances of delay in setting free Polish citizens, the competent Soviet authorities immediately take measures necessary for their release.

The Soviet Government takes this opportunity to declare that it has put into full effect the measures concerning the liberation of Polish citizens in accordance with the Supplementary Protocol to the Soviet-Polish Agreement of July 30, 1941, and that thus the Soviet Government is doing in this respect all that is necessary for the future favorable development of the Soviet-Polish relations.

I have the honour to be, etc.

BOGOMOLOV.

MR. RACZYNSKI. Bogomolow's reply was of a very formal character. It just kept maintaining that the so-called law of amnesty had been implemented, and that all persons, whether civilian or military, who under that law should have been released were actually released.

MR. FLOOD. Did you communicate subsequently with Bogomolow or anybody else on this same subject?

MR. RACZYNSKI. Yes, I did.

MR. FLOOD. When?

MR. RACZYNSKI. I cannot give you the dates, but on several occasions during our many conversations at regular intervals with Bogomolow in reviewing different Polish-Soviet questions, we often reverted to that point, but always with the same negative result.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that we have the proper continuity, Mr. Ambassador, have you had any official communication from Ambassador Bogomolow prior to the one dated March 13, which you identified in this book?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I refer you particularly to one of November 14, 1941. Do you remember one of that date?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I cannot recollect offhand.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have your records?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you find a note which Ambassador Bogomolow is alleged to have delivered to you on November 14, 1941? Incidentally, to refresh your memory, it is the note in which I understand he was to have informed you that all the Polish officers who were on Soviet territory had already been released.

Mr. RACZYNSKI (having referred to exhibit 19). This note of November 14—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What year?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. November 14, 1941. It is a note from Ambassador Bogomolow addressed not to me but to General Sikorski. It is on page 115 of your exhibit 19.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But it was delivered to you?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. That is a difficult question for me. I believed that it must have been delivered to General Sikorski directly.

Chairman MADDEN. You do not recall that?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Is it entirely possible that any communications addressed to the head of your Government by Bogomolow in London would have been transmitted officially through the channels of your office and would have been probably a procedural matter only; is that correct?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. In the conversations you had with Bogomolow after his reply to your first letter, were they personal or telephone conversations?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Personal.

Mr. FLOOD. And in London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. In London.

Mr. FLOOD. They were conversations which had to do with the general matters between Ambassadors of the two countries?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. During the course of those conversations, you would repeatedly refer to the missing Polish officers?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What in every instance would be the reply and the attitude of Bogomolow on that question?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The reply of Bogomolow in every case was purely and entirely formal. He repeated, like Soviet representatives often do, obviously an instruction which was given him, and as he seemed to be anxious to avoid any mistake or to make any slip, he kept to more or less the same wording, repeating it formally.

Mr. FLOOD. Of all the conversations that you had with Bogomolow on this subject during that period of time, that particular part we are concerned with, Katyn, will you give us a sample of what you said to

him and what he said to you, not exact, but as you best recall, an illustration?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. By way of illustration, I can say that I was trying to induce Bogomolow to speak freely and to give his reasons, and I appealed to his reason and to his understanding in quoting arguments and in saying: "It is impossible that you should not be able to trace at least one of these missing men. We have had information to the effect that some had been seen here or there. It is not possible that such a large number of people should have vanished into thin air." Those are the kind of arguments which I was trying to put to him. His answer was always entirely formal. He said to me: "My dear Minister, the Soviet government executes to the letter its obligations. It has undertaken to release these people. It has released everybody."

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever communicate with Bogomolow in writing after this first letter which you told us about on this subject?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes, but only after the crime at Katyn was known, when I wrote him another note.

Mr. FLOOD. That was in 1943?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Is this correct: Before the crime at Katyn was discovered, you wrote to Bogomolow only once?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You talked to him on four occasions, and the gist of the conversation on those occasions on both sides was as you have just indicated?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. All of these conversations, Mr. Ambassador, took place here in London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, will you now take us down to that time in 1943 when the Germans announced their discovery of the crime at Katyn, and tell us how the matter first came to your attention unofficially, and then officially?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The news of the discovery of Katyn came to my knowledge, as to everybody's knowledge, through the publication of the German Government which was released to the press.

Mr. FLOOD. When was that date? Do you recall the exact date?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. April 15, I think; we had no other information—

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. Will you give me the exact date that you first heard of the German announcement about Katyn, the day, the month and the year?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. April 13, 1943.

Mr. FLOOD. And at that time you were still Ambassador for the Polish Government in London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I was still Minister of State in charge of foreign affairs of the Polish Government.

Mr. FLOOD. You were then Minister of Foreign Affairs?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Minister of State in charge of foreign affairs.

Mr. FLOOD. As soon as this German announcement was brought to your knowledge and attention, what was the first thing that you did either in reference to the German Government or the Soviet Government, or anybody else?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. We did nothing with regard to the German Government.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. When was the first day that you heard of the Russian reply to the German announcement? Do you remember the day that the Russians made their first announcement in reply to the German announcement?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. On April 15.

Mr. FLOOD. April 15. As soon as you heard of the Russian reply to the German charge about the massacre of Polish officers at Katyn then what did you do in your unofficial capacity?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The Polish Government discussed the matter.

Mr. FLOOD. With whom?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Amongst ourselves—that means General Sikorski, the Prime Minister; the Polish Minister of Defense; the former Polish Ambassador in Russia, and also the Minister of Information.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you recall if at that time, and as the basis for the discussions of the Polish Government that you are now describing, having received any communication from the Polish General Anders on April 15, which was the day of the Russian announcement? Do you recall any such incident?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; a telegram was received on April 15, 1943, from General Anders pointing out to the Russians the painful impression created by this discovery in the minds of the Polish forces.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you now tell us what transpired at the meeting on April 15, 1943, of the Polish Government?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. At this meeting we realized that this information, first of all, had the appearance of authenticity, and also we did feel that it could not remain without a strong reaction on our part. We felt that it was above all essential that the information should be impartially verified—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I interrupt one second, Mr. Ambassador? Did you participate yourself in the meetings of the Council of Ministers as they were held around that time?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes, I did—and it occurred to us that the best authority for verifying the information, and for stating officially the best view on the authenticity of this discovery would be the International Red Cross at Geneva. We therefore—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Ambassador, do you remember participating in the meeting of the Council of Ministers which was held on April 17, 1943, as the result of this announcement by the Germans?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You participated in that meeting?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you remember then, as the result of that meeting, it was decided to make one final attempt to appeal to the Soviet Government, and a note was accordingly issued and sent and delivered to the Soviet Ambassador on April 20, 1943?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes, that is my note of April 20.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was before the appeal was made to the International Red Cross?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes, but the note was actually sent after.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, it was delivered to the Soviet ambassador, Mr. Bogomolow, on April 20?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of the note of April 20 that was dispatched to Bogomolow?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes, I have a copy here.

Mr. FLOOD. May I have that, please?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Certainly.

(Mr. Raczynski handed the copy of the note of April 20, 1943. The copy of the note referred to was marked as "Exhibit No. 20 for identification," and follows:)

EXHIBIT 20

[Translation copy]

NOTE OF APRIL 20, 1943, FROM MR. E. RACZYNSKI, POLISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO MR. A. BOGOMOLOV, AMBASSADOR OF THE U. S. S. R., DEMANDING AN EXPLANATION OF THE FATE OF POLISH PRISONERS MISSING IN THE U. S. S. R.

755/Sow.

LONDON, April 20, 1943.

Mr. AMBASSADOR,

Foreign telegraph agencies publish a report of the German military authorities concerning the discovery at Kozia Góra near Katyn in the vicinity of Smolensk of a mass-grave containing the bodies of the Polish officers allegedly killed in the spring of 1940. During the first few days 155 bodies were identified among which the body of Major General Mieczysław Smorawiński is supposed to have been found.

This report, although emanating from enemy sources, has produced profound anxiety not only in Polish public opinion but also throughout the world.

In a public statement on April 17, 1943, the Polish Government categorically condemned Germany's attempt to exploit the tragedy of Polish prisoners of war in the U. S. S. R. for her own political ends. But more than ever the Polish Government unalterably maintains its attitude that the truth about this case so cynically exploited by Hitlerite propaganda must be fully elucidated.

You are no doubt aware, Mr. Ambassador, that after the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Polish Government repeatedly approached the civil and military authorities of the U. S. S. R. with requests for information concerning the prisoners of war and civilians who were in the camps of Kozielsk /East of Smolensk/, Starobielsk /near Kharkov/ and Ostashkov /near Kalinin/.

According to information of the Polish Government there were in all at the beginning of 1940, 15,490 Polish citizens, including 8,700 officers, in the three above mentioned camps. From April 5, 1940, until the middle of May 1940, the Soviet authorities proceeded to break up these camps, deporting the inmates in batches every few days. Prisoners of the Kozielsk camp were deported in the direction of Smolensk, and from all the three camps only 400 men were transferred in the last batches, first to the Yukhnovski camp—railway station Babynino—and subsequently in June 1940, to Gрязovetz in the Vologda district.

When after the signing of the Polish-Soviet military agreement on August 14, 1941, the Polish Government proceeded with the organization of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R., the camp of Gрязovetz, to which in the meantime military and civilian prisoners from other camps had arrived, was also broken up and from the above mentioned group of 400 prisoners more than 200 officers reported for service in the Polish Army before the end of August 1941. All the other officers however, who were deported to an unknown destination from the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov have neither been found nor have they given any sign of life. So it became apparent that more than 8,000 officers were missing who might have supplied the cadres of senior and junior officers of the army in formation and who would have been of inestimable value in the military operations against Germany.

From October 1941, both Ambassador Kot and General Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R., constantly intervened, both orally and in writing, in the matter of the missing officers. Ambassador Kot discussed this subject with Premier Stalin, with Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and with Mr. Vishinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, demanding a list of the prisoners detained in the three camps mentioned above and an explanation as to their fate. During the visit to Moscow in December 1941, General Sikorski also intervened in the above matter in a

conversation with Mr. Stalin and on that occasion handed him a list containing the names of 3,845 Polish officers. On March 18, 1942, General Anders gave Mr. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, a supplementary list of 800 officers. On January 28, 1942, I had the honour to send you, Mr. Ambassador, a Note in which I emphasized the anxiety of the Polish Government at the failure to find many thousands of Polish officers. Lastly, on May 19, 1942, Ambassador Kot sent the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a Memorandum in which, reverting again to the question of the missing officers, he expressed his regret at the refusal to supply him with the list of prisoners, and his concern as to their fate.

I regret the necessity of calling your attention, Mr. Ambassador, to the fact that the Polish Government in spite of reiterated requests, has never received either a list of the prisoners or definite information as to the whereabouts of the missing officers and of other prisoners deported from the three camps mentioned above. Official, verbal and written statements of the representatives of the U. S. S. R. have been confined to mere assurances that, in accordance with a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R., dated August 12, 1941, the amnesty was of a general and universal character as it included both military and civilian prisoners, and that the Government of the U. S. S. R. had released all the Polish officers from prisoner of war camps.

I should like to emphasize that the Polish Government, as can be seen from their many representations quoted above, entirely independently of recent German revelations, has never regarded the question of the missing officers as closed. If, however, as shown by the communiqué of the Soviet Information Bureau of April 15, 1943, the Government of the U. S. S. R. would seem to be in possession of more ample information on this matter than was communicated to the representatives of the Polish Government sometime ago, I beg once more to request you, Mr. Ambassador, to communicate to the Polish Government detailed and precise information as to the fate of the prisoners of war and civilians previously detained in the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov.

Public opinion in Poland, and throughout the world has rightly been so deeply shocked that only irrefutable facts can outweigh the numerous and detailed German statements concerning the discovery of the bodies of many thousand Polish officers murdered near Smolensk in the spring of 1940.

His Excellency, ALEXANDER BOGOMOLOV

Ambassador Extraordinary of the U. S. S. R. to the Government of the Polish Republic in London.

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness marked for identification exhibit No. 20, and ask him whether or not this is the communication addressed by the Polish Government by him dated April 20, 1943, as the result of the meeting of the Polish Council of Ministers on April 17 to Bogomolow?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; it is.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you state for the record, without reading the letter (which speaks for itself) the gist of your note of April 20 to Bogomolow?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The gist of my note of April 20 is to remind the Soviet Government of the whole story, first of all of the promised so-called amnesty to the Polish civilians and to the Polish military, and to remind him also of all the former occasions on which we had demanded information, requested information, on the missing officers without ever receiving a satisfactory reply.

Mr. FLOOD. The tenor of your note of April 20 to Bogomolow emphasized that there was no desire on the part of the Polish Government to break relations with the Soviet Government?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. The letter indicates that there was no such intention?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. There was never such an intention.

Mr. FLOOD. We offer that document in evidence. Now did you ever receive a reply from Bogomolow or from any other Soviet representative to the Polish note we are just discussing of April 20, exhibit No. 20?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Now you told us that, for the reasons you stated, it was the determination of the Polish Council of Ministers to communicate with the International Red Cross as an impartial tribunal?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Was such a communication ever directed by the Polish Government in London to the International Red Cross in Geneva?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; through the Polish representative in Switzerland we requested the International Red Cross to take action.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of such a communication in your files?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I have not got it handy here at the moment, but it is available.

Mr. FLOOD. I am advised that Ambassador General Kukiel will appear and testify to the committee and will have these documents, and that certain representatives of the Polish Government, who also have in their custody documents of this nature, will also appear here and testify and produce such documents. Then for the purpose of this morning, Mr. Ambassador, will you give us the gist of the communication that the Polish representative in Geneva made to the International Red Cross in this matter?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The Polish Government requested the International Red Cross as an impartial institution to investigate the crime at Katyn, to investigate all the facts connected with the crime which was disclosed at Katyn, in order to establish the truth.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the International Red Cross reply to that request?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; the International Red Cross replied, pointing out certain difficulties in carrying out this request.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the nature of the reply of the International Red Cross? What was the gist of it?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. As far as I remember, the difficulty to which the International Red Cross pointed was that it was a one-sided request on our part. The answer of the International Red Cross was that it would be prepared to take action if requested by all interested parties.

Mr. FLOOD. And "by all interested parties," we understand you to mean the Russian Government and the German Government?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now do you know whether or not the German Government also made a request to the International Red Cross for the same purpose?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; it did.

Mr. FLOOD. At or about the same time?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; it did.

Mr. FLOOD. Are you aware from your memory of the general nature of the German request to the International Red Cross?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes. As far as I remember, and as far as my memory goes, the German request was to the effect that the International Red Cross should investigate, and was promising every collaboration.

Mr. DONDERO. Which request came first, Mr. Ambassador, the Polish request or the German request, to the International Red Cross?

Mr. FLOOD. Will you give me the date of the Polish request and the date of the German request to the Red Cross?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The German request was on April 16.

Mr. FLOOD. April 16 of what year?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. 1943.

Mr. FLOOD. And the date of the Polish request?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. The Polish Government decision was taken on April 15—

Mr. FLOOD. Yes, I know.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. But its execution took place on April 17.

Mr. FLOOD. Thank you. Now do you have any information from Bogomolow as to any communications that were made by the Russians to the International Red Cross? Were you advised by Bogomolow of the Russian reply? What did the Russians say to the international Red Cross, if you know?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No, I was not advised by Bogomolow about it; Bogomolow kept absolutely silent.

Mr. FLOOD. So none of the communications between the International Red Cross and the Soviet Government with reference to either the Polish note or the German note requesting Red Cross intercession was handled through London?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. So far as you know, it may have been handled through Kuybyshev?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you communicate through your office in London with any other governments in connection with the Katyn matter, or any other Sovereigns?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; we were in contract with the British Government at the time, keeping them informed.

Mr. FLOOD. Was your communication with the British merely to keep them informed of what you were doing?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That was the entire nature of your association with the British on this matter?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever at any time communicate with the Vatican officially on this matter?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I will give you the best of my memory.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes; the best of your recollection.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. We kept all Polish representatives abroad, of course, fully informed of what we were doing, and it was natural for them to keep the governments to which they were accredited informed of events.

Mr. FLOOD. But as far as you remember, you, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs here in London, did not communicate directly with the Vatican on this subject at that time?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I do not remember it.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know whether or not, to the best of your recollection as Minister of Foreign Affairs—did it ever come to your attention that the Vatican communicated with the Soviet Ambassador at Istanbul, if you recall, at that time on this subject?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; I seem to recall that, but I had no special knowledge.

Mr. FLOOD. You recall some such matter?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes; I do.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, Mr. Ambassador, was that the extent of your official connection with the Katyn matter, and either the German, the Russian, and the International Red Cross groups on the Katyn matter—is that all of your official connection with it?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have any other official reports in your possession which you had in your capacity at that time made available to the Polish Government in exile?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. I would like to call your attention to the statement of policy adopted by the Polish Government on April 17 through its Council of Ministers which was publicly issued that day regarding the discovery of the graves at Katyn. I have it here, if you wish to see it.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, if you will give me the statement we will enter it in the record at this point as exhibit 21.

(The document was handed to Mr. Flood and was marked "Exhibit 21," which follows:)

EXHIBIT 21

STATEMENT OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT OF APRIL 17, 1943, PUBLISHED IN LONDON, APRIL 18, 1943, CONCERNING THE DISCOVERY OF GRAVES OF POLISH OFFICERS NEAR SMOLENSK

The Council of Polish Ministers at a meeting held in London on the 17th of April 1943, after acquainting itself with all information received in the matter of Polish officers whose bodies had been recently discovered near Smolensk and having taken notice of a report in this matter received from Poland, issued the following statement:

"No Pole can help but be deeply shocked by the news, now given the widest publicity by the Germans, of the discovery of the bodies of the Polish officers missing in the U. S. S. R. in a common grave near Smolensk, and of the mass execution of which they were victims.

"The Polish Government has instructed their representative in Switzerland to request the International Red Cross in Geneva to send a delegation to investigate the true state of affairs on the spot. It is to be desired that the findings of this protective institution, which is to be entrusted with the task of clarifying the matter and of establishing responsibility, should be issued without delay.

"At the same time, however, the Polish Government, on behalf of the Polish nation, denies to the Germans any right to base on a crime they ascribe to others, arguments in their own defense. The profoundly hypocritical indignation of German propaganda will not succeed in concealing from the world the many cruel and reiterated crimes still being perpetrated against the Polish people.

"The Polish Government recalls such facts as the removal of Polish officers from prisoner-of-war camps in the Reich and the subsequent shooting of them for political offenses alleged to have been committed before the war, mass arrests of reserve officers subsequently deported to concentration camps, to die a slow death—from Cracow and the neighboring district alone 6,000 were deported in June 1942; the compulsory enlistment in the German Army of Polish prisoners of war from territories illegally incorporated in the Reich; the forcible conscription of about 200,000 Poles from the same territories, and the execution of the families of those who managed to escape; the massacre of 1½ million people by executions or in concentration camps; the recent imprisonment of 80,000 people of military age, officers and men, and their torture and murder in the camps of Maydanek and Tremblinka.

"It is not to enable the Germans to make impudent claims and pose as the defenders of Christianity and European civilization, that Poland is making immense sacrifices, fighting and enduring suffering. The blood of Polish soldiers and Polish citizens, wherever it is shed, cries for atonement before the conscience of the free peoples of the world. The Polish Government condemns all the crimes committed against Polish citizens and refuse the right to make political capital of such sacrifices, to all who are themselves guilty of such crimes."

Mr. FLOOD. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. May I make one short general remark on this matter?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. RACZYNSKI. Because I think this is the proper place for me to do it. It has occurred to me that one important element pointing to the responsibility of the Soviet Government, and the authorship of the Soviet of the crime, has not been sufficiently underlined so far, and that is this: Although the Soviet Government has not signed the Geneva Convention relating to war prisoners, it has nonetheless generally pretended to have observed that convention. In this case the Soviet Government, caught in its own mesh of fiction, has declared to the world that it had actually employed thousands of Polish officers, including more than a hundred generals, admirals, and colonels advanced in age, in breaking stones on the roads near Smolensk. I think that this kind of employment, this kind of occupation, for senior officers is scandalous in itself, and I may go one step further and say that so far as I am aware from all available evidence, this has not been done by the Soviet Government. They have been cruel to the prisoners; they have for a time kept them in very primitive conditions; they have deprived them, for instance, of noncommissioned officers as aides at certain stages of their detention, but the Soviet Government has certainly not sent senior officers of the rank of general and admiral to break stones. This has not been done by any belligerent anywhere during the great war, and would be, as I say, scandalous in itself; but to my mind it is additional evidence showing that, having been caught in their own tissue of stories, they did not know how to explain this fact away, and I think that this should be underlined as an additional point of circumstantial evidence showing the responsibility for the crime.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, the committee appreciates very much your interest in these proceedings, and the fact that you would come here today and testify before us. Now have you been offered any emoluments or any promises of any sort by anybody to appear here and give this testimony today?

Mr. RACZYNSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Thank you very much for coming.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Gentlemen, the next witness is Mr. Rowinski, an officer in the Polish Air Force, and he is an attorney.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you just state your name, and give the correct spelling of your name and your present address to the reporter?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Zbigniew Rowinski, and my address is No. 11, Hereford Square, London, S. W. 7, England.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as the result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony. Do you understand?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, I do.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you swear by God Almighty that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth and that you will not conceal anything, so help you God?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ZBIGNIEW ROWINSKI, LONDON, ENGLAND

Mr. FLOOD. Were you a member of the Polish armed forces at any time?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I was a reserve officer in the Polish Army, in the air force.

Mr. FLOOD. During the year 1939?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And were you called up to active duty by the Polish armed forces in 1939?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. When?

Mr. ROWINSKI. On September 25, 2 months before the war started.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you subsequently taken prisoner?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. By whom?

Mr. ROWINSKI. By the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. And where were you taken to—what German prison were you taken to?

Mr. ROWINSKI. First I was taken to Brunswick in Germany.

Mr. FLOOD. And where were you in 1943, in what prison?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I was at Woldenberg.

Mr. FLOOD. When was the Katyn Forest massacre first brought to your attention?

Mr. ROWINSKI. So far as I remember, and according to my notes, I heard of it first on April 14; it was in the German press which we got from Stettin.

Mr. FLOOD. You were then a prisoner in the German prison camp at Stettin?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you read this information in a German newspaper?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What action (if any) was ever taken by you in relation to the Katyn Forest massacre? In what connection were you ever identified in connection with the Katyn Forest massacre?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I was called in, I think, by accident.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that by the German authorities at your camp?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. So far as I remember, the German authorities there asked the Polish authorities to provide somebody.

Mr. FLOOD. They asked the Polish authorities at your camp?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And did the Polish authorities at your camp designate you as one of the Poles?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were one of those designated?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes—because the German authorities refused at first to accept some of the officers designated by the Polish authorities.

Mr. FLOOD. But anyway, you were designated by the Poles and accepted by the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. For what purpose?

Mr. ROWINSKI. We were told by the Germans that we have to go to Stettin to identify a list of names of Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you go?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, we did.

Mr. FLOOD. And you went with whom?

Mr. ROWINSKI. With another Pole, Major Nowosielski, and Captain Adamski.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, you went to Stettin for the purpose, so the Germans said, of checking or examining a list of what?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Of the names of Polish soldiers or officers found in the grave at Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you go to Stettin?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; we did.

Mr. FLOOD. With the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And did you see such a list?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No. We were brought to the German general in charge of this area, and he told us that we will go somewhere (he did not tell us where) which will be a very interesting journey for us, and he asked us to note all we will see there. Then he asked us if we can give him our word that we will not try to escape. Colonel Mossor, who was in charge of our group—I have forgotten to mention that they brought also other Polish officers from different camps to Stettin.

Mr. FLOOD. When you got to Stettin, in addition to the Polish officers from your camp, there were similarly other Polish officer prisoners who had been collected at Stettin by the Germans from other German prison camps for the same purpose?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, under German escort.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you remember how many were at Stettin?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Eight as far as I remember.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened then; where did you go?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Then we were sent to Berlin.

Mr. FLOOD. All of you?

Mr. ROWINSKI. All of us.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened at Berlin?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Excuse me. When Colonel Mosser told him that we cannot give him our word we will not try to escape, we were again escorted by German military escort to Berlin.

Mr. FLOOD. Then the Polish officer in command of this group of eight Polish officers refused to give parole not to escape?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Just a moment. I do not think the witness said that the eight were Polish officers.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; all Poles from different Polish camps.

Mr. FLOOD. So, you went to Berlin?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And what happened there?

Mr. ROWINSKI. From there we were taken by plane to Smolensk.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you talk to anybody in Berlin at the Propaganda Ministry?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; but not myself; it was Colonel Mossor, and he gave us a report of all his speeches.

Mr. FLOOD. When you arrived at Berlin, Colonel Mossor was taken to the German Propaganda Ministry?

Mr. ROWINSKI. That is right.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Documents allegedly to have been taken from the bodies?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Were presented to you by this German officer?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, and photographs; they were left with us, and we were asked to study them, and we were told the following day we would be taken to the grave.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you study them that night?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What comments, if any, were made by you and your brother officers? What was the consensus, if any, that night after you looked at these things?

Mr. ROWINSKI. We had doubts about the number of bodies which the Germans expected to be found in the graves.

Mr. FLOOD. How many bodies did the Germans tell you?

Mr. ROWINSKI. 12,000.

Mr. FLOOD. And you had doubts about that number?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. ROWINSKI. More specifically we found out that the statements of the Russian witnesses are not very clear regarding the transport and the number of Polish officers brought to the small station Gniezdovo. So, Colonel Mossor, who spoke Russian, decided to put some questions to the Russian witnesses.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment; we have not got that far yet; we are still in the "digs" at Smolensk.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And all that you have in front of you now are statements.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You examined those statements, and were not satisfied with them?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. What other opinions were expressed that night in Smolensk by the eight Polish officers who were together regarding this matter, if any?

Mr. ROWINSKI. The opinion in our group was that this was probably another German trick.

Mr. FLOOD. Propaganda?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. We all believed that most probably the Germans constructed this mass grave, put into the grave the bodies perhaps not even of Poles, but other bodies, then put the Polish uniforms on the bodies and that they just filled it in. This was the general opinion of the camp. Therefore, we decided to try and find out the truth and to get our own impression about this. So, first of all, when we had all the documents and all the photographs of the documents found in the grave, we started to examine them and tried to find out if they could be forged. The general impression was that they were genuine, especially because there were a lot of Polish savings-bank books, a lot of them. They were quite distinct; you could see the stamps of the different places where the money was drawn.

Mr. FLOOD. So, that first night you took a look at these exhibits, and you had the general impression that, while they were only photographs, they were photographs of authentic original documents?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; but, as we had some doubts about the statements of the Russian witnesses, Colonel Mossor decided to put some questions to these witnesses, because we were told by the Germans that we would be able to meet the witnesses the following day and put some questions to them if we wanted to.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you decide anything other than what you have told us regarding your decisions that night?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. We agreed to put some questions to the witnesses the following day, and Colonel Mossor prepared some questions after studying their statements.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, what happened the next day?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Next day we were taken to the place where the graves were found.

Mr. FLOOD. Where was that?

Mr. ROWINSKI. It is not far from the railway station at Gniezdovo.

Mr. FLOOD. About how far is Gniezdovo from Smolensk?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I think it is the second railway station from Smolensk.

Mr. DONDERO. About how far in miles?

Mr. ROWINSKI. It took us about 20 minutes by car.

Mr. FLOOD. And about how far were the Katyn graves from the station at Gniezdovo?

Mr. ROWINSKI. About a kilometer or a kilometer and a half.

Mr. FLOOD. You were taken to Katyn in motorcars under German escort?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened when you arrived at the graves, as you best remember?

Mr. ROWINSKI. When we arrived at the graves we were introduced to Professor Buhtz. He was in charge of the excavations, and when we were introduced to him I thought I would try some way to get a better understanding with him, because, as I told you, we left the camp with the general feeling that this is a German trick; and, as a lawyer, as a prosecutor, I personally wanted to find out what the facts were, to have my own personal opinion about it. Therefore, I approached him in this way: I asked him if he is the author of a book which I knew he wrote——

Mr. FLOOD. About what?

Mr. ROWINSKI. About traffic accidents, which I used when acting as a prosecutor in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. Was Professor Buhtz an authority on forensic law at the time?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; in Breslau, as far as I remember, before the war. Well, he was rather surprised to hear that I knew his work, and he asked me "How is it" that I knew of it. So, then I had the opportunity of explaining to him that I am a lawyer as well; that I am a prosecutor in Poland, and he was then very helpful, and he treated me like a fellow lawyer, like a younger one. Anyhow, he gave me great assistance.

Mr. FLOOD. The atmosphere and attitude of the German officers at this time was one of full cooperation?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Tell us what happened then. What did you see; what did you do and so on?

Mr. ROWINSKI. We were shown roundabout the graves. There were at the time about five places where the big grave was excavated. I have a sketch of it here. In one of the graves we found bodies with hands bound with cord. I have a piece of the cord here.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you say that you have a piece of the cord with you?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you say that the piece of the cord that you have with you is a piece of the cord that you yourself took from one of the graves at Katyn on the day that you visited it?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Not myself. Professor Buhtz in my presence took it off the hands and gave it to me.

Mr. FLOOD. You say Professor Buhtz, who was in charge of the German investigation, removed this particular piece of cord which you now have here from the hands of the body of a dead Polish officer?

Mr. ROWINSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. In one of the graves at Katyn?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you let me see that?

(Mr. Rowinski handed the piece of cord, referred to, to Mr. Flood.)

Mr. FLOOD. The witness has shown the committee a piece of what looks like sash cord, in American parlance, very strong, about 6 inches long; and we will ask the stenographer to mark this as "Exhibit 22"

(The cord referred to was marked "Exhibit 22," a photograph of which is shown below.)

EXHIBIT 22



Photo of cord identified as a piece which was removed from the body of one of the victims found dead in Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is shown now, marked "Exhibit 22," the piece of cord spoken of. Do you identify this as the piece of cord or rope that we have just discussed?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Definitely. It was in my possession the whole time.

Mr. FLOOD. This exhibit has been in your custody since the time you received it from the hands of Professor Buhtz at the graves in Katyn until the moment you have just presented it to this committee this morning?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is offered in evidence. What else after this incident took place did you see or do? We have a great deal of evidence already in the record describing the scenes and circumstances of the grave, and we will have a great deal more from German witnesses, but we would like a paragraph or so from you as to what you saw.

Mr. ROWINSKI. I put it all in detail in the book there, but it is in Polish.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One of the first things I presume that occurred to you as a Polish officer, and because of the suspicions that you had that this might be German propaganda was whether or not these were actually Polish officers; am I right?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you make any attempt to convince yourself whether or not these were actually bodies of Polish officers?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; I did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you determine that they were Polish officers?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I found one of my acquaintances, the body of Captain Sidor.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you then direct your attention in any way to the matter of uniforms?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did you do and what did you find with regard to the uniforms on the bodies that were found in the grave?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I checked the uniforms so far as I could. I saw that they were Polish—there was no doubt—and I saw also Polish stamps of different manufacturers on the shirts and underwear.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did it occur to you that these uniforms might have been planted on bodies which were not those of Polish officers? Did that thought come to you?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; certainly. It was one of the principal things that I wanted to find out.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I understand you, with your background as a prosecutor, wanted to check for yourself whether or not the Germans had planted this incident.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As you just said, one of the questions that occurred to you was that they might have planted Polish uniforms on bodies of non-Poles?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did you do?

Mr. ROWINSKI. First of all, I found the original Polish uniforms. So there was the consequent question whether those Polish uniforms could be planted on different bodies which were not Polish. So far as I could see, and judging after my short experience, I came to the conclusion that the uniforms were on the bodies at least from the time when they were put into the grave.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What led you to that conclusion?

Mr. ROWINSKI. On some of the bodies the uniforms were completely pasted to the skin, stuck together, showing that they were very long in the grave; and, besides, there were some folds in the uniforms which rather showed that the body, when it was put into the grave, must have been still warm, because it is rather impossible that the uniforms could have all these folds.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Generally speaking, the fact that these uniforms were so closely molded into the body, led you to the conclusion that they could not have been planted on the bodies?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How many graves did you find?

Mr. ROWINSKI. We were told there was one big grave, but four holes were dug into the place and we saw four big graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did it occur to you also that possibly these bodies might have been moved, or touched, before you got there?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. Those are the questions which I wanted to investigate as well.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you do anything to investigate that?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. Professor Buhtz allowed us to go down into one of the graves, especially the graves where the bodies were with their hands bound. He allowed us to choose any body in the grave and excavate it; so we did. We chose a body which, in our opinion, had not been touched before. We took it out and it looked just like a date out of a box. The body which we found lying on the stomach had a hole here in the stomach where the head of another body lying under this body was completely stuck in.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, the body on top had its head indented into the stomach of the body just below it?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No; it is the contrary. It is the other way.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The head into the stomach?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. We could see it was not touched before because it was completely pressed in. It was lying in this way probably about 2 years.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That indicated to you that these bodies were not removed or planted?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did the question of the caliber of the bullets interest you?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you make any investigation in that respect?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. I looked for some bullets, but I could not find any, of course, so I asked one of the German gendarmes. He could not give me any reasonable answer. He just told me that most probably the cartridges were somewhere here in the dump, and later on we would probably find them, but he could not tell me what happened to the cartridges; so we presumed that the shots were fired from the Russian type of revolver where there is only a drum and the cartridges are not shaken out automatically. This was my presumption, but, later on, it turned out that it was false, because the cartridges were of German origin.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you find any grave there which had bodies which gave you indications of having been there longer than those bodies you have been describing now?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Not myself. Colonel Mossor went across the road to another grave which was also discovered by the Germans, where he told us he found bodies of civilians, so far as he thought, in long boots and civilian clothes, which, as to his opinion, must have been in there much longer, about 6 to 8 years.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You were there in 1943?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The other grave contained bodies which, to Colonel Mossor, appeared to have been there 6 to 8 years?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Which would bring it to about 1937?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were the hands of these bodies tied in the same way as the others?

Mr. ROWINSKI. The same way, and, according to the statement of the Russian witnesses, they were bodies of different Russians which were shot there in the same place.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you, because of your legal background, interested in trying to determine the length of time these bodies were there by the documents found on the bodies?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, I did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did you do in that respect?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I found different letters addressed to the officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you find these letters?

Mr. ROWINSKI. When we visited the graves, we were then taken to a small house not far from the graves, where the Germans had collected all the documents. They were at our disposal. We could touch them and we could examine them. Among others, I found some letters addressed from Chorzow. On the envelopes of the letters there were marks done probably by the officer who received the letters when he received the letters. I examined about three or four such envelopes, and the dates on the envelopes never exceeded the end of March, so far as I remember now.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What year?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I have it here [the witness perused some documents]; 1940, of course.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have just been looking at certain notes. What are they?

Mr. ROWINSKI. They are notes I took down just after visiting the graves in Smolensk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Immediately after visiting the graves?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Those notes bear the last date of these letters as what?

Mr. ROWINSKI. The end of March and the beginning of April.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What year?

Mr. ROWINSKI. 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are positive?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, I am quite positive. I checked them among others. I found a letter addressed to an officer, sent from his wife who was at this time living in the house of a friend in Chorzow.

Mr. FLOOD. Are those notes to which you are referring for the purpose of refreshing your memory made in your own writing?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And made immediately after your visit to Katyn?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you find in those notes any reference to any diaries that you may have found?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. I remember that we found a diary in which the officer put a note at the moment when he was brought to Gniezdovo, this small station near Katyn.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I direct your particular attention and ask you whether or not you have any recollection now of having found a diary of a Second Lt. Jan Bartys? Would you refresh your memory by looking at your notes?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I cannot find it here.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Does this help you at all [showing document to witness]?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell me what you found with regard to the diary of Second Lt. Jan Bartys?

Mr. ROWINSKI. In this memo—it was only a small calendar—he puts the note: “We have just arrived at the Gniezdovo station,” because he could see the inscription, probably, “and I see NKVD people standing from the railway station up to the woods,” which were not far from the railway station. This he saw, apparently, from the window of the rail car.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know the date of the last notation on that calendar?

Mr. ROWINSKI. March 15, 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were the remaining pages of that calendar still intact?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; they were. I examined the calendar, so far as I remember now, because some people said it was all prepared by the Germans, and they have probably torn out the unnecessary pages and left only those which were suitable for them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Tell me if there was anything significant about that particular calendar which attracted your attention?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Only the fact that he stated in his note that he is seeing the NKVD people standing along the road leading from the station to the woods.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The remaining portion of the calendar after March 15—

Mr. ROWINSKI. There was no note at all; the pages were intact—blank.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you, in checking these various papers, letters, calendars, diaries, and notes that you found, find any one which had a date later than March 1940?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you yourself remove any papers or documents from any of the bodies?

Mr. ROWINSKI. From the bodies, no.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you ask Professor Buhtz for permission to select for yourself any body which had not yet been removed from the grave?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did Professor Buhtz say?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Professor Buhtz agreed, and he let us go down to one of the graves, choose one of the bodies which we found there and just take it out.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you remember what layer it was?

Mr. ROWINSKI. It was in the grave where all the bodies were lying with their hands tied.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What layer from the top?

Mr. ROWINSKI. The fourth, because the first were already removed. We had to go down.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there any other significant matters or any other significant details you have not mentioned yet which you

found with regard to these bodies which led you to any conclusions as to the guilt of either the Russians or the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. We found two letters amongst the documents which were addressed to Poland by officers in the same camp in Kozielsk camp. We found them amongst the documents. We thought perhaps those letters were given to the officers who were told by the Russians that they are going back to Poland.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there any attempt made, during the time you were at Katyn, by any German to either compel you to do anything against your will or to force you to announce any conclusion which was not based upon your own findings?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have a free hand there?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; a completely free hand.

Mr. DONDERO. I have some questions I want to ask. Was there anybody at the grave when you got there besides you Polish prisoners of war; I mean other prisoners of other nationalities?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I saw there Russians who were helping to excavate bodies.

Mr. DONDERO. No other nationality?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No.

Mr. DONDERO. Will you describe to the committee how that area looked where the graves were found; what kind of country is what I mean.

Mr. ROWINSKI. It was in a wood, but it was rather a part of the wood where there were only a few big trees, big fir trees, so far as I remember. But amongst those trees there were small fir trees, not very high.

Mr. DONDERO. Were there any trees on the graves?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No, I have not seen any on the graves.

Mr. DONDERO. What did the ground look like—what color?

Mr. ROWINSKI. It was rather sandy.

Mr. DONDERO. Kind of yellowish?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yellowish like sand. There was only one grave where we found already some ground water. Because the ground was going slowly down, in one place was rather wet.

Mr. DONDERO. How many layers deep were these men buried?

Mr. ROWINSKI. In one of the graves I saw something like a special pit. The Germans make a pit in order to check the layers.

Mr. DONDERO. How many bodies did you see?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Already excavated?

Mr. DONDERO. Or in the graves.

Mr. ROWINSKI. I could not tell you because I saw only about 160 which were already excavated and they were lying in rows.

Mr. DONDERO. Could you see how long or deep the graves were?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, I could see the one grave. There were, so far as I remember, about 13 layers of bodies.

Mr. DONDERO. Thirteen deep from top to bottom?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; completely pressed together.

Mr. DONDERO. Have you any judgment or any estimate you want to give the committee as to the number of Polish officers who were buried in those graves that you saw?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I remember we just took over this number because, from the beginning, we doubted that there could be 12,000. We came to the conclusion there could not be more than about 8,000.

Mr. DONDERO. On the bodies that you saw, were the uniforms those of Polish officers?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Did they have their overcoats on?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Not all of them.

Mr. DONDERO. Did some of them?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Did they have their boots on?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; nearly all of them had their boots on.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you examine the boots?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. What condition were they in?

Mr. ROWINSKI. In a very good condition indeed. Some of them had even something like a wooden sole in order to protect the leather. The officers probably did them in the camps.

Mr. DONDERO. Were they worn much or did they look fairly new?

Mr. ROWINSKI. They looked very good indeed. I thought it would be an excellent advertisement for the firm who manufactured them if it was not so sad a moment.

Mr. DONDERO. These Russians who were there at the graves with you, were they soldiers or civilians?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Civilians.

Mr. DONDERO. How many?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I saw about 12.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you talk with any of them?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No. I do not speak Russian.

Mr. DONDERO. Were you permitted to talk to them?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I do not think so, but we were not told that it is forbidden to speak.

Mr. DONDERO. When you went to the graves at the suggestion of the Germans, you were naturally prejudiced and bitter towards the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Did your brother officers feel the same way you did and express themselves?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Exactly. They even despised me because those officers agreed to go——

Mr. DONDERO. After you had been to the graves, what conclusion or opinion did you arrive at with your brother officers who went there?

Mr. ROWINSKI. In my private opinion I was completely convinced it was done by the Russians.

Mr. DONDERO. What did your other officers think?

Mr. ROWINSKI. All other officers as well.

Mr. DONDERO. They came to the same conclusions?

Mr. ROWINSKI. The same conclusions, only we did not express it properly because the Germans wanted to use this report of ours for propaganda purposes. So we agreed only to say what we saw, drawing no conclusions—only what we have seen there.

Mr. DONDERO. And you expressed no opinion?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No opinion at all.

Mr. DONDERO. But you were satisfied then that the Russians did it?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you examine any of the clothes of these men?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, I did.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you find any bullet holes?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Where?

Mr. ROWINSKI. We always found here [indicating] a smaller bullet hole and a bigger one here [indicating].

Mr. DONDERO. For the record, you mean at the base of the skull?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, somewhere here [indicating]—always nearly in the same position.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness is now indicating entry of bullet at the base of the skull and indicating exit of the bullet on the far side of the hairline.

Mr. DONDERO. Were they all shot the same way?

Mr. ROWINSKI. It appeared to be done in the same way.

Mr. DONDERO. Their hands were tied behind them?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Not all of them, only some of them.

Mr. DONDERO. What can you say of the others who were not tied that way?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I suppose only those people who tried to defend themselves were bound, because I saw some bodies with sawdust in their mouth and some of them had even their heads covered with their overcoats, then a string round the neck connected with string at the hands. So when they started to struggle to free the hands, they must have choked themselves.

Mr. DONDERO. You saw several that way?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, I saw several and I saw also bullets through the overcoat here [indicating]—I mean the hole.

Mr. DONDERO. As you looked at the bodies in the grave, were they buried face up or face down?

Mr. ROWINSKI. They were in different positions. They looked to me like they were thrown into the grave in different positions.

Mr. DONDERO. They were not in layers?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No; they were just mixed.

Mr. DONDERO. Thrown in?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. In any position?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. They were in a state of decomposition?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes. Some of the faces of the bodies were like they were caught in the last moment of a cry.

Mr. DONDERO. How long, how wide and how deep were the graves you saw?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Would you allow me to look at something?

Mr. DONDERO. Refresh your memory.

Mr. ROWINSKI. I see the graves, but I could not tell you the size of the graves. I know that there were two big graves and two smaller ones.

Mr. DONDERO. Can you describe to the committee and for the record about how big they were?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I think it is in the report.

Mr. DONDERO. If you cannot find it, during the lunch hour refer to your notes and give it to the stenographer afterwards.

Mr. ROWINSKI. I will find it, because I have it down somewhere.

Mr. DONDERO. How old a man are you?

Mr. ROWINSKI. I am now 46.

Mr. DONDERO. How long were you a prisoner of the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Five years.

Mr. DONDERO. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Witness, I might say for the record that in our former hearings in Washington, a couple of different witnesses testified regarding the sawdust that was placed in the mouths of some of these bodies previous; that is, they did not have their hands tied behind them, but some of them had sawdust in their mouths, which confirms the testimony that you just related.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I would like to amplify that by saying that that is particularly true of a certain witness in Washington who testified with a mask over his head, and that witness testified that some of these bodies found with sawdust did have their hands tied behind their back as well.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask you whether or not you would be willing to leave those notes of yours as an exhibit in this case?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, certainly. They are in Polish.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Those are in Polish?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But they were made immediately after you were there?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Immediately after. It is rather the rough sketch of the report we prepared for the Germans.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It was immediately after your visit to Katyn.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They are your impressions as of that time immediately after you were in the graves?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, and the text of the same report is in the book.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you let me have those notes, please?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did you find any bodies with wire?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. I now ask the stenographer to mark for identification a series of documents or notes of this witness consisting of five pages—to mark them as exhibits 23, 23A, 24, 24A, and 24B, being a sketch or a map. I now show the witness the exhibits as I have just indicated and ask him whether or not those are the original notes in his own handwriting made by him immediately after his visit to Katyn for the purpose of being the basis for the report to the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And are those the notes with which he has been refreshing his testimony thus far before the committee this morning?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Those are offered in evidence as exhibits 23, 23A, 24, 24A, and 24B and follow.

[Translation from Polish]

April 14, 1943: Movement order (Wednesday) 06.43 hours from Waldenburg.

April 15, 1943: Szczecin, 10:30 hours. 19.00 hours to Berlin 21.25.

April 16, 1943: Start to Warsaw [by plane] from Staak aerodrome to Warsaw. Officers from the nearest camps were selected to speed up the departure. General Chmurowicz, 8 officers: 2 2nd lieutenants, 3 captains, Lt. Col. (G. S.) all from WK II, camps IIC, IID, IIE.

General Chmurowicz, unable to fly owing to his heart ailment, was left in Berlin.

On the aerodrome a captain informs us that we have to fly to Smolensk. The colonel requests that [either he or the group] be released from that duty and another delegation selected.

April 16: Arrival in Warsaw at 10.40 hours, Okecie. Major Nowosielski released; left in Warsaw. 11.30 hours—start for Smolensk. Arrival 15.30 hours. Military police interested. In the evening, detailed explanation of the purpose of our arrival. Copies of the depositions of witnesses and the list of casualties, 300 bodies. The Colonel made his standpoint clear. We are detailed by order, and were not informed of the purpose of the journey. We do not consider ourselves official representatives, and still less a delegation of prisoner-of-war officers. And therefore we are unable to make any declarations or statements. We request that we not be photographed, filmed, or asked to hold press conferences. We can, however (1) observe whatever we shall see on the spot; (2) transmit our observations exclusively for the information of prisoner-of-war officers, not through the medium of the public press; (3) all other statements of fact belong to the International Red Cross, the international press, etc. After some time, the Colonel received a reply that no conferences, declarations, or filming or radio broadcasting would be required, and that photographs taken by the noncommissioned officers would be kept at the O. K. W. for documentation. They will be satisfied with preparation of a report for the use of the prisoners of war, as bringing delegations from all POW camps is not technically possible.

April 17, 1943: 08.30 hours. Departure to Katyn Forest, the area of exhumation in the vicinity of the railway station Gniasdowa, 20 kilometers West.

Basic points:

(1) Condition of bodies, partly mummified in the dry sand, features not recognizable, documents, badges of rank, color of hair, service colors, buttons, the quality of cloth, all distinguishable. Documents and photographs in a good state of preservation. It is difficult to determine the length of interment by the condition of the bodies.

(2) Bodies are dressed in uniforms, with badges of rank, other marks; officers' boots undoubtedly Polish. Polish paper money is scattered around. (Colonel Dr. Bulitz present on the spot determined the period of interment as two years.) The state of decomposition of the uniforms corresponds to this period and to the condition of the bodies. A small number in civilian clothes.

(3) All exhumed bodies (one body exhumed personally) show pistol shot holes. Entry of the bullets was in the back of the head; exit in the occiput or temples. Some of the bodies have the hands bound at the back (one body personally exhumed). Similarly bound bodies were exhumed on the other side of the road, where, according to the depositions of the witnesses and (illegible) the bodies of Bolsheviks were buried 5 to 8 years ago.

1. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

2. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

3. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

4. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

5. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

6. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

7. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

8. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

9. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

10. Wzrost: 1,70 m, ciężar ciała: 70 kg, kolor włosów: ciemny, kolor oczu: niebieskie, kształt twarzy: owalny, kształt ciała: szczupły, kolor skóry: jasny.

[Translation from Polish]

(4) At the presumed area of the burials 4 excavations were made, in which a mass of many layers of bodies was found, some 1 to 2 metres deep. The top layer of bodies was removed and arranged on the surface for identification (some 300). Of these, some 160 were identified on the basis of documents, cigarette cases, (illegible), correspondence, identification tags, etc. The rest impossible to identify, including civilians, because badges of rank and documents are absent. The lower layers are still not removed. There are presumably some 12 layers of bodies to the ground water level. In the corner of each excavation shafts were sunk. The bottom of the shaft was covered with loose earth. The thickness of the mass from the second layer is $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres.

(5) The total number according to the German estimate is 10,000 to 12,000, and they quote the following bases [for their estimation]:

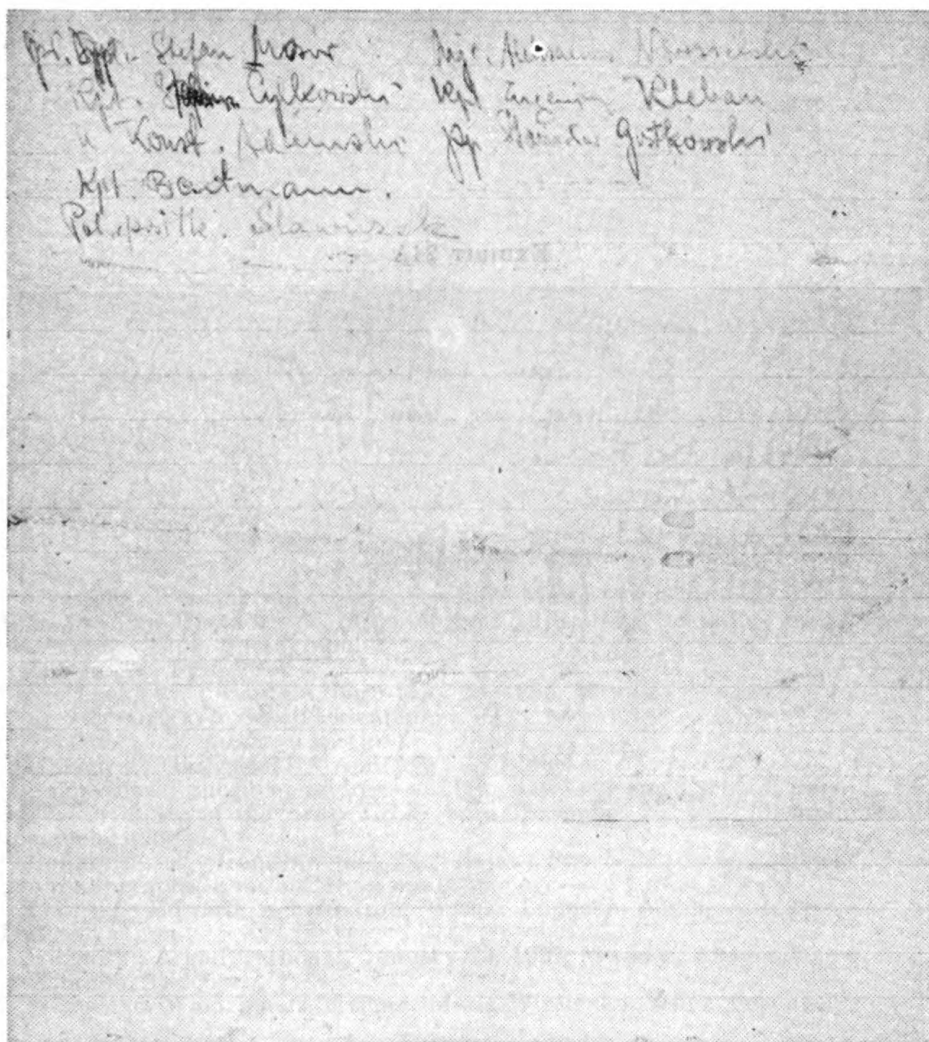
The surface of the general mass grave, and the thickness of the layer of bodies. Partly ascertained thickness of the layer visible in the shaft: $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres. From all sides of the excavations heads or limbs are sticking out, which indicates that between four opened graves bodies are also present—it is not known how many. Depositions of witnesses regarding the number of railway transports to Gniasdowa station and from the station to the place of execution in GPU trucks. In our presence the witnesses confirmed their depositions as regards the number of transports in reply to our direct questions.

It is beyond doubt that this is a mass grave and that the number of bodies involves thousands. The exact number can be ascertained only after exhumations are completed. According to the witnesses, during April and (illegible) 1940 they saw 3 to 4 rail transports composed of 3 to 4 prisoner cars. Truck could carry 16 persons each (daily; 480 during 28 days) (three covered trucks plus one light truck for luggage).

(6) Exhumation work is under the direction of an officer of the Germany military police, who is assisted by the professor of medicine of Wroclaw University with the rank of Hauptarzt (?). On the spot there are three delegates of the Polish Red Cross from Warsaw, who will remain until the work is finished. They assist with the identification of the bodies and the arrangement of a common grave. Each body, after exhumation and eventual identification, receives a metal tag about the neck with a number which is identical with that on the list of exhumed bodies and with that on the envelope with the documents.

(7) The documents found are kept, after being dried, in a neighboring forester's house in improvised showcases, with their numbers and envelopes. They are deciphered, translated, partly photographed, etc. Some of them (diaries) will be subject to chemical treatment in order to make illegible spots readable. The state of documents satisfactory, some photographs and correspondence in a good state of preservation, easy to read or to recognize.

(8) General Smorawinski's documents, particularly army identity card and the Postal Savings Banks of Lublin book, well preserved. Trousers on the body with general's stripes.



[Translation from Polish]

badges of rank of major general distinct, the face unrecognizable. A silver cigarette case with illegible gold inscriptions was found on General Smorawinski.

(11) Correspondence addressed from Poland found, almost exclusively postcards addressed to Camp Kozielsk. Latest dates of dispatch—January and February 1940 (replies).

(12) On two bodies short diaries were found in calendars, one brought to January 1, 1940, the other to March 15, 1940 (2nd Lt. Jan Burkys, Cracov).

These particulars agreed on by all officers present.

13.40 hrs., flown out from Smolensk, 17.45 in Warsaw. Medical examination of the crew (the escort and ourselves). Major Nowosielski rejoined the party. 18.39 hrs. departure, arrival in Poznan 20.40, night in Poznan. April 18, start for Berlin 7.25 hrs., arrival in Berlin 9.00 hrs. Staaken airport.

Lt. Col. STEFAN MOSOR.

Capt. STANISLAW CYLKOWSKI.

Capt. KONST. ADAMSKI.

Capt. BENTMAN.

Pol. [illegible] SLAWICZEK.

Maj. ALEKSANDER NOWOSIELSKI.

Capt. EUGENIUSZ KLEBAN.

2nd Lt. STANISLAW GOSTKOWSKI.

EXHIBIT 24A

Desygnacja 20 latopisze Kutyński nr. 2. III. 1892 Ostrołęka V
 Jan. i Wacławski M. Kyszkowski
 mgr. 27. lat, Kutyński, Kutyński wst. i długi, Kutyński
 20 lat, Dr. Franciszek
 Symonowicz 20 lat, Kutyński nr. 28. V. 1896. 20 lat
 w Wacławski
 Treutler, reich, ja... ppr
 Fryszberg Dr. Johann Kutyński
 Hataciński (Kutyński?) Kutyński ppr.
 Smarowski Kutyński Jan. i Kutyński ppr. 3
 Kutyński, P.K.O. Kutyński Kutyński
 nr. 25. V. 1892. 20 lat, Kutyński, Kutyński
 Kutyński
 Borkatowski Borkatowski Kutyński i. Kutyński
 lat ppr. III Kutyński, 2 ppr. 3-28
 Kutyński Kutyński
 Lepuski Edward Kutyński Kutyński Kutyński
 Kutyński Kutyński Kutyński 20. V. 1907. Wacławski, Kutyński
 Kutyński Kutyński
 Kutyński Kutyński Kutyński Kutyński Kutyński Kutyński

[Translation from Polish]

Deszczka, Wladyslaw, cartographer, born March 2, 1892 in Ostrozen, address—**Warsaw, Aleje Ujazdowskie**, Major of the 27th Railway Battalion, army book well preserved, with a photograph.

Zbroja, Dr. Franciszek.

Szymankiewicz, Captain, born May 26, 1896, address—**Warsaw**.

Freidenreich, Ya. Second Lieutenant.

Fryssberg, dr. Adam, Captain.

Halacinski (Halasinski?), Andrzej, Lt. Colonel.

Smorawinski [illegible], address—**Lublin, Litewski Sq. 3**, Postal Savings bank-book, certificate of the Army Cross, born December 25, 1892 [illegible] identity document [illegible].

Bohatyrowicz, Bronislaw [illegible] **Rejtan Str. 3-28.**, letter written by him, two photographs, a rather large sum of money.

Lopusko, Edward, a card from **Witold Lopusko**, **Vilna, Antokolska 4**, firm **Lopusko, Vilna**.

Kuzmiski, Arkady, student, **January 29, 1907, Warsaw, Akademicka 5**.

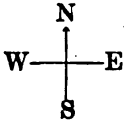
Wirszillo, Tadeusz.

Wlasienko, Wlodzimierz, civilian, **Maria Wlasienko, Wilna, Sosnowa 40**.

[Translation from Polish]

Railway Station
Gnezdowa

[Arrow] to Minsk and Vitebsk.
 [Arrow] to Minsk.
 [Arrow] to Smolensk.



[In Russian:] KATYN FOREST.

[In Polish:] (Katyn Forest).

Legend: 1 centimeter equals 10-15 meters for the middle of the drawing; on the outer parts of the drawing marks were placed for the purpose of orientation.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, Polish mass graves; excavations with Russian bodies; 5, excavation to receive exhumed bodies; 6, the guardhouse; 7, elevation for photographing and the Red Cross flag.

GPU House [In Russian:] KATIA MOUNTAIN.

So-called "Zofiowka" [In Polish:] (Katia Mountain).

[Arrow] Dnieper River.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know where Colonel Mosser is now?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, in Poland in prison. He was sentenced, I think, to life imprisonment. He became a general, and I think he became a director of a military school in Kharkov; but later on he was tried and he is now in prison.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the colonel who was in charge of this expedition?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I may ask you just one question about that colonel. You told us that the first night that you got together in Smolensk, amongst other things you decided to do was to have the colonel interview certain Russian workers?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; right.

Mr. FLOOD. Who had made certain statements shown to you by the Germans?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Right.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know if the colonel did interview those Russians?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; he did.

Mr. FLOOD. When—the next day?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; when we visited the graves.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you see him talking to them?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; I did.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you give us the gist of the colonel's conversations with the Russians?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; he told us that his impression is that they are telling the truth, only they are slightly exaggerating, he thought, regarding the amount of the people who were brought to the camp.

Mr. FLOOD. The colonel reported back about Polish officers?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That he had the conversation?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You know that he did in fact have one?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The gist of his conversation with the Russians was that he was satisfied that the statements he made which were shown to you by the Germans were honest statements, except that there was an error here and there about the numbers of bodies; is that correct?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is one paragraph in Colonel Mosser's report which I would like to read to you and ask you whether you remember that paragraph. [Reading:]

In May 1943 the known propaganda was started with regard to Katyn. I found myself in a group of officers who were taken to the locale for the purpose of showing the empty graves and the bodies. The very fact that these thousands of Polish officers were killed in the spring of 1940 in those woods is not subject to any doubt.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ (reading):

They tried to use us for radio, press, and film propaganda, to which I categorically effectively was in opposition. I did, however, agree only for the statement of our actual findings given for the information of Polish officer prisoners.

Do you remember that section of this report?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes; I even remember that he was completely convinced, and when I heard about him going back to Poland, I was rather shocked to hear it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I am reading now from the book: The Katyn Murders in the Light of Documents in which that paragraph of Colonel Mosser is included. I am reading from page 261 of that book. So that Colonel Mosser, who was major and subsequently colonel, did agree with you that there was no question in his mind but that these people were killed in the spring of 1940?

Mr. ROWINSKI. Yes, there was no question about it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This group of yours made a report. Is that report available?

Mr. ROWINSKI. It is in the same book you are reading.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The report of this particular witness appears in the book which I have read, but it appears without his name.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Flood, I believe we should state for the record that while the book Mr. Machrowicz is referring to has not been placed in the record because it is so voluminous, it is part of the committee's file and is always available.

Mr. FLOOD. The committee will take note of that. Mr. Rowinski, you have not been paid or promised any benefits of any kind, have you, for appearing here today, by anybody?

Mr. ROWINSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. The committee wish to thank you for giving your time and your attention to the matter we are trying to investigate, and we appreciate your testimony this morning very much indeed.

Mr. ROWINSKI. Thank you very much.

(At 1:30 p. m. the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 2:45 p. m.)

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

You may proceed, Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you just give your name and your British address to the stenographer, please?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Lt. Gen. Tadeusz Bor Komorowski, 3 Bowrons Avenue, Wembley, Middlesex.

You can take the rest of it from this statement.

(A document containing the following statement was handed to the reporter:)

Born in I.VI. 1895 in Chorobrow, Southeastern Poland, Galicja. Took part in First World War as Cavalry officer in the Austrian Army. From 1918 joined the newly formed Polish Army. From 1918 till to 1920 took part in the Russo-Polish War. In 1920 decorated with the Virtuti Militari Cross, the highest Polish military decoration. After the end of the war remained in the regular army. From 1927 till 1938 commanded the 9 Lancers Regiment.

In 1938 in the rank of colonel, appointed commander of the Cavalry Training Center in Grudziadz.

Took part in the German-Polish War in 1939. After the defeat in 1939 went underground and was one of the organizers of the Polish Home Army.

From 1939-41 commander of the Cracow and Silesia districts of the Underground.

In 1940 promoted to the rank of general.

From 1941-43 deputy commander of the Home Army/HQ in Warsaw.

In 1943 in July nominated commander in chief of the Home Army in the rank of lieutenant general. Commanded the Home Army till the end of the Warsaw uprising, October 1944. After the capitulation of Warsaw, taken prisoner of war by the Germans. In May 1945 liberated from German captivity by the U. S. A. Army.

From May 28, 1945 commander in chief of Polish forces abroad. In 1946, November 8, resigned from the post as C. I. C. of Polish Forces.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered an injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of the testimony.

Do you understand that?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, I understand.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you raise your right hand, please, to be sworn?

Do you swear, by God the Almighty and Omniscient, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth and you will not conceal anything; so help you God?

General KOMOROWSKI. I do.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you be seated, please?

TESTIMONY OF LT. GEN. TADEUSZ BOR-KOMOROWSKI, 3 BOW- RONS AVENUE, WEMBLEY, MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND

Mr. FLOOD. What is your full name?

General KOMOROWSKI. Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you at any time identified with the Polish armed forces?

General KOMOROWSKI. In the underground army, home army. From 1939 till the end of 1944 I was in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your title, your rank, in the underground army?

General KOMOROWSKI. In the beginning, general, and in 1943, lieutenant general.

Mr. FLOOD. During all of the time that you were in command of the so-called Polish home army, or underground army, your headquarters were generally in Warsaw, were they?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, sir, the headquarters. But I was not all the time commander; I was till 1943 deputy commander, and from 1943 after the commander in chief, General Rowski, was arrested, I became commander.

Mr. FLOOD. I direct your attention to the late summer of 1941, at which time the rapprochement took place between the Soviet and Poland. You are aware of that time?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And of the protocol?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you remember that the protocol between the Soviet and the Poles called for the Russians to release all Polish prisoners, of all categories?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes. And at this time we received an order from General Sikorski to look for the prisoners of war in camps of prisoners of war in Germany and in areas occupied by the Germans in Russia, as he saw that it may be possible that the Polish prisoners of war were taken by the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. Because of the confusion and because of the uncertainty as to where the Polish prisoners may have been, since there was no trace of them and because it was possible that they may have been taken prisoner by the Germans as well as the Russians, General Sikorski, then head of the Polish state, directed you, at your headquarters in the underground in Poland, to do everything possible to try and find the missing Poles; is that right?

General KOMOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I might suggest that he is maybe going to cover that in his statement.

Mr. FLOOD. That is what we are going to do now.

I have been advised, General, that you have a prepared written statement that you would like to read to the committee at this time.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Would you so do?

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Dondero.

Mr. DONDERO. Before you proceed with your statement, General, I have one question. You said on the record that you made an effort to search for the Polish officers in the belief that they might have been taken by the Germans. Did you not get word from these officers back to their families that they had been taken by the Russians and not by the Germans, before that time?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; but it was not our opinion. General Sikorski gave an order and in his order he believed maybe possibly that they were taken by the Germans, "so you must look all over to determine if some of the prisoners of war taken by the Russians are in any camp in Germany," the General wrote.

Mr. FLOOD. As a matter of fact, General, there had been a number of Poles who had been taken prisoner by the Germans in the earlier days; is not that right?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And they were then in prison camps in Germany?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You were present here this morning, were you not, when the last witness testified that he, a Polish officer, was a prisoner of the Germans in a German prison camp?

General KOMOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, go ahead now.

General KOMOROWSKI. In September 1939, a large part of the Polish Army retreating before the German onslaught had found itself in eastern Poland, where the men were taken prisoner by the Russians. After some time, the families of these men, mostly officers, began to receive censored letters from them. The postmarks revealed that the men had been grouped in three large prisoner-of-war camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov. The last letters to be received from these camps were dated April 1940. All letters sent to them after that month were returned stamped "Retour-parti"—"Return to sender; addressee gone away."

Grave anxiety reigned among the numerous families who had their relatives in Russian captivity. Nobody could understand why the letters written after April 1940 had been sent back. If they had been transferred to other camps, why had the letters not been sent on instead of being returned?

We had news from London, from General Sikorski, sent us by radio and by clandestine couriers, that more than 8,000 Polish Officers had been taken prisoner of war by the Russians. Of these, only about 400 men had been traced and found after the Russo-Polish Agreement.

General Sikorski had ordered the commander in chief of the home army to conduct a thorough search in the prisoner-of-war camps in Germany and in the areas under German occupation, as he did not exclude the eventuality that the missing officers had been taken over by the Germans during their advance in 1941. The intensive search undertaken by the home army, which had clandestine liaison with the prisoner-of-war camps in Germany yielded no results. Not a single Polish officer of the 8,000 mentioned was in a German prisoner-of-war camp; not one was discovered on Soviet territory occupied by the Germans.

There were in this last area a few civilians who during the years 1939, 1940, and 1941 had been deported from Poland by the Russians. They said that in the spring of 1940, Polish prisoners from the camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov had been removed from these camps and had probably been sent to forced labor camps in northern Russia. We could learn nothing more through the channels of information at our disposal. All news which we had we sent immediately by radio to London to General Sikorski.

At the beginning of April 1943, the chief of the German Propaganda Service for the Warsaw district summoned a number of Poles to the Bruhl Palace, headquarters of the Nazi Governor of Warsaw. They were received by a delegate of the German Ministry of Propaganda, from Berlin. He announced the discovery of mass graves of victims of Soviet terrorism near Smolensk. Simultaneously, similar meetings were summoned in Cracow and Lublin. In all cases, the Poles were told they were to be prepared for a journey, they were to be taken by plane to the actual scene of the graves, where they would see for themselves the truth of the German assertions.

On April 10, 1943, a delegation left Warsaw by plane for Smolensk. It was composed of the Chairman of the RGO, Seyfried, Ferdinand Goetel, E. Skiwski, Dr. K. Orzechowski, Dr. Grodzki, W. Kaweck from the press; a photo reporter, Didur; and a worker, F. Prochownik.

After their return to Warsaw, the commander in chief of the home army, General Rowecki, received precise reports about all they had seen and heard. He sent, on the 22d of April 1943, an exact report to London, radiograms Nos. 625/1, 625/2, 625/3, and 625/4; 689/FFB, 690/KMS, 691/STW, 692/ZZK, from the 22d of April 1943.

I have all the telegrams with me, but they are in Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. We will take that up later. Just finish your statement now.

General KOMOROWSKI. A second delegation was sent from Cracow and Warsaw: Father S. Jasinski, Dr. A. Schebesta, Dr. T. Susz Praglowski, S. Klapert, M. Martens—all from Cracow—and K. Skarzynski, L. Rojkiewicz, J. Wodzinowski, Dr. H. Bartoszewski,

S. Kolodziejski, Z. Dmochowski, and Boyan Banach, from Warsaw. We also received reports from some members of the second delegation, sent by the Germans to Katyn. General Rowecki, commander in chief of the home army, sent, on May 7 and 13, 1943, a collective report to London: 692/1, 692/2, 755/1, 755/2, and 755/3.

I had the opportunity to send to Katyn my own observer, a trustworthy man of the underground. Before his departure, I had a long talk with him in which I told him what to look for. Only the commander in chief, General Rowecki, knew that I had sent this man.

After 2 weeks' time my observer from Katyn was back. His account began with a confirmation that the German figure of 10,000 corpses was exaggerated. When he reached Katyn, seven of the graves had been opened, and he estimated that the graves did not contain very many more than 4,000 bodies at all. He worked among the exhumers for some days. He personally took out from the pockets of the exhumed men, notebooks, diaries, letters, and prewar zloty bank notes, which were in a good state of preservation.

Chairman MADDEN. What kind of bank notes?

General KOMOROWSKI. Zloty; which is Polish money.

His account of all he had seen is too well known from reports of other witnesses and therefore I do not cite it. He put on the table before me a parcel containing copies of notebooks, diaries, and memoirs taken mostly in his presence from the pockets of the murdered men. There were 15 diaries, which I read immediately. The most important, in my opinion, was the diary of Maj. Adam Solski, written up to the last time, and indicating the place where they had been brought.

I am quoting the last words of this diary:

April 8, 3:30: Departure from Kozielsk depot westwards; at Jelnia station since 9:45.

April 8: We have been at a siding at Smolensk since 12 o'clock.

April 9: Morning, some minutes before 5, reveille in the cars and preparation to leave. We are going somewhere by automobile. What next?

April 9: Ever since dawn it has been a peculiar day. Departure in lorries fitted with cells; terrible. Taken to forest somewhere, something like a summer resort. Very thorough search of our belongings. They took my watch, which showed time as 6:30, 8:30; asked about my ring, which was taken; ruble belt, penknife.

These were the last words written by Major Solski.

The outstanding point of all these diaries was in their all breaking off short at the same point, either on leaving the camp at Kozielsk or on arrival at Katyn in April 1940.

One of the diaries had belonged to an officer who had been a close friend of a colonel of the staff of the home army, Janusz Bokszezanin. He was in possession of his friend's notes, which he had made when they had been at the higher military academy together. Both the diary and the notes were handed to a handwriting expert, who confirmed beyond all doubt that both had been written by the same person.

The 15 copies of the diaries handed me personally by my observer had been sent to London in July 1944 by a courier, Colonel Rutkowski, "Rudy." Other copies were hidden and buried in different places in Poland, which had been known to my observer.

Russia's refusal for the examination of the Katyn graves by the International Red Cross caused consternation and embarrassment in Communist circles in Poland. In PPR circles, at secret meetings

and conferences, the Communists openly admitted that "Polish reactionaries" had been liquidated. They also initiated a whispering campaign in Warsaw to the effect that a mutiny had broken out in one of the camps and that some of the officers had been executed.

That is all I know, being in Poland in this time as deputy commander, about the Katyn matter.

I would like to tell one thing more, as a further point. My observer brought a cord with which the hands were bound, and we gave this cord to an expert in Warsaw. The expert concluded that the cord was made from material not known in Poland and in Western Europe. It was the opinion of the expert in Warsaw.

Chairman MADDEN. General, I want to express my appreciation for your statement, but on account of having a severe cold, I am going to excuse myself for this afternoon. Congressman Flood will carry on in my place.

Mr. FLOOD. General, you mentioned that you have some telegrams with you, to which you referred in your prepared statement as being telegrams sent from your underground home command to the Polish Government in London in connection with this matter.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; but they are all in Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. It does not matter. Can you just let me have them? (The witness produced documents.)

Mr. FLOOD. We want these marked for identification. General, you have presented to the committee these telegrams to which you and I have referred. I understand that these are the original records taken by you from the files of the home army and that, under the circumstances, you cannot leave these original documents with the committee, but you have no objection to letting us have photostatic copies of these telegrams for our files.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. We will insert them in the record as part of the permanent record and return to you these originals which I now hold.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you mark for identification these three separate folders as exhibits 25, 26, and 27? Only the English translations of these exhibits will be published in the official record and the photostats of the originals shall be placed in the committee's permanent file.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit 25," "Exhibit 26," and "Exhibit 27" for identification and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT 25

[Translation from Polish]

Seal.
Special Detachment of the
Commander in Chief's Staff.
File No. 1833.
Date: April 17, 1943.
Secret.

RADIOGRAM No. 650/WH

From Wanda I

Accepted April 16, 1943 Hr. 2100
Read April 17, 1953 1645

Commander in Chief

Near Smolensk the Germans have discovered a mass grave containing a few thousand officers of ours from the Kozielsk Camp who were murdered in March and April 1940. A few Poles from Warsaw and Cracow, who were specially brought to the grave, have taken part in its examination. Their reports allow

no doubts as to the truth of this mass murder. Public opinion is aroused. I shall report details in the next few days.

Kalina 575—April 14.

[Illegible handwritten notations in several places on the page.]

EXHIBIT 25

[Translation from Polish]

Seal
Special Detachment of the
Commander in Chief's Staff
File No. 1942
Date: April 23, 1943
Secret

Radiogram No. 689/FFB

From Wanda I.

Accepted April 22, 1943 Hr. 1635
Read April 22, 1943 2100

I report in connection with Cabel 575:

On April 10 at 9 a. m. the committee which was organized by the Germans was flown to Smolensk. Under their instigation the following persons took part in the examination as witnesses: Seyfried, the Chief Director of the RGO, Ferd. Goetel and E. Skiwski, Dr. K. Orzechowski, Director of the Municipal Hospital Services, Dr. Grodzki from RGO, the gutter snipe journalist Wl. Kawecki, a photoreporter (f.), Didur, and the laborer Fr. Prochownik.

After the arrival of the committee at 1 p. m. in Smolensk the German officer Slowentschik explained that in the Spring of 1942 a group of Polish laborers who were staying in that area at that time found a grave of Polish soldiers in the forest, near Gniazdowo. At the place of its discovery the laborers set two crosses made from birchwood. In the first months of 1943 the German Intelligence Service received some information about this grave; it reported the case to the OK [German High Command], and interrogated the local population. This interrogation showed that many executions were performed during March and April of 1940 in the forest close to the Resting House Wd, near Gniazdowo. The Polish prisoners were transported in trucks [from the trains]. One person testified that, while working as a railway employee, he had seen bills of lading issued in Kozielsk. The trains were made up of carriages. The prisoners were taken to the forest in motor cars. It has been established on the spot that there are three huge mass graves in sandy soil, under pines of a few years growth, about 15 kilometers from the locality of Gniazdowo or Katyn, on the highway from Smolensk to Witebsk, in the forest known as Kozice Gory.

It is estimated that in one of the mass graves lie about three thousand bodies and in the other about five thousand. The third mass grave has not yet been touched. The estimate is based upon excavations made so far. Besides there is still another, somewhat older, mass grave which probably contains bodies of Russians. A number of the exhumed bodies have been identified.

To be continued. Kalina 625/1.
April 22, 1943.

EXHIBIT 25

[Translation from Polish]

File No. —

RADIOGRAM No. 690/KMS

From Wandy 1

Accepted April 22, 1943 Hr. 1703
Read April 23, 1943 1300

Continuation 625

On April 11 at 9 a. m. the Polish delegates reached Kozie Gory where they were received by a few German officers. An explanation was given by Colonel Dr. Gehrard Buhtz, professor at the University of Breslau and director of the University Institute for Forensic Medicine and Criminology, who was directing the exhumation and autopsy. A few excavations were inspected. The first moat was several meters long and a few meters wide. About a meter beneath the ground it contained layers of bodies found by the staff instructed to make the excavations. The corpses were stuck into the soil, lying one beside the other with their faces

down. The greater part of the bodies were wearing Polish boots. The officers' uniforms were in fairly good condition. The autopsy of bodies showed shots in the backs of their heads. Some of the bodies had hoods on their heads made of sacks and coats. Some of the bodies had oakum in their mouths. Other excavations were on a smaller scale. The Polish delegates paid homage to their murdered countrymen.

In an adjoining building the commission had an opportunity to look at documents, identifying marks and letters which had been found on those corpses already exhumed. There were memoirs which broke off in March or April of 1940. One of the letters was sent from Warsaw on January 17, 1940. The established list of names of the soldiers killed corresponds almost exactly to the number of the exhumed bodies.

The German experts were not familiar with the Polish language nor with Polish organization. This fact suggests that quite a lot of identifying data may have been overlooked. They did not know, for instance, that an officers' camp had been run in Kozielsk. Not until the Polish delegates arrived, were invoiced addresses of consignments linked with this camp.

The present list reads:

To be continued. Kalina 625/2.

[Illegible notation.]

EXHIBIT 25

[Translation from Polish]

File No. —

RADIOGRAM No. 691/STW

From Wandy 1,

Accepted	April 22, 1943	Hr. 1740
Read	April 23, 1943	1440

Continuation 625:

- 1/ Adamek, Jozef, without address and rank;
- 2/ Bohatyrewicz, Bronislaw, Brig. Gen.;
- 3/ Dr. Chomiczki, Ludwik;
- 4/ Chrystolin, Bernard, Chorzow;
- 5/ Czajkowski, Bohdan, (Kutno ?);
- 6/ Florkiewicz, Zbigniew, Lublin;
- 7/ Gestping, Jerzy;
- 8/ Jakubowicz, Stanislaw, Lt.;
- 9/ Halacinski, Andrzej, Col.;
- 10/ Kalinowski, Michal, Lt. Sieradz;
- 11/ Kaplanski, Henryk Leopold—Grodno;
- 12/ Kiczka, Jozef, Major;
- 13/ Kozlinski, Stefan, Captain, Warsaw;
- 14/ Krackiewicz, Kazimierz, Legionowo;
- 15/ Dr. Kukulski, Eugeniusz, Col., physician, Cracow;
- 16/ Lukas, Romuald of
- 17/ Lutomski or Lutowski, Andrzej
- 18/ Maczynski, A., Warsaw;
- 19/ Maykowski, Janusz, Lt.;
- 20/ Nelken, Jan, Col., physician, Warsaw;
- 21/ Niemiec, Henryk, Major, Warsaw;
- 22/ Nowicki, Tadeusz;
- 23/ Nobis, Wincenty, Tyszkowice;
- 24/ Ochasso, Zygmunt, Lt. of the Reserves, Field hospital 362;
- 25/ Ochenskowski, Andrzej, Lt., near Rymanowo
- 26/ Ostrowski, Jerzy, Warsaw;
- 27/ Paczulski, Romuald;
- 28/ Radzenowski, Bronislaw, Warsaw;
- 29/ Smorawinski, Mieczyslaw, Brig. Gen.;
- 30/ Sliwinski, Michal, Plock;
- 31/ Spytkowski, Stanislaw, Cracow;
- 32/ Tatarka, Alfred, Bochnia;
- 33/ Tobiasz, Michal, Major, physician, Choszczow near Warsaw;
- 34/ Wisniewski, Artur, Col., Warsaw;
- 35/ Zajackowski, Roman, engineer, Warsaw;
- 36/ Zbroja, Franciszek, physician;
- 37/ Zelislowski, Kazimierz, Col., Cracow.

To be continued. Kalina 625/3.
April 22, 1943.

EXHIBIT 26

[Translation from Polish]

File No. —

RADIOGRAM No. 692/ZZK

From Wanda I	Accepted	April 22, 1943	Hr.	1800
	Read	April 23, 1943		1400

Continuation No. 625

The authenticity of what was discovered and identified in several cases has been settled. It is difficult to estimate the number of bodies because all the shafts shown do not reach the bottom of the grave. It seems that the number 10 thousand is an exaggeration. The Polish members of the expedition estimate that the number is at least from 6-8 thousand. The place discovered is now being excavated intensively and the local military authorities expressed the conviction that the Polish institutions would take it over. The Poles present [on the spot] expressed their views that it is a task for the Polish Red Cross. Numerous expeditions of German and neutral correspondents are arriving now at the place of execution. The Polish delegation returned to Warsaw on the evening of April 11. The first press announcement was issued on April 14.

The second Polish delegation is en route, [and] among it the man in our confidence is hidden.

Kalina 625/4—April 21, 1943.

[Illegible handwritten notation probably made in the London office.]

EXHIBIT 26

[Translation from Polish]

[Seal:]

Special Detachment of
the Staff of the Com-
mander in Chief
2290

May 13, 1943

RADIOGRAM No. 778

From Wanda 6	Accepted	May 12, 1943	Hr.	0845
	Read	May 13, 1943		1430

A very sensible and close participant in the inspection of the graves near Smolensk on behalf of the Polish Red Cross, [who is a] Lieutenant Colonel [and] a military doctor, has submitted to me the following report:

1. At the foot of the hill there is a mass grave in the shape of the letter "L," the whole grave is open, the dimensions of the grave are 16 meters wide by 26 meters long by 6 meters deep. The bodies of the murdered are carefully laid down in 9-12 layers one on top of the other, each layer with the heads in opposite directions. The uniforms, notes in the pockets, identity cards, military distinctions [are] well preserved, the skin on the bodies, hair, and tendons [are] well preserved, the skin and tendons have to be cut when a skull is trepanned; however, it is impossible to identify the face.

2. The second mass grave is placed at right angles to the first grave, [is] partially opened, its dimensions [are] 14 meters by 26 meters, the hands of all the bodies in this grave are bound with a string at the back, the mouths of some of them are gagged with handkerchiefs, rags, the heads of some are wrapped in coat tails.

3. 906 bodies have been exhumed up to now, 76 percent of which have been identified by means of identity cards, letters, and the like found on the bodies.

4. According to the foregoing, presumably 2,500-4,000 bodies are lying in both mass graves, mainly officers' [bodies, and some bodies, although] not a great number, [are] in mufti, [who were] reserve officers.

5. On behalf of the Polish Red Cross there are 12 persons employed in excavating the graves, in [doing] identification work, and in collecting the documents that are found /a doctor and 3 medical noncommissioned officers/.

6. It is characteristic that there was nothing taken away from the murdered but watches, in the pocket portfolios there is money and documents and sometimes rings [are] on fingers.

Kalina 692/1.

[Illegible handwritten notation probably made in the London office.]

EXHIBIT 26

[Translation from Polish]

File No. 2290/secret/1943
May 14, 1943

RADIOGRAM No. 779

From Wanda 6

Accepted May 13, 1943 Hr. 0925
Read May 14, 1943 1030

Continuation of 692.

7. All of the skulls of the bodies are wounded by bullets fired from the back. Participants in the exhumation on behalf of the Polish Red Cross put emphasis on the collection of bullets removed from the skulls of the murdered, on the revolver shells [and] ammunition lying about in the mass grave, and on the strings with which the hands of the murdered were bound. All the material discovered is being shipped as occasion permits to Warsaw to the Polish Red Cross, in care of Doctor Gorczycki. All the bullets are 7.65 caliber. The shells are inscribed "Ceco," the strings [are] twisted.

8. In the presence of the reporter, a diary written up to April 21 was taken out of the suit of Major Solski. He stresses that they were transported from Kozielsk in prison carriages to their destination (on 5 [the next seven letters have no meaning for translation] 6 axes), [and] were brought to Smolensk, where after passing a night, reveille was sounded at 4 o'clock in the morning on April 21, and they were put into prison automobiles, they were unloaded from the automobiles in a glade in the forest and at 6.30 led to buildings placed on the spot, where they were ordered to give up their jewelry and watches, and the diary finishes on this.

9. The Polish Red Cross delegates are carrying on the exhumation, the dissection of the bodies, and the collection of documents under the supervision of the German authorities, and in addition private connections with the local population have been entered into. All the identified bodies are given tags with a number of the Polish Red Cross, on a steel wire and bound to a bone, afterwards the bodies are laid in a freshly dug common grave. Among the victims identified up to now all but one come from the camp of Kozielsk, one comes from Starobielsk.

10. The forest glade near Katyn comprises a large area of several square kilometers on which the rest houses of the NKVD were standing. The local civilian population says that in March and April of the year 1940 every day 1 transport of Polish officers, amounting to 200-300 persons, was brought in.

Kalina 692/2—5.V

[Illegible handwritten notation probably made in the London office]

EXHIBIT 27

[Translation from Polish]

File No. 2575/secret/43
26 MayRadiogram No. 851
From Wanda VIAccepted May 23, 43
hour 1805
Read May 26, 43
hour 1680

At 18.33 of April 19. Composition of the first delegation appointed by the Germans and conveyed [to Katyn] April 10: Edmund Seyfried, RGO [Central Council of Welfare] Krakow, Doctor of Medicine Konrad Orzechowski municipal hospitals Warsaw, Doctor of Medicine Edward Grodzki of Polish Welfare Committee in Warsaw, Ferdynand Goetel and Jan Emil Skiwski, Kazimierz Prochownik factory foreman of the factory Zieleniewski Krakow, Wladyslaw Kawecki director of German-sponsored agency Polpress Krakow, Kazimierz Didur, photo reporter Krakauer Ztg. and Widera, photographic correspondent of Glos Lubelski.

The second delegation, which visited Katyn composed of: from Krakow—Rev. Dean Stanislaw Jasinski, Doctor of Medicine Adam Schebesta, Doctor of Medicine Tadeusz Susz, Praglowski, Stanislaw Klapert—all three from the Polish Red Cross, Journalist Marian Martens. From Warsaw—Kazimierz Jerzy Skarzynski, Ludwik Rojkiewicz, Jerzy Wodzinowski, Doctor of Medicine Hieronim Bartoszewski, Boyan Banach—all from the Polish Red Cross. The delegation was of a technical character, part of it remained on the spot as personnel [and was] later supplemented to the number of 12 persons.

The summary of Seyfried's report: The delegation was housed in the Wehrmacht quarters, where the story of the discovery was told: In October 1942 a group of Polish workers located at the settlement of Gniezdowo Kozie Gory was told by the local population about the graves of the executed Polish officers. The German authorities only learned of this fact in February this year, against the Soviet partisans [sic], and a test digging was ordered about the forest area near the NKVD rest house in Porparka.

Kalina 755/1
May 13, 43

EXHIBIT 27

[Translation from Polish]

Seal
Special Detachment of the
Commander in Chief's Staff
May 25, 1943
Secret

Radiogram No. 852

Accepted May 23, 43, 19.40 hrs.
Read May 25, 43, 15.15 hrs.

From Wanda

Continuation of /755/2. One mass grave 28 by 14 meters and 6 meters deep was dug up, and the entire area of the cemetery was fixed. At a distance of 300 and 500 meters from the officers' graves, graves of civilians at least 10 years old were discovered. The rest of the explanations as in telegram 625. The assistance of the German Army was officially offered, subject, however, to conditions of security and housing. The technical problem, it is hoped, will be taken over by the Polish people * * * an adequate announcement that it is within the competence of the Polish Red Cross. The delegates have found two dug-up pits on the spot; about 250 bodies have already been exhumed, among other the bodies of Generals Smorawinski and Bohatyrowicz. The documents have already been removed to a separate showcase. The bodies in uniforms [with] officer's boots, stripes, decorations, and two bodies in generals' uniforms with decorations and a general's stripes [on the trousers]. Seyfried, after inspecting the graves, with the permission of the Germans, made the following speech, whose contents were affirmed by another delegate: "I call upon you gentlemen to take off your hats, bow your heads, and pay tribute to these heroes who gave their lives that Poland might live." The Germans saluted. The entire proceedings were filmed, photographed, and sound-recorded. The participants have expressed * * * a sound recording was also made. One kilometer from the place of execution at the dissection building [were displayed] the documents, letters dated with the last dates, September 1, and diaries, General Smorawinski's silver cigarette case with an engraving of General Zielinski, scapulars, medals, identity cards, visiting cards, on the basis of which 47 names were then identified.

Kalina 755/2
May 13, 43

EXHIBIT 27

[Translation from Polish]

Radiogram No. 853

File Number 2575/secret/43
May 26, 1953

From Wanda

Accepted May 23, 43, 2000 hrs.
Read May 26, 43, 1330 hrs.

Continuation of 755/2. Skarzynski's report for the Polish Red Cross and the action of the Polish Red Cross. Skarzynski submitted on April 16 the following report:

1. At the locality of Katyn near Smolensk there are partially uncovered graves of Polish officers.

2. On the basis of an inspection of bodies exhumed up to now, one may state that these officers were murdered by means of bullets fired at the back of the heads [15 meaningless letters]. There is no doubt, however, that the execution was skillfully performed.

3. The murder did not have robbery as a motive because the bodies are in uniforms, with decorations, in boots, and on the bodies were found a great number of Polish coins and bank notes.

4. Judging from papers found on the bodies, the murder was committed in March or April of 1940.

5. Up to now there have only been a small number of bodies identified by name (about 150). This report with the motion for raising the number of the technical group by 6 persons was forwarded on April 17 to the district authorities and on April 19 a memo [was forwarded] in connection with the suggestion of sending Polish Red Cross delegates to the officers' prison camps in Germany. The Polish Red Cross answered pointing out that the Polish Red Cross was ready to co-operate with the German authorities within the limits of international conventions on condition that its sphere of activities, restricted now to the operation of an information bureau, be restored, in particular:

1. The activity of the Polish Red Cross would have to be permitted over the entire areas from which the Polish army had been recruited.

2. Prisoners of war in case of release would be permitted to come back also to the GG [Government General] (Prohibition 1941).

3. Prisoners of war would not be handed over from camps to the police authorities for alleged prewar offenses.

Kalina 755/3

May 13, 43

Mr. FLOOD. General, I show you marked for identification exhibits 25, 26, and 27 and ask you whether or not these are copies of the original files taken by you and kept in your custody from the records of the Polish Home Army in Warsaw, dealing with the matters you referred to in your prepared statement, and that within these exhibits are contained the particular telegrams and other matters dealing with the Katyn incident? Is that correct?

General KOMOROWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. In your prepared statement, General, you mentioned the name of Maj. Adam Solski.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you a list of names of the officers whose bodies were found at Katyn, which list has been made a part of this record, and ask you to look at page 158 thereof and see if you can identify the name of Adam Solski, to which you referred?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; it is the same; Solski, Adam.

Mr. FLOOD. We have been showing in the record, through various witnesses, the widespread effort that was made by General Sikorski and General Anders and the Polish Government generally to find some trace of the missing Polish officers and Polish prisoners. That effort was further carried out by your home command and the underground working under your command in Warsaw; is that correct?

General KOMOROWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You carried on extensive efforts in executing General Sikorski's order, did you not?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. You had your underground agents operating in the German prison camps, is that correct?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes. We had liaison with nearly all the camps.

Mr. FLOOD. And any place where the Germans were in occupied territory?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. At any time, did you issue any specific orders or instructions in this general search, for the search of officers from the camps of Kozielsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; that is right.

Mr. FLOOD. During the entire investigation conducted by your contacts of the underground, did you ever receive any information with reference to the Polish prisoner officers, the missing ones, from the camps Kozielsk, Starobielsk, or Ostashkov?

General KOMOROWSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you, through your underground, or you yourself, in person, or any of your command, have any contacts or liaison with any of the Russian authorities, civil, military, or political?

General KOMOROWSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Were all of your efforts made in Polish and German-occupied territory?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; which the Russians didn't have. But there were Poles that were taken by the Russians in 1939 or 1940, and that we found in the areas taken by the Germans, of the Russian territory.

Mr. FLOOD. After the rapprochement of the summer of 1941, between the Soviet and the Poles, you still continued in command of the home army in Warsaw, did you?

General KOMOROWSKI. In 1941 I was deputy commander.

Mr. FLOOD. The Germans were then in occupation but you were deputy commander?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you in 1943 when you first heard of the Katyn massacre as announced by the Germans?

General KOMOROWSKI. We heard immediately when a delegate from the German propaganda came to Warsaw. The next day we knew what he told. And some days after, in all the press—it was only in the German propaganda issue—were these findings of the graves in Katyn disclosed. And by radio, the Germans gave news every day about the discovery at Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the reaction of yourself and your command at home headquarters in Warsaw when the Russians, on April 17, 1943, 2 days after the Germans made their announcement on April 16, 1943, when the Russians announced that this was a German crime and not a Russian crime?

General KOMOROWSKI. In the beginning we all, nearly all Poles in Poland, thought that the crime had been committed by the Germans. It was the general opinion in Poland that the crime was committed by the Germans as we knew how many crimes the Germans had committed. Only when I received the diaries of my observer sent to Katyn and when he told me of what he had seen, in this moment I was convinced that this crime had been committed by the Russians and not by the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. Where are the diaries now and the documents that your observer brought back from Katyn and left with you in Warsaw; do you have any idea? What did you do with them?

General KOMOROWSKI. He brought copies of these documents and they were sent here to London, and they are in London. I also have copies of these diaries.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me see some of those, please.

(The witness produced some documents.)

Mr. FLOOD. Will you have this marked as exhibit No. 28? (So marked by the stenographer.) General, I show you exhibit 28 and

ask you whether or not this exhibit contains the original copies made by your underground agent?

General KOMOROWSKI. No, these are copies.

Mr. FLOOD. These are copies of the originals made by your people?

General KOMOROWSKI. By the staff here in London.

Mr. FLOOD. Your agent brought back from Katyn copies of diaries?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Those copies were shown to you?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You had copies made of those copies, and the original copies you sent to London. So exhibit 28 is the copies which you had made of your agent's copies of the original documents found on the bodies at Katyn in his presence; is that correct?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you tell us that this exhibit 28 contains the copies of 15?

General KOMOROWSKI. Here are 10.

Mr. FLOOD. Here are 10 of the 15?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The originals were 15 that you saw?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And I have in this exhibit copies of 10 of those diaries?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. General, would you remove from this group of diaries your copy of Major Solski's diary? I believe you mentioned him. And also select the copy of at least one other diary and we will make those exhibit 28. I believe it won't be necessary at this time to include all 10 diaries in the record.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, I will.

(The two excerpts and their English translations were handed to the reporter and marked "Exhibits 28, and 28A," photostatic copy of which follows:)

[Translation from Polish]

COPY FROM A DIARY

Envelope No. 0490/SOLSKI, Adam, major.

[Page 15] September 28, 1939. Thereafter from Jozefow 12 to Osuchow, 5 kilometers to Lukow, where we (billeted until 7 a. m.). From Lukow 14 kilometers to Tarnograd, Anielek, Szarajowka, Korchow-Tarnograd. Jastrzebiec.

Taken prisoner 11:55 A. M.

11:50 A. M.: the spearhead (advance unit) stopped by Soviet forces in Tarnograd.

Dzikow—billeted in a barn after an 8-kilometer march to Rozanec, then by cart to Dzikow. At Dzikow, after a longer stop in front of the post office, transfer to the barn on barley straw. After 2 hours of sleep, organized into groups of prisoners of war and marched off to Cieszanow.

[Page 67] September 29. On leaving the barn, divided into groups 1-10.

II. group

1. Lieut. Sypniewski Marjan 58.
2. Second Lieut. Andrzejewski Bogdan 58.
3. Second Lieut. Wielebinski Wladyslaw 55.
4. Second Lieut. Buczowski Wacław 55.
5. Second Lieut. Szmagiel Jan 58.
6. Second Lieut. Olzewski Alfons 55.
7. Second Lieut. Bondke Edmund.
8. Second Lieut. Gliszczynski Jerzy.
9. Second Lieut. Wiedanek Ferdynand.
10. Second Lieut. Mogietko Tadeusz.

Reporter's note: names under 7 and 8 crossed out but legible; position under 10 crossed out and illegible.

Dzikow 29th. On the way to Cieszanow via Dzikow we are escorted by a corporal who (allows) no stops—churl (?). Marched on foot 16 kilometers; arrived in Cieszanow and halted in a garden at 13.30 hours. Page 68.

5 P. M. Departure from Cieszanow to Lwow by trucks (without benches, on straw—uncomfortable). Arrival in Lwow after midnight. The Janowski railway station destroyed, the theater destroyed. The city decorated with red flags.

30th. After a rest in room No. 46 at the Main City Command Building (chief of equipment). At noon left by car to the barracks of p. a. c. (defenders of Lwow), wherefrom after being given some bread and bacon, departure to Tarnopol via Winniki.

Slowita—from 2 P. M. to 2:45 rest, thereafter to Tarnopol via Zloczow-Zborow at 7 P. M.

(Comrade Gryszenko) the driver of the car; from there, 48 kilometers to Woloczyska by car, to a stables at the sugar refinery. Billeted here at midnight in the stables, the straw in shreds. Cold. I sleep between Lieut. of the reserves Bukowski and Lieut. Olzewski.

[Page 69] October 1, 6 A. M. reveille. The weather sunny but cool. Taking of our personal data rather detailed. About noon we received peeled barley and black coffee (too sweet because of the sugar refinery). In the evening into the railway car. 76 kilometers * * * with a transport heading east towards Komarowka. Have fainted twice during the night.

October 2. We wakened at 6 A. M. on the station of Hredczany between Podwoloczyska and Plaskirow. At the station we received bread, 1 (loaf) between 4 men, two herrings each, and sugar. 11:50 A. M., Doraznia station. 3:40 P. M., arrival at Komarowka.

October 3. 6 A. M. Passed Winnica; before Koziatyn toilet. At Koziatyn breakfast—water with sugar—herrings and $\frac{1}{3}$ loaf of bread.

[Page 70] A short stop at Czarnorudka. 11:55 A. M. have reached a larger (new) station, Frastow-Bojarka near Kiev. 1:50 P. M. (their time 3:55 P. M.) arrived in Kiev. We have our supper. Halted since October 1 outside depots and workshops. Kiev is a large city—has it been rebuilt since 1920?

4. Awakening at the station of Niezyn, Czernichow province. * * * At 8:30 A. M. on October 4, Bachmecz station (reporter's note: name of the station also written in Russian). Short stop. 10:00 A. M.—short stop at the junction station, Konotop. Weather sunny—wind northeasterly, cold. Have not shaved since September 27. Last shaved in the apothecary of Mr. Gajewski at Lukowa near Bilgoraj. This short stop at Konotop lasted until 12:25 P. M. We have no idea where they are sending us now, whether towards Moscow or Charkow. * * * Since yesterday's supper at Kiev until now, without food.

[Page 71] At the town Worozb supper—sauerkraut soup, groats, tea.

Oct. 5. Morning. At the station of the village Ciotkinia (reporter's note: name of the station also written in Russian), until 8:30 A. M. Thereafter we disembarked about 12 kilometers from the camp. "Peat—separation—mud" Boloto (sic).

At the monastery. (Reporter's note: The word monastery has been crossed out but is legible.) Here we were divided for billeting at a school or some such place. Crowded and dirty. In the evening, bread and fish conserves—one for 4 people—also dirty hot water. Prayers are not allowed; singing. Have slept through the night; in the morning, snow, as in Poland in December. After breakfast a glass of water and lots of promises. Our money has no value here whatsoever. We remain idle. Quarrels, criticism, brawling—up to midnight we have received nothing to eat, apart from the boiled water.

Oct. 8. We were awakened during the night and given $\frac{1}{4}$ loaf of bread each, and soup (a bit salty). Winter is here in full; snow.

[Page 72] Oct. 8. It is supposedly Sunday—holiday. Here work is bustling, with wires being put up and nailing up (sic) * * * and nails. It is a cloudy day but fairly warm. A lean breakfast at 9 A. M. (7 A.-M.).

Oct. 9. Monday. I woke up during the night. I dreamed about Danka. After the morning wash, carried wooden planks. At 9:30 A. M. (11:30 A. M.) waiting for breakfast. Received extra ration of boiled water. Playing of bridge is being suggested. Yesterday played 2 rubbers—lost 1.60.

October 10. Tuesday. A cool night. We sleep lying one next to the other; it is crowded and stuffy. 7:00 A. M.—getting up. no change in the food * * * soup twice a day and water once. I went to see the doctor; the sciatic pains are worse. I am released from work.

October 11. Have met Captain Radzikowski. A clear day. The group is on duty from noon. Yesterday they conducted a new registration. Where are Danka, Ewa, Mother? General Trojanowski is supposed to be in the Gorodok monastery nearby.

[Page 73] October 12. Nice frosty weather. I dreamt at night about my darling Ewuska. I dreamt that I carried her and took her away from a Hungarian raft, and after that, through all sorts of dangers, obstacles, transferred her and put her down on a sunny hill, from which she was to go to Aunt Witolda.

October 13. A fairly warm day. In the afternoon, a bath and doing laundry—that is, my one and only shirt and a towel given to me by Capt. of the 34th infantry division Braniewski. I also washed some handkerchiefs which I kept; they were left behind by my adjutant. Supper was late because of the commission which conducts the examination and in reality confiscates identification papers, notebooks, gold and silver watches, etc. This notebook was saved because was together with a picture of Saint Teresa.

October 14. A clear day, the change of wind will not bring anything good from the west.

[Page 74] October 14, 1939. We have started work on our bunks, which means that our miserable existence will be prolonged. The food is very poor. The bread (dynamite) keeps us alive.

15. [Oct.]. Sunday. Working at putting up the bunks. Breakfast will be around 11 A. M. (Mass at 9:00 A. M.).

15th. Building of bunks and getting settled.

October 16. After spending the night on the hard boards, continued our preparations for settling down. They have taken away from among us policemen, noncommissioned officers, and other nonofficers. They are supposedly to be sent back to their homes. I have not seen anyone that I know. I cannot find out anything about Kazik. There is nobody from the 18th armored division from Lona [sic; maybe Lomza]. I have a premonition that he has been critically wounded or killed and was taken prisoner by the Germans. I have spoken today with Major Lesniak, who is also here. He fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks near Uscilug. He has no news of his wife or his children. We are not as yet allowed to write any correspondence. I do not know whether Tadzik has been notified in Lwow, or whether he notified Warsaw that I am in Russian captivity.

[Page 75] October 17. Nothing worth noting happened. I was acting as orderly and carried breakfasts, lunches, and suppers from the kitchen. Towards the evening some infantrymen from the Kielce province arrived from the Starobielsk region, but they do not know what to do with them, whether to send them back to the border and hand them over to the Germans or whether to keep them here. They have found no volunteers among us to remain. Even one who had already been punished in Poland for Communism, does not wish to

remain. The things he does not like here in the U. S. S. R. are the monotony of life, the continuous deception of each other, and the paying of homage to the new idols, Lenin-Stalin-Molotov. The Red Army liberator of nations.

[Page 76] Some higher official (GPU) was supposedly here and made a great many promises to improve our lot here and to satisfy our needs, but one cannot count on that here in Russia, especially under the present system. They consider us prisoners of war although they were not at war with us. However, their friendship with the Germans, no doubt on orders from Ribbentrop, had brought this about. How long we will remain here God only knows.

18th. I was learning German vocabulary. I am homesick when I think of Danka, Ewa, and the family. Mother. What has happened with Kazio? Janek—he is a settler.

19th. News from the French front is very good. The French are supposed to have advanced. Nothing interesting to report for the 20th and 21st. We received sets of games: chess, dominoes, and checkers.

[Page 77] We play with great zeal in order to pass time in this captivity during this cloudy and unpleasant weather. The food is somewhat more substantial (more fat content). It seems there is less pilfering among the Bolsheviks.

21st Oct. Transports of police and priests. * * *

22nd Oct. The weather is sunny and cold. In the morning, as usual, reveille ["powierka"] [Reporter's note: the word "powierka" is written also in Russian characters.] Morning exercises and awaiting breakfast (soup, peeled barley, lentil, or gruel). Today is Holy Sunday, but in the Soviet land there is no God.

23rd Oct. A slight frost. I have caught 2 fleas, the messengers of our misery.

24th Oct. Freezing cold. My second bath; in the tub I found a third flea. Washed my one and only shirt the second time (they don't give us any linen).

[Page 78] Yesterday they gave us soap, 200 grams each. "Prisoner of war." Today they gave us one package of shag-tobacco per five men. Barter trade is flourishing. Bread in exchange for sugar, tobacco for sugar, etc. The soldiers from the province of Kielce are to leave today, therefore barter trading is brisk. They wanted 50 zl. for a pair of gloves [value—1 zl.] Through one of the soldiers I gave my address to my father-in-law * * * and to Witolda. The other day I had a shave and haircut, so I look quite human again.

28th Oct. Today at 11:35 A. M. a month has passed since I became a captive of the Russians. The month went quickly, but the two months of war are terrible. I last saw Danka on the 4th of September at the Muchnow estate (Kutno province). I bid goodbye to mother and to my darling Ewusia a few days before [P. 79] my departure from Poznan.

It was stupid of me not to send part of my things with them to the in-laws in Warsaw. I have left my wife and child (8 years) destitute. How will they manage, and mother too?

Today is the nameday of Tadeusz Lesniak. I went to see him, and I learned that he saw Rysiek Solski (son of Felix, from Warsaw), also Wasowicz's mother, 15 kilometers east of Siedlce. They were going to Lwow, and were in good spirits. There is a lot of persistent talk going around that we are to leave these barracks, and that by the 10th of November, all camps are to be liquidated in Russia. I don't know, but I think that we shall remain in captivity until May. If one could only notify the family. For two days, we haven't received any sugar (per 30.35 grams) so we live on tea without sugar. For breakfast, thick grits and manna, cooled with oil. Altogether, for the last few days, all meals are cooked with oil without onions and flour. Yesterday evening there was no electric light, so today they are burning lights all day, although it is nice and sunny. Yesterday was wet.

31 Oct. The last days of October go by with continuous and insistent rumors that they are to send us from the local barracks back to the Germans via Szepietówka or Lwow, and perhaps even further to the east or to Starobielsk. So many different rumors, yet no news as to whether Mother, Danka, and Ewuska know what has happened to me—that I am alive, in good health, and with a good appetite for this food here (lentils, manna grits cooked with oil, and sauerkraut soup or beet soup with meat. They also give us black bread and sugar, and [page 81] from time to time this shag tobacco (I have already half a package for sale, in exchange for roubles). Wonder whether Ewuska has as much sugar as Daddy has? During the afternoon and evening rumors have spread that we are leaving these barracks in Boloto.

Nov. 1, 1939. Reveille at 4 A. M. (our time, 2:00 A. M. at night). I'm sure we are leaving. I am given as a senior of the group, tea for the whole group. Early breakfast and assembly; we march off to the railway tracks and get into freight cars used previously for carrying peat.

9-10 A. M. we start, and at 10 we are at the sugar refinery Ciotkino, wherefrom we march through the village to the tracks of the wide-gauge railway.

2nd Nov. We rode on the train till 7 P. M. to the town of Kozielsk [reporter's note: the name Kozielsk is also written in Russian], where we were awakened at midnight and marched till 6 A. M. November 3 to the former monastery a few kilometers from the station. The former monastery buildings overlooked the woods. The treatment we received during the journey was terrible. On November 3rd we marched from the station of Kozielsk to (a summer resort) camp 4 to 7 kilometers from Kozielsk on a muddy road. In the early morning we were received by the new administration of the camp Kozielsk. The treatment was better from Lt. Col. to General, a separate bath, new registration, and roll call. Food twice a day, a piece of bread (white once a day) and soup.

Nov. 4. Further registration. Up till 12 noon they gave us nothing to eat.

Nov. 5. Morning. 12 noon. Walked to the bathhouse. The bath in a basin of water, then naked through the anteroom into the room for dressing. Looking for billets. An extraordinary thing. On Nov. 4 I met [page 82] Professor Kawa Wladyslaw, my wife's (Danka's) uncle. Married to Szenora Trojanowska, mother of Zbyszek Trojanowski, captain in the communications corps of General Anders. On Nov. 11 Kazik (brother) waited for me at the entrance to the bathhouse. He is a prisoner of the Bolsheviks, and has been since the 18th of September. He was taken captive on leaving home in Baranowicze. There are about 2,400 mouths to feed in the Kozielszczyna camp. Among them a large number of officers, older men, retired or drafted, doctors, etc., who had very little to do otherwise with the army.

22 Nov. 1939. Wednesday. For some time nothing of importance to report in my notebook. Today snow started to fall. A lot of talk here about the departure of cadet officers and noncommissioned officers and privates to German-occupied territory. Who is to know? Only God. They don't know anything and won't tell. Continuous secrecy * * * and uncertainty of the hour and day. Already the registration [page 83] has been conducted. The other day they woke me up at 11 P. M. at night (our time 9 P. M.) * * * to lead ten men for registration. In the night from Sunday to Monday, I believe, I had an ugly dream. I saw Danka in my dream in a black dress. She was distant and unapproachable. Later the dream changed into a sunny one. Two days ago, a notice was issued that we are permitted to write and receive letters once a month [one letter a month]. There is great joy because of that, but even in this respect there are difficulties, as in everything. Lack of leather for shoe repairs; I took the oldest pair of shoes, and altogether the worst suit. I left everything in the car with Capt. Madalinski.

[P. 84] Today, 21/22 Nov. 1939, I had a ghastly dream. I dreamt that Felix's wife (Maryna) came to my billet and said that the "deceased," that is, Danka, died under some operation or abortion. I dreamt that I fainted, shouting "Oh, Oh" and that because of trying to save money on the operation, specialist (sic) Maryna Solska (Felix's wife) said. In the morning I told my dream to Kazik, and I shall speak (to Professor Kawa) Wladyslaw. No news about our dearest ones—Danka, Ewa, Mother, or about Janek and Stefa. There is no news as to our departure, nor is there any hope of an end to this "sightseeing" of the U. S. S. R. Whether they will hand us over to the Germans or whether and where we shall be kept, either here or in Germany. * * * A severe winter is approaching, and we are without shoes or warm clothing. Here they promise us everything. If only my dream doesn't come true. "Heaven forbid!"

27 Nov. Today five men out of our group of ten from Poznan left to (sic) work on a collective farm. They returned and told us of unexpected surprises and about the prospects of communal farming (machines, farm buildings, equipment, food, etc.).

28 Nov. In the morning we decided to buy stamps and send a letter for Capt. Dr. Kosinski Jerzy Dyonizowicz, who sent a letter to Pniewy addressed to Miss Dorota Pyzelek—Pniewy Germany, Province Poznan, Poznan Street 7. Today at 11:55, two months of captivity were completed, under circumstances unknown so far, and without any news from my dear ones.

[P. 86] Dec. 12, 1939. Vigil of St. Nicholas: we wonder how the children will celebrate this happy feast in Poland. Darling Ewusia, have you received anything from your beloved Mama for St. Nicholas' Day? They say that supposedly letters from Poland have arrived. Kazik has not been to see me today—probably doing laundry and mending socks or other things. I struggle as commandant of Corps No. 15 (a barracks with 950 occupants) * * * "office—prisoner of war." I am kept occupied, therefore the end of this terrible adventure as a prisoner of war in the U. S. S. R. is nearing quickly. * * * w ZSSR /CCCR/.

Dec. 15, 1939. Yesterday after duties I went to Major Czerniakowski to a "prisoner-of-war" concert of songs in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. A better spirit, and hope that the treatment may perhaps improve entered into us "prisoners of war." Colleagues from the "Skid" came—about 1,800. We are about 3,300 altogether, including four generals, that is, the old general Bohatyrewicz, Minkiewicz, Wolkowicki, and Smorawinski, the last commander of O. K. VII.

Dec. 16. Today freezing cold (14–20°). In the morning, pleasant news that a list has been put up and that Kazio received a postcard. When he got it, it was a postcard instead of a letter from Jagusia, and he learned that at the end of November Hala went to Torun and on the way stopped on the new German-Russian border of occupation at Zareby * * * near Malkinia. I on the other hand learned with surprise that Danka, Ewusia, and mother-in-law (Tojanowscy) are in Lwow with Tadzik, and that mother is with Stefa, and that Stefa is married and her husband Swistelnicki is in Hungary.

I regret now that on October 1, when I was escorted through Lwow (having been taken captive by the Bolsheviks in Tarnograd near Bilgoraj) I did not know that they are [sic] all in Lwow. So many months have passed already since I saw mother and Ewusia, to whom I bid my farewell in Poznan, hoping that we shall see each other soon, and since my goodbye on September 13 to Danka at Muchnow on an estate (so strange). I did not expect that Danka would stop at Lwow. What is their fate? Will they now send them to Warsaw for the winter?

[Page 88] Here in my barracks (block/corps/bldg. No. 15) I met a close neighbor of Kazik from Filipowka/Lt. of the Reserves Marczak, Stanislaw from B. G. K. Today he received a cable with a prepaid reply that all at his home are well and together (including the maid). I am awaiting with impatience news from mother and Danka. Since I addressed my letter to Warsaw I'm sure I won't get any reply from there [sic]. Perhaps Andrzej or Edek or Zbyszek Trojanowski's father will write.

Dec. 20, 1939. Today Tuesday. I have submitted Kazek's application for a transfer, that is, from Bolshevik captivity to German captivity. Four months have passed since I bid farewell to mother and Ewusia. I forgot to enter in my diary that on December 16 Kazik received a postcard from Jadzia Sol. from Lida.

Jan. 3, 1940. Wednesday. Four months passed today since I last saw Danka on October 4, 1939, on the estate in Muchnow near Kutno. On September 9 I did not find my wife in Warsaw at Marszalkowska Street No. 81 at Apt. 22. I know nothing certain as to where she has gone. From the post card which I received from Jagusia dated Nov. 6 we know that she was with Tadzik in Lwow. Whether she is still there and what they are doing now—how Ewusia is—whether Danka is well, and what the results are * * *.

[Page 90] [Reporter's note: bit of page torn off] July 21, 1939 (!) in Promieniek * * * Jan. 10, 1940. Frost 30° Réaumur (47° Centigrade). The food is miserable. Pea soup with peas half cooked. Yesterday for breakfast sauerkraut and fish (kilki). Lack of water. Everywhere, water for boiling, "lawoczki," long queues. Legs freeze at work.

Jan. 24, 1940. Five months have passed since I last saw and said goodbye to mother and Ewusia in a train compartment at Poznan. Ewusia cried then, but whether because the "negress" was to remain, or whether she sensed that it would be such a long separation from her daddy. * * * Mother bidding goodbye sensed that the separation would be for a longer time, perhaps even forever. Terrible is the fate of man—a Pole.

[Page 91] Jan. 28, 1940. Today at 6 A. M. five months have passed since the departure [Reporter's note: the page is torn off here] from Poznan to Kutno/Strzelee Kujawskie [Reporter's note: torn off].

Today at 11:55 A. M. four months have passed since I fell into the hands of the Bolshevik army in Tarnograd on the Tanwia. There is no change in our stay. Yesterday on the 27th Major Rogozinski, after being interrogated by a Bolshevik major, told us that the latter assured him that before the Spring they should hand us over to the Germans. We shall then have to experience captivity and cruelty from the Germans. There is nothing new with us, and nothing has changed.

The days are longer. The food for a change, after sauerkraut and kilki (a fish)—little herrings for breakfast, and peeled barley for lunch. For the last ten days we have not received any sugar or tea. Bugs showed up in our room. They took the dogs away from the camp. A list of mail which was not delivered from the previous mail delivery (letters from families) has been displayed. Except for

a few lines on a postcard from Bialystok I haven't received anything from Danka. How does she manage with Ewusia and her parents during this severe winter? Are there any people who are helping her? In a few days, February 3-4, I shall write the third letter; since August 4th we haven't written anything and we have no news of each other; after so many years we were left on ice without even the most essential things. Who could have thought that it would end like that? I hope, however, that this is not for long, and that everything will soon end well for my family. What will the next few weeks bring us? The weather today, Sundays, Jan. 28, 1940, is beautifully sunny, although frosty (15-29°). Our quarters are in a small room in which ten of us live (Captain of the Artillery Hoffman, older than I, officer of the reserves, employee of the sugar refinery in Opalew. The rest are 3 Lts. and five Sub-Lts., all from the 55th, 57th, and 58th infantry division. What is going to happen to us and when shall it end?

[P. 93] Sunday, February 1, 1940. Evening. The weather is beautiful but cold. From the bunk I sunned myself through the window panes, especially my sciatic pains, which trouble me. There is news in the night that Romania confiscates arms and * * *. Poland. Is this good news? I believe it is. * * * Maybe * * * it will shorten our stay. Yesterday I sent a postcard to Kama, and today I am writing to Danka. What is new at home? How are Danka and Ewusia living? And mother with Stefa in Lwow? During the night of March 11-12, from Monday to Tuesday, I had an extraordinary dream. I saw, in my dream, mother, somewhere in the second room of our apartment. I was tuning the radio to music, and was fighting with myself—with my double. I cried and hissed terribly. When I awakened, as did my fellow comrades, I was lying on my back and my heart was beating terribly. Perhaps because I was running last evening at 11 P. M. to the mailbox to post a card from Wielich to Danka. How weak I am from this "prison"—I beg your pardon—on this "prisoner of war" diet. This dream augurs something bad.

Today, 13th of March, nothing of importance.

Today, 4th of April. Only today, in the second day of the excitement because of our departure, I am looking into these notes. The holidays have passed. Have received cards and messages from Danka, with news that apart from my first letter of November 24, 1939, which she received January 6, nothing arrives from this "land of paradise."

[Page 95] Sunday, April 7, 1940. Morning. After yesterday, allocation * * * Skitowey—pack our things * * * till 11:40 A. M. for the departure to the club for inspection. Lunch in the club * * *. After inspection, at 2:55 P. M., we left the walls and barbed wires of the Kozielsk camp. The house * * * named after Gorski. At 4:55 P. M. (2:45 P. M. Polish time) we were put into prison cars on the railway siding Kozielsk. I have never seen such cars in all my life. They say that of all passenger railway cars in the USSR, 50% are prison cars. Together with me is Jozef Kutuba, Kpt. Szyfter Pawel, and also majors, lt. cols., and captains; altogether twelve, while there is room for seven at the most.

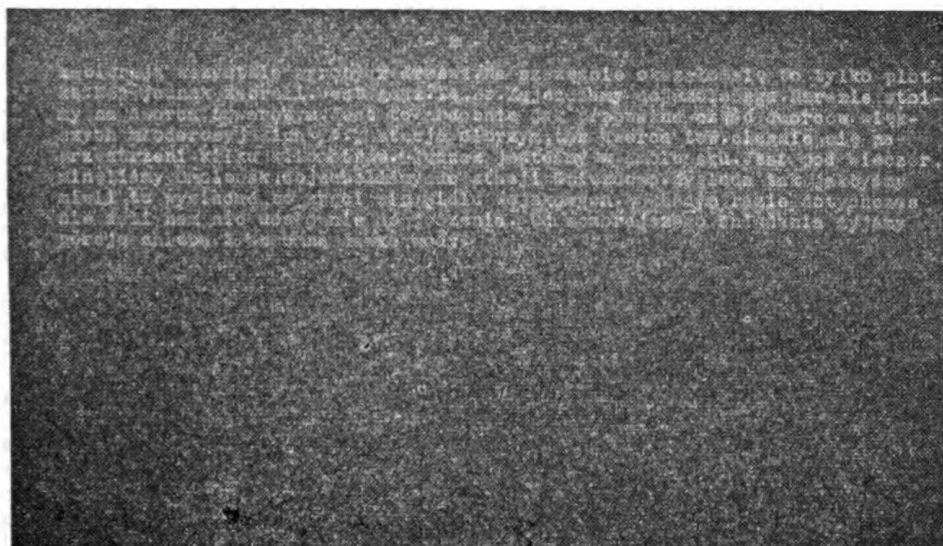
April 8, 3:30 A. M. Departure from Kozielsk station to the west. 9:45 A. M. at Jelnia station.

April 8, 1940. From 12 noon we are standing at Smolensk on a railway siding.

April 9, 1940. A few minutes before 5 in the morning reveille in the prison cars and preparation for departure * * *. We are to go somewhere by car, and what then?

April 9, 5 A. M.

April 9. From the very dawn, the day started somewhat peculiarly. Departure by prison van in little cells (terrible); they brought us somewhere into the woods—some kind of summer resort. Here a detailed search. They took the watch, on which time was 6:30 a. m. (8:30), asked me for my wedding ring, which they took, roubles, my main belt, and pocket knife.



[Translation from Polish]

The copy of notes from the notebook.

Envelope No. 0424 (Kruk) Waclaw.

Note in the Polish Red Cross list: 0424, military, N.N. (unknown), pencil drawing with inscription "Kozielsk 1940, diary, holy medallion."

The notebook (larger) was probably made by the owner himself by bending and binding, together with sheets of white unlined paper, with no watermarks. The notebook has no covers and consists of 54 leaves. Of these only the first two were written upon; the rest is blank and bears only the marks of a chemical pencil which, put inside, dissolved and permeated a number of pages with violet color. Also, traces of lines of a poem are visible; it was written on a separate sheet and put inside the notebook. Similarly, traces of an impression of figures drawn on a separate sheet of paper are noticeable, it would appear from the contents of the notebook that they represent checker pieces, which are mentioned by the author in his notebook.

There was also in the notebook a pencil drawing representing a bearded man signed "Kruk Waclaw", Kozielsk, 1940. On the other smaller sheet was a caricature of the same man, signed "Kruk." In this notebook a sheet with the address "Herrn Sigmund Brodaty Sto/ck/holm Birger Sweden (the word Sweden is written in Russian characters).

The first leaf of the notebook, that is, the first two pages, is covered with Russian words, which may indicate that the owner of the notebook was learning Russian. The proper notes start on page three, and end on page four. The copy of these notes follows:

April 8, 1940. I have written nothing until now, because it seemed to me that nothing noteworthy had happened. Recently, that is by the end of March and the beginning of April, departure rumors were current. We thought them to be the usual gossip. But it turned out that they were true. In the first days of April, transports, initially small, started leaving from "Skit," taking several persons each time. Finally it [Skit] was liquidated on Saturday the 7th, and we were transferred to the main camp. Temporarily we were located in the major's block. Yesterday a transport of senior officers left—3 generals, 20 to 25 colonels, and a similar number of majors. Judging by the method of discharge, our chances were of the best. Today my turn came. I took a bath in the morning, and washed my socks and handkerchiefs * * * generally "to * * * with things." After accounting for camp equipment, a search was carried out in hut No. 19, and from there * * * we were led out through the gate to trucks which took us out to the station, and not to Kozielsk (communications with Kozielsk were cut by the flood). There we were put into prison cars under a strong guard. In the prison cell (which I saw for the first time) we were thirteen. I have not as yet acquainted myself with my comrades in distress. Now we are waiting for the departure * * *. As before I was optimistic, I now expect

* * * this journey bodes ill for us. The worst is that * * * it is doubtful whether we shall be able to discover the direction of our journey. But patience. We move in the direction of Smolensk. The weather * * * it is sunny, there is plenty of snow on the fields.

April 9, 1940. Tuesday. We had a more comfortable night than in the old cattle cars. There was more room and we did not shake so badly. The weather today * * * as in winter. It snows and it is cloudy. It is impossible to ascertain what our direction is. During the night we passed Spass-Demenskoje [name written in Russian but incorrectly]. I have seen no such station on the map in the direction of Smolensk. I am afraid that we are being moved either North or Northeast, which seems to be confirmed by the weather. During the day it is as it was in former times. Yesterday in the morning they gave us a ration of bread and some sugar, and in the train some cold boiled water. Now noon is nearing and we have received no food. The treatment * * * is also rough. We are allowed nothing. We are even allowed access to the privies only as it pleases the guards. Requests or shouts help us not at all.

To get back to "Skit," my best comrades were Sucharski, a teacher from the Bialystok area, and Szafranski, bookkeeper from the co-op "Spolem." We formed a kind of triumvirate in the Major's Bloc. Upon departure I gave Szafranski my army pullover. He wanted to buy it, and give me his watch and 50 roubles, but I refused to accept. Maybe I shall regret it. I gave it to him although it was difficult to part with it, but I felt sorry for him. He suffered badly from cold. Before leaving "Skit" we had an unofficial choir concert. My sculptures made me quite popular. I had to make two reliefs for Major Goleb (a highlander and the Holy Mother), a cross for captain Deszert, tobacco case, and * * * but most admired were my checkers. I was afraid I would lose them, because the gossip was that during the search all wooden objects would be confiscated. Fortunately it was only a rumor. But they took my knife. At 14.30 hours we arrived in Smolensk. We waited on the marshalling yards. It is an enormous station, like most of the newer Russian railway stations; marshalling yards spread for several kilometres. We are in Smolensk, however. The evening came, and we passed Smolensk. We arrived at Gniezdowo station. It looks as though we may be unloaded here, because a number of military are present. In any case we have received nothing to eat as yet. Since yesterday we have subsisted on a piece of bread and some water.

Mr. DONDERO. General, you have said that the original diaries were somewhere here in London?

Mr. FLOOD. No.

General KOMOROWSKI. No—the copies.

Mr. DONDERO. Where are the original diaries?

General KOMOROWSKI. My observer brought me copies of the original and these copies I sent to London that my observer handed me. The original diaries were taken in his presence mostly from the pockets, though he could see the original. He saw the original diaries and he made a copy and this copy he brought to me.

Mr. DONDERO. And the originals were left there at the grave?

General KOMOROWSKI. No.

Mr. DONDERO. Well, where are they now?

General KOMOROWSKI. No, they were taken by the Polish Red Cross to Warsaw. What happened to them I do not know. They were brought to the Polish Red Cross in Warsaw.

Mr. O'KONSKI. General, I was looking over some documents; your testimony ended rather abruptly and there were quite a number of pertinent questions I wanted to ask you which I think will help this committee. As commander of the home army in Warsaw, you were the leader in the Warsaw uprising in July and August 1944; were you not?

General KOMOROWSKI. In August and September.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In August and September of 1944?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. About how many people of Warsaw were killed by the Germans in that uprising?

General KOMOROWSKI. I know exactly how many soldiers were lost, but it is very difficult to tell exactly how many from the civilian population were killed, as a lot of houses and blocks were bombed and the bodies of the people were buried; but in my personal opinion I think that nearly 100,000 of the civilian population were killed. The German propaganda immediately on the second day after the uprising was finished announced that 200,000 people were killed. From where could they have got this news? It was only their propaganda. They could not in 2 days discover. And the Russian propaganda repeated 250,000 and 300,000.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The Russian propaganda was that between 250,000 and 300,000 were killed in the uprising?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now, General, when you led that uprising, you already knew in your own mind, and so did the leaders who were helping you, that it was the Russians that committed the murder at Katyn?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. You were pretty convinced of that fact, were you not?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yet your underground army supported the Allied cause, including the Russians, in the uprising; so there was not any prejudice or personal animosity against the Russians after you knew they had committed the murders; is that correct?

General KOMOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now here is what I want to ask you: In the Warsaw uprising the Russian Army was how far away from Warsaw?

General KOMOROWSKI. Fifteen miles in the beginning, but after 6 weeks they were just across the Vistula.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now, in the Warsaw uprising, that lasted for some 2 months, it would have been very easy for the Russians to come to the aid of the home army in Warsaw; could they not have?

General KOMOROWSKI. There was only the river dividing us, and there was no difficulty at all in the summer to cross the river—no difficulty at all.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, General, there is no question in your mind whatever that the Russians deliberately stood by, hoping that there would be more of the home army and the so-called resistance groups in Poland massacred and liquidated. Would you agree with that opinion?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, it is my opinion.

Mr. O'KONSKI. General, the reason why I ask that question is this: Do you see any analogy between the Katyn murders by the Russians and the refusal of the Russians to come to the aid of the Warsaw Home Army; do you see any analogy in the two?

General KOMOROWSKI. In my opinion it is the same policy of the Russians.

Mr. O'KONSKI. What would you say that that policy was?

General KOMOROWSKI. This policy was to destroy all the national elements of Poles.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, any reasonable person then would have a right to conclude that, since the Russians, who were able to come to the rescue, saw the massacre, according to their own propaganda, of 250,000 to 300,000 Poles in Warsaw in the uprising, if they stood by and saw that because they had a very definite reason, hoping that that would be done, it would not be beyond them to slaughter or massacre 15,000; is that your conclusion?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Who did the bombing of their city?

General KOMOROWSKI. The Germans.

Mr. DONDERO. Did they do the bombing?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; but the Germans could not have made it except they knew the Russians were not helping us; they did not give us cover by plane. If one Russian plane had come over Warsaw in the sky, the German planes would have disappeared; but not one plane from the Russians came to help.

Mr. DONDERO. And they were 15 miles away?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; in the beginning; and after they were only on the other side of the Vistula; we saw them.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now, General, let me ask you another question: Is it true that your gallant home army was made up of the most intelligent, most able, and the most capable people in Warsaw and Poland at that time?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. It was made up of the best type, the most trusted patriots that you could find in all Poland gathered in Warsaw; they were the heart and the core of the home army; is not that correct?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes; and the headquarters was in Warsaw not only of the home army but also the underground government of Poland.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Now let me ask you another question: In other words, these people that were found in the graves at Katyn were just as important for the heart of Poland as the composition of the home army at Warsaw: they were the best that the Polish people had to offer, were they not?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. They were the most likely to form resistance to Communism or Nazism or any form of dictatorship, if they had survived. They would have been the most potent leaders in Poland to resist any kind of dictatorship, if they had survived; is not that right?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, there is no doubt in your mind at all that Katyn and the refusal of the Russians to come to your help during the Warsaw uprising were clearly and unequivocally a Russian program of genocide, to liquidate the potent patriotism which might survive in Poland?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, no question; and in eastern Poland in the area of Nowogrodek on the body of a killed Russian officer was found an order to kill all the officers from the Polish underground.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, General, the refusal of the Russians to aid Warsaw uprising was merely a continuation of the Russian policy?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Of which Katyn is an example; to wipe out any possible opposition and not to leave in Poland any kind of group of patriots that might form a resistance in Poland after the war?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, that is my opinion.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is your definite opinion?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I think that is very important, gentlemen, and those are the questions I want to ask, because when I study this Katyn situation and also study the million or more civilians of Poland that were transported to Siberia, and then this Warsaw uprising, they all seem to tie up, and the picture must be considered as a whole if one wants really to get at the basic facts at Katyn. Those are the only questions I have and you have answered them very well.

General KOMOROWSKI. It did not finish with the Warsaw uprising. After the Warsaw uprising, 50,000 of the home army were arrested by the Russians and deported to Russia.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I am glad you mention that. In other words, you say there is a parallel even after, as the Russians themselves say, between 250,000 and 300,000 of the people of Poland perished in the Warsaw uprising. When the Russians came in, the job was not yet complete enough. They themselves arrested 50,000 members of the home army?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. To make a complete job of the liquidation?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is very significant; that is all I have to ask.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one question along the lines opened up by Mr. O'Konski. In September 1939 Marshal Timoshenko was in command of the army in eastern Poland?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And at that time, before the cessation of hostilities, are you familiar with the fact that Marshal Timoshenko issued certain pamphlets circulated amongst Polish soldiers inducing them to revolt against the officers?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have before me a photostatic copy of one of his pamphlets which I would like to translate and ask you if you have knowledge of the fact that such a pamphlet was circulated. The pamphlet is as follows:

Soldiers: In the course of the last few days the Polish Army has been completely demolished. The soldiers of the cities of Tarnopol, Halicz, Rowno, Dubno, in number over 60,000 have voluntarily passed over to our side. Soldiers, what is there left for you? What are you fighting for and with whom? Why do you risk your lives? Your defense is impossible. Your officers are forcing you to a murder without any sense. They hate you and they hate your families. They are the ones who shot your delegates whom you sent with the proposition to give up. Do not believe your officers. Your officers and your generals are your enemies; they want your death. Soldiers, beat up your officers and generals. Do not listen to the orders of your officers. Chase them from your land. Come over to your brothers in the Red Army. Here you will find care and tenderness. Remember, only the Red Army can save the Polish Nation from the unfortunate war and there will you find a possibility of starting a peaceful life. Believe us, the Red Soviet Army is your only friend. Signed, S. Timoshenko.

Do you remember such pamphlets being circulated?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes. I have the original pamphlets—not in my hands, but I know the text.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That also was part of their plan to disorganize the Polish Nation?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And to start a revolt against the so-called intelligentsia, was it not?

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was circulated in September 1939.

General KOMOROWSKI. Yes, I know very well. I not only have the original pamphlets in my hand, but people coming from Eastern Poland told me this when I was in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. General, have you received any promises of emoluments of any kind from anybody for appearing here today and testifying?

General KOMOROWSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Then the committee wish to say to you that we are very pleased that a distinguished witness of your caliber would be interested in these proceedings. We know you are. We thank you for giving your time and effort to come here to help us to solve this matter. The committee appreciate your appearance very much indeed.

General KOMOROWSKI. Thank you.

Mr. FLOOD. General, will you please give your name and your present address?

General KUKIEL. Lieutenant General Marian Kukiel, 55 Arthur Road, London, S. W. 19.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of actions in any court by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony. Do you understand that, General?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you stand and be sworn then. You swear by God the Almighty and Omniscient, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth and you will not conceal anything, so help you God.

General KUKIEL. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL MARIAN KUKIEL

Mr. FLOOD. What is your full name?

General KUKIEL. Marian Kukiel.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you at any time identified with the Polish armed forces?

General KUKIEL. I have served in the Polish armed forces since they were reconstituted in Poland in 1918 and before in the Polish Legion.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your rank?

General KUKIEL. Lieutenant colonel.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you serving at the time you first heard of the Katyn matter?

General KUKIEL. I was at that time Minister of National Defense in our Government in London—in General Sikorski's Government.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you serving and in what capacity in the late summer of 1941 after the rapprochement between the Soviet and the Polish Governments?

General KUKIEL. At that time I was still in command of the First Army Corps in Scotland and I was not in London; but I had been since many decades a close friend of General Sikorski. I can say I enjoyed his confidence and friendship. I was informed about all his important troubles, his ordeals, his difficulties; and I knew very well his approach to the problem of Polish war prisoners in Russia already since 1939, because when our Government and our high command were reconstituted in France, in Paris, we already knew what happened: that the Russians, the Soviets, have rounded up big masses of Polish officers, that they have violated the convention of Lwow, because Lwow has surrendered to the Soviets on September 22, and there was a convention in which the Soviets insured to the officers the right of free movement and the right of leaving Poland for another country to fight on. It was in the capitulation, and it was violated; they had been marched eastward.

In the month of January 1940 I think we already had news about the situation of the big masses of Polish officers. They were brought by three of them who managed to escape and to reach General Sikorski and other headquarters in Paris. They were, I think, Colonel Lewicki, Major Kosuczki, and Captain Kiedacz. They escaped from a great transit camp at Szepietowka in the Russian part of Wolynia. They reported that the prisoners are starving, are freezing, they are deprived of any medical help and entirely cut off from any contact with the homeland. It was perhaps the first stage before they were transported later to the three camps, Kozielsk, Ostashkov, and Starobielsk, but General Sikorski was extremely depressed by the news, and he decided to do all he could to help them, to try to get an intervention from the Western Powers, and especially from the United States. We had approached the United States Ambassador, whose Government was our great and generous friend, Mr. Biddle; and I arranged a conference in our Embassy in Paris of our Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Zalski. I had the opportunity to inform Ambassador Biddle of the situation of our war prisoners of the many thousands—we did not know exactly the number—and he promised to appeal to the President of the United States for an intervention. After, during the years 1940 and 1941, that idea, that 1 million or so Poles are deported to Russia and that our war prisoners are in Russian hands probably in appalling conditions, haunted General Sikorski. It greatly influenced his attitude during negotiations with the Russians and with the British Foreign Office for concluding a pact with Soviet Russia. Later on, when he already knew that masses of Poles are released from prisons and from concentration camps from "Lagry" and that they joined the army, he told me with great emotion: "You know that in those difficult days of July 1941, I was not so sure if it is right that I am concluding the pact, that perhaps by waiting we could make it better than it was; but I had the impression of hearing the voices of masses of people who are begging me: 'Hurry; do not wait; we are perishing.'" Certainly it was one of the most important factors of his decisions.

I was here in London at the end of the year 1941, appointed by General Sikorski for the time of his journey to Moscow as his deputy,

deputizing for him as Minister of Defense, of Military Affairs, and commander in chief; and, of course, I was informed of exactly what happened at that time in Russia. I already knew that there is a great problem of many thousands of Polish officers who simply disappeared; that the list is already being established by General Anders and his officers, and that it is a very great problem. Then in the account of the conversation of General Silorski with Stalin and Anders and Kot, we were together with him, with Stalin at the Kremlin, and I noticed Stalin's words that probably they escaped to Manchuria. I got a very disagreeable impression; it sounded like mockery, like a quite sinister joke. At that time—it was still before Tehran—we did not realize that that kind of humor was peculiar to Mr. Stalin. At Tehran there was a memorable scene when Stalin at dinner with President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill proposed a toast to the 40,000 or 50,000 German officers who must be shot.

Mr. DONDERO. Was it at Yalta?

General KUKIEL. It is spoken of in Mr. Churchill's memoirs.

Mr. DONDERO. Where; was it at Tehran where that proposal was made by Stalin?

General KUKIEL. No; but I have got it confirmed before by our Prime Minister of the year 1944, Mr. Mikolajczyk, who was heard the same story almost exactly as it is presented by Mr. Churchill from President Roosevelt himself and told me long before I have read it in Mr. Churchill's memoirs. So it seems for me quite sure that Stalin really spoke about shooting 40,000 German officers. It is true that when Mr. Churchill left the room upset at that kind of joke, he was joined by Stalin, who embraced him and assured him that it is a mere farce.

Mr. FLOOD. General, that is very interesting, but I would like to get you back to your official connection with any conversations or any communications that you had in any official capacity at any time and any place in connection with Katyn.

General KUKIEL. Yes, I shall do so. I can only tell you that our anxiety about the fate of those missing Polish officers was increasing during the year 1942, and at that time we still had some hope that they were somewhere in the most distant parts of Siberia, in the Arctic regions, and that they could not be ever liberated from those parts of Siberia during the wintertime, that possibly they can reappear in the summertime; but those hopes were deceived. If I recollect, now the Russian replies to our questions and notes, I have the impression that they already have told us: "Do not insist more. Their fate is closed." I get the impression now that it was the sense of all those replies; for instance, if Mr. Bogomolow insists that they have released all the prisoners they have, it is genuine. He thinks probably he was directed to tell that there are no more Polish officers war prisoners to be released, that they do not exist; but at that time we could not yet follow that course of thinking.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have any direct communications with Bogomolow yourself?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Where?

General KUKIEL. Here in London when he was appointed.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you talk to Bogomolow; about the missing Polish officers?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. In London?

General KUKIEL. In London.

Mr. FLOOD. About how many times?

General KUKIEL. I was appointed at the end of the month of September, Minister of Military Affairs.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What year?

General KUKIEL. 1942. I came to London. By October 12 I had already taken over. Immediately I got an invitation from Mr. Bogomolow and we had a long talk on October 19. It lasted for 3 hours, and an account of this talk was written immediately after, the same afternoon, and given to General Sikorski.

Mr. FLOOD. You mentioned that at this conversation the first conversation you had with Bogomolow in London, as soon as the conversation was over, you had transcribed into writing the minutes of that conversation?

General KUKIEL. Yes; and I sent it to General Sikorski.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of those minutes with you?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now ask the stenographer to mark for identification exhibits 29 and 30. Exhibit 29 purports to be a copy of the minutes of the conversation just described, and exhibit 30 is a photostatic copy of that instrument.

(Copy of minutes and photostatic copy of minutes referred to were marked "Exhibit 29" and "Exhibit 30." After proper identification, exhibit 29, the original copy of the report, was returned to the witness, and the photostatic copy, exhibit 30, is shown below:)

EXHIBIT 30

Rozmowa Ministra Spraw Wojskowych, gen. dyw. Kukiele
z gen. powstającym Rogoznowem
dn. 15 października 43 r.

Rozmowa wynika z zaproszenia przez gen. Rogoznowa na
 śniadania.

Wprowadzono mnie do bardzo skromnego pokoju jadalnego.
 Dwa nakrycia. W parę sekund wszedł ambasador, wyświadczył przyczynę. Od
 razu do stołu. Obiad skromny - "domowy", jak w domu polskiego inteligenta.
 Wino, bez nalegania. Usługa rosyjska. Rozmowa zaczęła o tematyce.
 Stopniowo przechodzi na tematy historyczno-wojskowe, historyczno-polityczne.
 Mocno koncentruje na zagadnieniu aryjskiego rozstrzygnięcia wojny.

Gen. Rogoznow, tonem zadziwiająco spokojnym, mówi o
 groźbie następstwa, które wyniknęłyby dla świata w razie podboju Rosji przez
 Niemcy. Co będzie, gdy oparuje cały przemyśle rosyjski i tym na Syberii,
 który jest potęgą, czy od niemieckiego? Być niewygodny. Oczekuje się,
 jakby ta możliwość była poważnie brana pod uwagę. Ani słowa, któreby
 wskazywało na nadzieję odegrania się własną siłą. Podkreślam mocno, że
 przedkłada rozstrzygnięcie wojny stacjonarnej z Zachodu jest kwestią bytu róż-
 nym dla narodu polskiego, że tutaj bliskość wojny. Mocno podkreślam.

Rozmowa o możliwościach ofensywy na Zachodzie. Ofensy-
 wa afrykańskiej nie przypływałaby poważnego wpływu na przebieg wojny.

Rozmowa na temat pragnienia Niemców uzyskać się od
 odpowiedzi na pytanie, co będzie z ich przemyśleniami, bez którego ten naród
 istnieć już nie może. Zwalnia ten kłopot na bardziej kompetentnych.

Uderza mnie, że gdy kompletnie Sowiety, idą w soto-
 ryzacji, rozwoju lotnictwa i broni pancernej uważa na drogę wojny nowo-
 czesnej na długo przed Niemcami, Rogoznow odrzuca wyrażenie, że to było
 wskutek wiadomości o tym, co w tej dziedzinie robią Niemcy. Uderza, że
 nie rozumie, gdy straszą wojną na porządek chronologiczny.

Rozmowa lekko wleciła pod koniec naszej rozmowy. Przy
 czarnej kawie /bez wstawiania od stołu/, wchodzi ppłk. Sidor. Zaproszony.
 Rozmowa żywa o naszym karpackim, o ociekach etc., o erui naszej na
 Górnym Zachodzie. Silnie podkreślam, że wojna naszego Rządu była jej -
 istnienie w Rosji i walka rządu w rękę. To żaluje, iż sprawy wyty-
 czenia i uzbrojenia skłoniły rząd sowiecki do propozycji jej wycofania.

Mimo niewygodnej sytuacji /przy świadku - sam bez
 świadka/, akcja rozmowy na tematy aktualne. Mówię wyprost, jak ważny
 przebiega problem: naszych rezerw ludzkich, że mamy duże możliwości na
 kontynuację, ale w tej chwili jedyną dostępną rezerwę, na którą mamy
 prawo liczyć, jest w ich rękach. Mówię o 8,000 zaginionych oficerów, o
 naszych jeńcach i poborczych. Rogoznow odzywa do not wydziałowych
 w tej sprawie. Akcentuję wagę sprawy dla rozwoju naszych stosunków so-
 junalizacyjnych. Z wyraźnym zadowoleniem mówi mi o uwolnieniu naszych funk-
 cjonariuszy i delegatów. Upominam się o pozostałych 10-tu. Coś było,
 że mocno podejrzam. Mocno upominam, że mamy nie na, by była tak jaka-
 kolwiek szkoda polska przeciw nim sarkotona. Przyjmuje ton szczeroci i
 bezpośredności. Zatrzymuje się, że mówię jako obywatel polski z obywatela
 telań sowieckiego.

Rogoznow przechodzi do szeregu kontrataków. Już
 przed tym, z uporem wypowiada naszą prasę. Jest to wyprzedzić się Mac-
 kiewiczem i Nowakowskim, choć co do Nowakowskiego wyjechał z zarzutem,
 że drukuje to na papierze od min. Strowskiego. Nie podobne mu się

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"Polska walcząca" /nie precyzuje, o co mianowicie chodzi, a ja nie chce się dopytywać/. Wielki stak na prez. Grabkiego i jego powiedzenie o roli Polski, jako zapory przeciw obu totalizmom: hitlerowskiemu i sowieckiemu przytacza cały ustęp z pamięci. Podkreśla wagę omawiającej, jako pochodzącej z ust prezesa Rady Narodowej. Ripostuje co do Grabkiego i Strelskiego, przytaczając fakty świadczące o ich stałej polityce pojednania w stosunku do Rosji.

Rozmowa bardzo żywa i długa, przetrwała cały okres naszych stosunków od traktatu ryskiego, który traktują jako akt pojednania i uciśnienia z naszej strony; śpialiśmy sniej, niż pada kma, ludzkiego ofiarowało nam poprzednio. Żywy, gwałtowny pojedynek na fakty. Bogomolow stawia Piłsudskiego i Becka. Ripostuje jako przeciwnik ich obu, /Bogomolow przywołuje; wie, że wyszedłem z wojska w r. 1927/ że przecież nie poszli na współdziałanie z Niemcami przeciw Rosji. Bogomolow przyznaje i daje bardzo trafny charakterystykę polityki "języka u waci". Również proponuje, by dać spokój historii; myśmy nas rozbierali, wyśledzić dwa razy najdłuzi Moskwy, napaść na nas w czasie naszej wojny domowej - jak będziemy sobie to wciąż wyginać, nie pójdzie to współdziałaniu w wspólnej walce. Odpowiadam, że co do przeszłości trzeba przyjąć hasło ich cara Aleksandra I. "personne l'épouge sur le passé". Ale są problemy teraźniejszości. Do nich należą sprawy naszych jeńców, wymagalne, poborowych. Bogomolow broni się przeciw powrosciu do tych spraw - były wojny etc. Stwierdzam, że nie byłoby tego całego kłopotu, gdyby nam wywieziono do Rosji naszy Polaków. Teras stanowić problem, który rozstrząsany być musi dla dobre przyszłych stosunków obu narodów.

Bogomolow jest mądry i zdeterminowany. Kwi, że Robaja zrobiła dla nas ogromnie wiele. Ze poraz pierwszy w dziejach USSR dopuszczono organa obcego państwa do działalności opiekuńczej, że jedyną opieką w dziejach Rosji jest dopuszczenie tworzenia się naturalnie Rosji zupełnie niezależnej armii obcej. Ze naszał nuzenia, upotyknęła je ciężła rekrutacja i oskarżenia. Do nich walczą tak warunki postawione mu świeżo przez pewną osobistość /gen. Januszajtisa/, której nazwiska nie chce wyznaczyć. Powracam z naciskiem do sprawy zaginionych ze Stierobielaka, Kozielecka, Ostaszewa. Żywe sprzeczka. Powiada, że zapewne ogarnięci przez Niemców. Stwierdzam, że wieay, iż byli wywiezieni wieay i że nie ma ich w Niemczech ani w Polsce. Wyrażam nadzieję, że niedługo zdolem ambasadorowi dostarczyć wskazówek, które może ułatwią poszukiwania. Nie odpowiada - przygnębiony, i - powiedziałbym - niepokojąco bezradny.

Powijam sprawę rekrutacji. Bogomolow odrzili, że te rzeczy będą traktowane przez amb. Rosera w Moskwie, pomno podkreślam, że poruszamy te sprawy nie po to, by drażnić, charakter querele, ale po to, by uprzątnąć przeszkody, pogłębić współpracę i przyjaźń, którą rząd gen. Sikorskiego chce ugłusować. Depedzicie nam w tym - adieu nous.

Ambasador wyzerperny zupełnie. Zegnam się /po 3 1/2 godz. rozmowy/. Parę cisplych słów, oświadczenia sojuszniczej przyjaźni.

/rozмова w cztery oczy toczyła się po francusku, przy Sizowie ambasador odwił po rosyjsku, ja po angielsku do Sizowa, po francusku do ambasadora, który tłumaczył Sizowowi całe ustępy; ambasadora dobrze rozumiałem/.

Odniesłam wrażenie następujące: Szło in o wywiad co do przyszłości naszego stosunku do nich przez "przeświecenie" nowego członka Rządu, a w związku - jak sądzę - z rozważeniami nowego kursu, bardziej pojednawczego z ich strony.

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Wydało mi się, niestety, że prawie 8.000 oficerów naszych należy umieść za bramkami i że Pogonolow wie, że wyginąli.

Zamachem, że cała praca rozmowy toczyła się w tonie bardzo przyjaznym. Ambasador zrobił wrażenie człowieka bardzo inteligentnego i raczej żyłsiwego, zakłopotanego naszą trudną sytuacją. Ppłk. Sidor, po krótkiej rozmowie fachowej, mówił mało, czasem potakując Pogonolowowi.

Co do mnie, starałem się zostawić wrażenie szczerze rości i rzetelności naszej postawy wobec Rosji, a zwłaszcza uporu co do naszych praw i śpadek.

Londyn, dnia 26 października 1943 r.

M. L. Kukiel
M. Kukiel, gen. dyw./

[Trans'ation copy]

CONVERSATION OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL KUKIEL, POLISH MINISTER OF WAR
WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR BOGOMOLOV ON THE 19TH OF OCTOBER 1942

The conversation followed a lunch to which Ambassador Bogomolov had invited me.

I was shown into a very modest dining room. The table was laid for two. A few seconds later the Ambassador entered. An exchange of courtesies. We immediately sat down to table. A modest dinner—"homely," similar to what one would expect to get in a middle-class Polish home. Wine—without forcing you to drink it. Russian servants. Conversation initially indifferent—"social", gradually turns to military—historical and historically-political subjects. Strong focus on the problem of how to end the war in the quickest way.

In a mood of exceptional frankness Amb. Bogomolov speaks to me about the threat to the world which would arise if the Germans were let to run Russia down. What will happen if they lay hands on the entire Russian industry including Siberia which taken together were even greater than the German industry? They would become invincible. It seems that such a possibility is seriously taken into account. No word about any hope of beating off the onslaught by their own means. I strongly stress that a swift ending of the war by means of an attack coming from the West is just as much a matter of existence to Poland, that in that respect our aims are absolutely concurrent. He strongly confirms.

Talk about the possibilities of an offensive in the West. He does not count much on the African offensive having a decisive influence on the progress of war.

Talk about the future of Germany. I avoid the answer to the problem of what is to be done with their industry without which they cannot exist. I refer this worry to more competent authorities.

It strikes me that when I pay a compliment to the Soviet Union for having applied the theory of modern warfare long before the Germans did in respect of motorisation, development of air-force and of armour—Bogomolov tries to evade this issue and to imply that it was only because they had information of what the Germans were preparing. He pretends not to understand when I point out the chronological order of events.

The conversation barely touches upon our own problems. During coffee [which is served without our moving from the table], Col. Sizov joins us. He has been invited to do so. Brisk conversation about the Polish Corps, about tanks, etc., about our Army in the Near East. I underline with emphasis that it was the will of our Government to let it remain in Russia and fight arm to arm. That we regret that in view of the food and armament situation the Soviet Government had been induced to suggest its evacuation.

In spite of my adverse situation [I have no witness—he has], I turn the conversation to topical problems. I frankly tell him about the seriousness of the problem I have taken over: the question of our men-power reserves. That we have great possibilities on the Continent, but that at that very moment the only accessible reserves on which we have the right to count are those in their hands. I speak about our 8,000 missing officers, about our prisoners and recruits. Bogomolov refers me to the notes exchanged on this subject. I stress the importance of this matter for future development of our friendly relations. He tells me with visible pleasure about the release of our officials and delegates. I claim the remaining 16. He mutters something about their being very suspect. I firmly assure him that there is absolutely no question of anything being undertaken over there which would be in any way hostile towards them. I assume a tone of sincere frankness. I stress that I am speaking now as a Polish citizen to Soviet citizens.

Bogomolov embarks on a number of counter-attacks. Already before he obstinately reproved our press. It was easy for me to disown Mackiewicz and Nowakowski, although as to the latter he comes back with the charge that his stuff is printed on paper supplied by Minister Stroński. He does not like the "Polska Walcząca" ["Fighting Poland"].—[He does not specify what he has actually in mind and I do not wish to press him about it.] Then he turns his guns against Chairman Grabski and the latter's statement about the role of Poland as a barrier against both the Nazi and Soviet totalisms. He quotes the entire passage from memory. He stresses the importance of this statement as coming from the Chairman of the National Council. In the matter of Stroński and Grabski I retort by quoting facts which prove their constant policy of reconciliation with Russia.

A long and lively conversation follows which covers the whole period of our relations from the Treaty of Riga which I claim to have been an act of conciliation

and moderation on our part: we asked for less than what the Council of People's Commissars had offered to us previously. A lively impetuous duel of facts. Bogomolov attacks Pilsudski and Beck. I retort as their former adversary [Bogomolov confirms: he knows I had left the Army in 1927] that, after all, they refused to enter into collaboration with the Germans against Russia. Bogomolov acknowledges this and gives a most pertinent description of the policy of the "balance of powers." After which he suggests to leave history aside: we dismembered you, you raided Moscow twice, you assaulted us during the civil war—if we constantly accuse one another of these deeds it will not do us any good in furthering our present common fight. I answer that in respect of the past we should adopt the maxim of their Tsar Alexander the I, who said: "Passons l'éponge sur le passé." But there exist present day problems. I count as such the question of our prisoners, deportees and recruits. Bogomolov resists to be drawn back into discussing these matters once again—he refers me to the notes etc. I insist and declare that all this problem would have never arisen if they had not deported all these masses of Poles to Russia. Now they have in fact become a problem which must be solved for the sake of future relations between the two nations.

Bogomolov is obviously tired and has become nervous. He tells about how much Russia had done for us. That for the first time in history of the U. S. S. R. institutions of a foreign State had been allowed to operate and take care of groups of people on Soviet territory; that it was the only instance in the history of Russia that a foreign independent army was being allowed to organise itself on Russian territory. That instead of appreciation they hear nothing but reproaches and recriminations. He includes among these the terms of co-operation recently placed before him by a very well known personage whose name he would rather not mention [Gen. Januszajtis]. Stubbornly, I drive the conversation back to the problem of the missing prisoners from Starobielsk, Kozielsk and Ostaszków. A lively exchange of words. I am told that they had probably fallen into the hands of the Germans. I declare that we know that they had been transferred from their camps in the spring and that they are neither in Germany nor Poland. I express the hope that I will be shortly in a position to give the Ambassador some indication which might be helpful in the search. He does not answer—depressed and—I should even say—alarmingly helpless.

I develop the question of recruitment. Bogomolov thought that these matters were going to be dealt with by Amb. Romer in Moscow. I strongly stress that we are raising these questions not in order to irritate, "pour chercher querelle" but in order to remove the obstacles, to deepen our friendship and co-operation, which the Government of Sikorski is anxious to consolidate. Do help us in this aim—aidez nous.

The Ambassador is completely exhausted / after two and a half hours of conversation /. A few warm sentences and assurances of mutual friendship.

The conversation while we were alone was carried in French, in the presence of Sizov the Ambassador spoke in Russian, I spoke in English to Sizov, in French to the Ambassador who next translated whole passages to Sizov; I understood well everything the Ambassador said .

My general impression is that by "turning the light" on a new member of our Government they wanted to sound out the future course of our attitude towards them, because of their playing with the idea of changing their own attitude towards us to—I think—a more conciliatory one.

I have come to the conclusion that in the case of our 8,000 officers, unfortunately, all hope should be abandoned, and that Bogomolov knows that they have perished.

I should add that the whole conversation was carried out in a very friendly tone. The Ambassador gives the impression of a very intelligent man, well disposed towards us and rather embarrassed by his difficult position. Col. Sizov, except for a moment when the conversation turned to technical problems, spoke little and only by nodding from time to time showed his approval to what Bogomolov was saying.

As to myself, I tried to give the impression of the sincerity and straightforwardness of our attitude towards Russia, stressing at the same time our stubbornness in claiming our rights and insisting on the fulfilment of our requests.

Signature,

/ M. Kukiel, Lieut. Gen.

London, the 20-th of October, 1942.

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness exhibits 29 and 30 and ask him whether or not exhibit 29 is an authentic and exact copy of the minutes of the conversation he has just described and whether or not exhibit 30 is a photostatic and exact reproduction of exhibit 29.

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you describe for us the general thought, without too much detail but the general substance, of the conversation of which these exhibits are minutes?

General KUKIEL. Before the conversation, I was instructed by General Sikorski to raise the problem of the missing officers, and also the problem of continuing our recruiting of other countrymen who still remained in Russia for our Polish Forces, although our army of General Anders had already left Russia. So, the two items came into the foreground of our very long discussion.

Mr. FLOOD. General, what is the gist of the subject matter in these papers that you handed me with reference to the missing Polish officers? That is what we want to know about today.

General KUKIEL. Upon the mystery of the disappearance of big masses of our officers, I was told once more that all had been released.

Mr. FLOOD. That is by Bogomolow?

General KUKIEL. By Bogomolow. I tried to convince him that it was not true, because we have the lists. He raised the suggestion that probably they were dispersed somewhere. I assured him that it is quite not possible; they would be found by the authorities; they must be somewhere in Russia in their hands. He had another suggestion: that possibly they fell in German hands. I told him that is not possible because they were liberated long before in the spring of the year 1940 from their camps and evacuated, surely, somewhere to the east; not to the west. He had nothing to answer, but two or three times he repeated a suggestion that it is enough to speak about the past; we must think about the common future. I replied that it is not a past affair for us; it is our present and our future of our officers who are still there. We were tired by the long discussion, and I made a suggestion that perhaps we shall be able to supply him with some indications about the place where they last had been contacted or seen, and I observed a change in his attitude; he was greatly upset. The conversation, which was a very friendly one, broke somewhat abruptly, but we parted on the best terms. But, when I analyzed what I had heard, I got the impression I have put down in my account: that Bogomolow behaved as if our officers were no more alive.

Mr. FLOOD. General, in 1943, did you attend a meeting of the Councils of the Ministers of the Polish Government in London between April 15 and April 17?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. At which time it was decided, for many reasons, to bring the matter of Katyn to the attention of the International Red Cross?

General KUKIEL. Yes. The news about the discovery of the Katyn graves we got during the day of April 14th, and, of course, we were under a very strong impression from what we heard, but we did not suspect a mass murder; we had several other suspicions as to the fate of our soldiers, but we could not understand what could be the purpose.

Mr. FLOOD. After the Germans made their announcement on April 15th and after the Russians made their counterannouncement on April 17th, did you participate in the action of the Polish Government in requesting the International Red Cross to make an investigation?

General KUKIEL. Yes. I shall tell exactly the dates of our decisions. During the day of 14th we had only the German news about the discovery of the graves. I think that on the 14th or early 15th there already was the first Soviet communiqué about the German lies, and they thought that the Germans were liars. The Russians maintained that there were at this place archeological discoveries, a prehistoric cemetery at Gniezdovo. Of course, when compared with the German text, it was evident that the Soviets has nothing to answer but to speak archeologically, and from the German information it was already clear that the corpses were not archeology but bodies of our comrades in arms.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to know if you are aware of any communications addressed by the Polish Government in London in April to the International Red Cross in Geneva. Do you know about that?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there one?

General KUKIEL. It was decided on April 15th in the morning at a session of the Political Committee of our Cabinet. General Sikorski presiding, and we all who attended had the conviction that we must react and immediately react to the German communiqué, but only because we cannot rely upon all what the Germans say to take further action; we must appeal to the only international authority or institution which still is able to intervene—it is the International Red Cross. General Sikorski decided that approach must be made by the Minister of National Defense, by myself as the Minister responsible for the problems of the war prisoners; and so I was directed to sign a communiqué which would be published that our Government had approached the International Red Cross, asking for investigation of the case.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that communiqué?

General KUKIEL. Yes; it was published. It is the communiqué dated 17th. Three Ministers had to cooperate on the text of the communiqué—the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Information, and myself—and we have together established the final text on April 16th before noon; we have signed the draft and I brought it to General Sikorski, who had to change the words and signed it, too. So, it was his decision, but it was published as my communiqué of the Minister of National Defense. I have the document here.

Mr. FLOOD. The document will be marked "Exhibit 30-A" and submitted into the record at this point.

EXHIBIT 30A

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON APRIL 17, 1943, BY THE POLISH MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE CONCERNING THE FATE OF POLISH PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE CAMPS OF KOZIELSK, STAROBIELSK, AND OSTASHKOV

LONDON, April 17, 1943.

On September 17, 1940, the official organ of the Red army, the Red Star, stated that during the fighting which took place after September 17, 1939, 181,000 Polish prisoners of war were taken by the Soviets. Of this number about 10,000 were officers of the regular army and reserve.

According to information in possession of the Polish Government, three large camps of Polish prisoners of war were set up in the U. S. S. R. in November 1939: (1) in Kozielsk, east of Smolensk; (2) in Starobielsk, near Kharkov; and (3) in Ostashkov, near Kalinin, where police and military police were concentrated.

At the beginning of 1940 the camp authorities informed the prisoners in all three camps that all camps were about to be broken up; that prisoners of war would be allowed to return to their families and, allegedly for this purpose, lists of places to which individual prisoners wished to go after their release were made.

At that time there were—

(1) In Kozielsk, about 5,000 men, including some 4,500 officers.

(2) In Starobielsk, about 3,920 men, including 100 civilians; the rest were officers of whom up to 400 were medical officers.

(3) In Ostashkov, about 6,570 men, including some 380 officers.

On April 5, 1940, the breaking up of these camps was begun, and groups of 60 to 300 men were removed from them every few days until the middle of May. From Kozielsk they were sent in the direction of Smolensk. About 400 people only were moved from all the three camps in June 1940 to Griazovetz in the Vologda district.

When after the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Treaty of July 30, 1941, and the signing of the military agreement of August 14, 1941, the Polish Government proceeded to form the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R., it was expected that the officers from the above-mentioned camps would form the cadres of senior and junior officers of the army information. At the end of August 1941, a group of Polish officers from Griazovetz arrived to join the Polish units in Buzuluk. Not one officer, however, among those deported in other directions from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov appeared. In all, therefore, about 8,300 officers were missing, not counting another 7,000 n. c. o.'s, soldiers, and civilians who were in those camps when they were broken up.

Ambassador Kot and General Anders, perturbed by this state of affairs, addressed to the competent Soviet authorities inquiries and representations about the fate of the Polish officers from the above-mentioned camps.

In a conversation with Mr. Vishinsky, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, On October 6, 1941, Ambassador Kot asked what had happened to the missing officers. Mr. Vishinsky answered that all prisoners of war had been freed from the camps and, therefore, they must be at liberty.

In October and November, in his conversations with Premier Stalin, Mr. Molotov, and Mr. Vishinsky, the Ambassador on various occasions returned to the question of the prisoners of war and insisted upon being supplied with lists of them, such lists having been compiled carefully and in detail by the Soviet Government.

During his visit to Moscow, Prime Minister Sikorski, in a conversation on December 3, 1941, with Premier Stalin, also intervened for the liberation of all Polish prisoners of war; and, not having been supplied by the Soviet authorities with their lists, he handed to Premier Stalin on this occasion an incomplete list of 3,845 Polish officers which their former fellow prisoners had succeeded in compiling. Premier Stalin assured General Sikorski that the amnesty was of a general and universal character and affected both military and civilians, and that the Soviet Government had freed all Polish officers. On March 18, 1942, General Anders handed Premier Stalin a supplementary list of 800 officers. Nevertheless, not one of the officers mentioned in either of these lists has been returned to the Polish Army.

Besides the interventions in Moscow and Kuybyshev, the fate of Polish prisoners of war was the subject of several interviews between Minister Raczynski and Ambassador Bogomolov. On January 28, 1942, Minister Raczynski, in the name of the Polish Government, handed a note to Soviet Ambassador Bogomolov, drawing his attention once again to the painful fact that many thousand Polish officers had still not been found.

Ambassador Bogomolov informed Minister Raczynski on March 13, 1943, that in accordance with the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of U. S. S. R. of August 12, 1941, and in accordance with the statements of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of November 8 and 19, 1941, the amnesty had been put into full effect, and that it related both to civilians and military.

On May 19, 1942, Ambassador Kot sent the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a memorandum in which he expressed his regret at the refusal to supply him with a list of prisoners, and his concern as to their fate, emphasizing the high value these officers would have in military operations against Germany.

Neither the Polish Government nor the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev has ever received an answer as to the whereabouts of the missing officers and other prisoners who had been deported from the three camps mentioned above.

We have become accustomed to the lies of German propaganda and we understand the purpose behind its latest revelations. In view, however, of abundant and detailed German information concerning the discovery of the bodies of many thousands of Polish officers near Smolensk, and the categorical statement that they were murdered by the Soviet authorities in the spring of 1940, the necessity has arisen that the mass graves discovered should be investigated and the facts alleged verified by a competent international body, such as the International Red Cross. The Polish Government has therefore approached this institution with a view to their sending a delegation to the place where the massacre of the Polish prisoners of war is said to have taken place.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the Red Cross reply to that communiqué?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You signed it as Minister of Defense?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did the Red Cross from Geneva reply to you? Did they answer it in writing?

General KUKIEL. We got a reply of the Red Cross in Geneva on April 23. It was already after the violent attacks.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that reply?

General KUKIEL. Yes, I would like to give you the four documents which describe our efforts to get an International Red Cross investigation and their reply.

Mr. FLOOD. They will be marked "Exhibit 30 B, C, D, and E."

EXHIBIT 30 B

[Top right corner stamped with a rectangular red stamp with the word "INTELLIGENCE" within the rectangle.]

Staff of C.-in-C.

Intelligence Department.

Ref. No. 1847/Int./43.

In the field 21.IV.1943.

Urgent

THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE,
CHIEF OF POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

DELIVERY OF DIPLOMATIC NOTE

I inform about a cable dated 19th April 1943 received from the Polish Legation in Berne of which I quote below excerpts in their exact wording:

"On April the 17th 1943 at 4.30 p. m. Radziwill delivered a Note to the International Red Cross which he handed to Rueger [former Swiss envoy in Rome] with a request to send a delegation to Smoleńsk.

Thirty minutes earlier a similar Note had been delivered by the German delegate.

Rueger told Radziwill that the the request will be taken into consideration only because it had been received from both sides. [Memorandum of 13 September 1939.]

Probably on the 20th of April a Commission will assemble which will appoint the delegation.

I shall inform of its composition the moment its members will be chosen.

Further details via the I. R. C. will be disclosed after the return of the Commission from Smoleńsk.

Within the I. R. C. prevails the opinion that the German informations are true.

I shall watch closely the whole case and send on any information I receive. Burchard at present in Lisbon".

Chief of Int. Service
Żychoń mjr.

Office
Dossier "S".

EXHIBIT 30C

[Translation copy]

MS/KJ

[Printed heading]

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

LONDON, 20th April 1943.

SECRET

For the President of the P. R.,
For the Prime Minister (2 copies),
For the Minister of National Defence,
Bern No. 151.

Acting upon my instruction Radziwill delivered to the International Red Cross the Note suggesting the sending of a delegate to Kozie Góry. The Note coincided with an identical move on the part of the Germans.

Minister Rueger who received the Note in the name of the International Red Cross told Radziwill that if our proposal had been onesided the International Red Cross would have been obliged to refuse it on the strength of the Memorandum of the 12th Sept. 1939. In view of the fact that the request had been sent in from both sides, the International Red Cross would examine the case and will give an answer in the next few days after the meeting of the Committee.

LADOŚ.

Truly certified:

[illegible signature].

[Bottom left corner stamped with a rectangular stamp bearing the following legend and figures, the latter in ink]:

Office of the C-in-C. and of
the Min. of Nat. Def.

Document: *secret* - public.

This day 20 month 4

No. 356 / year 1943

Cert. - Dealt with by: _____

EXHIBIT 30D

[Translation copy]

[Printed heading]

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

London, 21-st April, 1943.

SECRET

For the President of the P. R.,
For the Prime Minister (2 copies),
For the Minister of National Defence,
Bern, No. 154.

The International Red Cross acknowledged in writing the receipt of the Note from Radziwill, adding to its answer a short memorandum in which:

1/ It stresses that the I. R. C. is studying with greatest attention the Polish suggestion and that it will not fail to inform, when only it will become possible, about the future course it will be able to give to this matter.

2/ That, already at this stage, the I. R. C. is ready to undertake to pass on to the families the information about identified officers the moment such information will be received.

3/ That, in accordance with the spirit of the Memorandum of the 12-th Sept. 1939, the International Red Cross cannot, in principle, take into consideration the participation in the technical procedure of identifying the bodies by means of sending out its own experts otherwise than with the consent of all parties concerned.

The Germans received an identical memorandum. No meeting of the Committee has yet taken place and it is improbable that it will be held before the Easter recess. From a conversation with R. it is apparent that the I. R. C. will postpone the issue being in doubt as to whether it can undertake an investiga-

tion without the consent of the third party concerned i. e. of the U. S. S. R.

I do not think it advisable to press things further from our side and I have agreed with R. that, for the time being I shall refrain from taking any new steps. On the other hand I do think that, in case of refusal or of an equivocal answer, there will be time and opportunity to take action and to obtain, at least a declaration that the whole thing had failed due to the attitude of the Soviet side. However, it must be reckoned with that the whole matter will last for a considerable time.

Truly certified:

ŁADOŚ.

[Illegible signature].

[Bottom left corner stamped with rectangular stamp bearing the following legend and figures, the latter in ink].

Office of the C.-in-C. and of the Min. of Nat. Def.

This day: 22, month 4, No. 365/year 34,

Cert.

Dealt with by:

EXHIBIT 30E

[Translation copy]

THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

MINISTER'S OFFICE—POLITICAL DEPT.

Ref. No. 544/WPol/43.

London, 4th May, 1943.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION.

I enclose a copy of a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 27.IV.1943, containing information about the attitude of the International Red Cross to the suggestion of investigating the graves near Smolensk.

Deputy General Aide-de-Camp,
Lunkiewicz Staff Col.

1 encl.

[Translation copy]

[Printed heading],

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

LONDON, THE 27th APRIL, 1943.

SECRET

For the President of the P. R.

For the Prime Minister [2 copies],

For the Minister of National Defence,

[stamped with a rectangular stamp bearing the following legend and figures, the latter in ink:]

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

This day 28th, Month 4, 1943.

Enclosures 1. ASSIGNED TO

Ref. 1192/43.

Bern, No. 157.

I quote below the text of a note from the International Red Cross dated 22nd April 1943 addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"In reference to our preliminary answer given to Prince Radziwill on the 20th of April, we wish to express in the first place to Your Excellency how very grateful we are for the new proof of appreciation shown to us by the Polish Government in that it had approached our Institution. The International Red Cross is ready to appoint neutral experts provided all parties concerned will ask us to do so and also on the understanding that it will be agreed between the Committee and the parties concerned as to the "modalities" of the eventual mandate. These conditions are in accordance with the principles laid down in reference to such cases in the Memorandum addressed on the 12th Sept. 1939 to belligerent States and published in the September 1939 issue of "The International Red Cross Review", and which deal with the possibilities of the Committee's participation in the investigation.

We would beg the Polish Government to keep us informed about such steps which will be undertaken with the purpose of gaining the consent of the Soviet Government or else to send us their suggestions in this matter.

In case of an agreement being reached by the parties concerned and in anticipation of such an event taking place we are endeavouring already today to find neutral persons with adequate qualifications."

Signature: Chairman of the I. R. C. MAX HUBER.

The Germans received an analogous reply with a suggestion that they try to obtain the consent of the Soviet Union through the intermediary of a "Puissance Protectrice".

The Int. Red Cross suggests that we endeavour to obtain the consent of the Soviet Union either directly or through the intermediary of one of the Allied States and the possibility of a direct intervention is not ruled out. In my opinion the latter would be most advisable.

The Commission would be under the Chairmanship of a Swiss and would include members of Swedish, Portuguese and Swiss nationality.

As to the delegating of a ballistic expert, Radziwill will submit appropriate suggestions, although in view of the great amount of Russian arms which the Germans have in their possession I doubt whether this argument would count for much.

It is absolutely necessary that the action of the Central Red Cross Committee in Warsaw be synchronised with ours.

Truly certified: /initialed/.

Mr. FLOOD. You were aware that the Russians, 2 days after the Germans, made an announcement saying that the Germans did it?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have in your possession the copies of any communications, in addition to the ones you have just mentioned, from your office as Minister of National Defense to the International Red Cross, or to the Soviet Government in connection with Katyn? Do you have any other copies?

General KUKIEL. I do not know exactly, because I am no more in office myself. The correspondence was largely of our Foreign Ministry.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you, as Minister of National Defense, in touch with any other governments or any other sovereigns about the matter of the missing prisoners at Katyn?

General KUKIEL. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever conduct any conversations or did you ever conduct any other communications with the Russians about the missing officers at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, or Ostashkov after that time?

General KUKIEL. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Your personal connection in connection with the missing officers at Katyn ended when you signed the communique in April; is that correct? Was that the end of your official activity in the middle of April when you signed that communiqué after Katyn had been disclosed?

General KUKIEL. I still sat at the council of ministers.

Mr. FLOOD. You still sat on the council of ministers?

General KUKIEL. On April 17th, and attended the meeting when they decided to issue a declaration of our Government.

Mr. FLOOD. But I mean that you did not act separately or independently as Minister of Defense?

General KUKIEL. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Any actions that you took part in later you took part in as a member of the Polish Government Council of Ministers?

General KUKIEL. Yes. If I say that my duties continued, it was with the work. We immediately started to study the German evidence; to get evidence from our country and to establish our own

dossier of the Katyn affair, to have our own judgment, and it was made in my office and continued for years.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. General, at that time, when these charges and counter charges by the Germans and Russians were made as to their respective guilt for the Katyn massacre, did the Polish Government in exile, of which you were a member, take any official position siding with one side or the other?

General KUKIEL. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. On the contrary, did you take some positive action in that respect?

General KUKIEL. Yes. On the contrary, when we addressed the Red Cross, we expressly said that it is because we cannot rely on the presentation of the case by the Germans.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have here before me among the papers that were presented by General Bor-Komorowski, his file of communications, with the underground movement. I have here the original of a letter signed by yourself and I ask you, first of all, to identify whether that is your signature.

General KUKIEL. Yes, it is my signature.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is that?

General KUKIEL. It is an instruction for all Polish commanders on how the problem of Katyn is to be handled, how it is to be approached, in conversations, and especially in conversations with our allies. It must be stated that the Polish Government did not maintain that it knew that our prisoners were murdered by the Russians, but that they had disappeared in Soviet captivity without any indication of their fate, and so on, the same as what was told in my communiqué.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, that is an official statement of your position and that statement gives instructions that you cannot accept the German version, neither can you accept the Russian version, but that the Polish Government will make all efforts to make an independent investigation to determine guilt.

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Regardless of the claims and counterclaims of the Germans and the Soviet?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was the official position of the Government, was it not?

General KUKIEL. Yes. It is the same position which you will find in the book Polish-Soviet Relations, the statement of the Polish Government of April 17, 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I notice also, General, that in a despatch which you sent to the underground on June 26, 1943, you specifically refer in the last paragraph, which I will read now, as follows:

Please give us the final number of the bodies found in Katyn. In case of the discovery of new graves around Charkow or Kremienetzug, inform us immediately, before that may be done by the German radio.

Do you remember such a despatch?

General KUKIEL. I do not remember it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I am showing you that letter now.

General KUKIEL. That was signed by the colonel. I have not seen it at all.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I notice that your name is typed, but the colonel signed it for you.

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Changing the subject for a moment, I would like to get something in the record, which I think we do not have yet, and which may be of some material value. You are the author of a book *Six Years of Struggle for Independence*; is that correct?

General KUKIEL. Yes, the booklet.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I notice that in that booklet you refer to the size of the Polish forces in September 1939. What was your official capacity in September 1939?

General KUKIEL. In 1939 I was not in active service. I volunteered after mobilization and I joined one or other commands and tried to do something. I attended to the affairs at Lwow, and after capitulation of the city, I remained in civilian clothes at Lwow. I was there for some weeks under Soviet occupation and I had the opportunity to see the appeal of Timoshenko on the walls of the city.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the appeal I read previously?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In this booklet you said as follows, and I am quoting you:

On September 16, the day before the Soviet intervention, there were 25 Polish divisions still fighting.

Is that about a correct statement, that there were 25 Polish divisions?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then later on in the statement you state that the Germans at that time had sufficient ammunition only for 10 or 15 more days.

General KUKIEL. It is from the Nuremberg trial. It was stated by Jodl and Keitel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are quoting there General Jodl at the Nuremberg trial?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then you state further that Haller had mobilized 1,200,000 soldiers?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would that be about a correct statement?

General KUKIEL. I am not quite sure if entirely correct, but approximately. I do not remember the figure which was given in our detailed study of our general staff which was issued now, the first volume of the history of our forces in the last war.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your estimate, then, is on September 16, the day before the Soviet attacked Poland, Poland had under arms 25 divisions and had mobilized about 1,200,000 soldiers.

General KUKIEL. Yes. Very much more than 40 divisions we had. We improvised divisions which were improvised during the few weeks of the campaign. There remained still 25 on that date.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The point I am driving at is this, that you state further, that the Germans had only sufficient ammunition for 10 to 15 days?

General KUKIEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that therefore had not the Russians intervened on September 17, the Poles could have offered effective resistance against the German onslaught?

General KUKIEL. It is difficult to say that they could, but, in any case, they could resist much longer; for instance, the so-called Rumanian bridgehead. The part of Poland adjacent to the Rumanian frontier could be probably held for a much longer time.

Mr. FLOOD. General, a few minutes ago we were discussing exhibits 29 and 30, and exhibit 29 you identified as a true copy of your communication, and you identified exhibit 30 as a photostatic and true copy of exhibit 29, I will return exhibit 29 to you at this time since exhibit 30—a photostatic copy of that document already is in the record.

Mr. FLOOD. General, you have not been offered any payment or any gifts or emoluments of any kind for coming here and testifying? You have not been offered anything?

General KUKIEL. No.

Mr. FLOOD. From your experiences as a very high military and civil official of the Polish Government, from your experiences and associations with the Russians down through your lifetime in various ways, from your particular experiences and information as a result of information brought to you in connection with all communications doing with the Katyn matter, have you formed any opinion as between the German and the Russian Governments as to which one of these two was responsible for the massacre of these Polish officers at Katyn? Have you such an opinion?

General KUKIEL. My opinion was based on the evidence. I am quite convinced that it could be done only by the Russians, because certainly it was done in the year 1940, not later, and the Russians never had given any explanation which could be interpreted in such a way that it could be really done by the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. We realize that it was some bother for you to come here today, and we want you to know that the committee appreciates very much that a man in your position would make the sacrifice. We know how interested you are, but, nevertheless, we are very grateful that you did come and give us this very important testimony. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF STEFAN ZAMOYSKI OF 20 ST. STEPHENS CLOSE, LONDON, N. W. 8

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered an injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf in respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony. You understand that?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you rise and be sworn. Do you swear by God the Almighty and Omniscient, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth and you will not conceal anything; so help you God?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you at any time connected with the Polish armed services?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. Yes. I served in the Polish Army from the beginning of the war, or, rather, from before, as a reserve officer in Poland, later on in France and the United Kingdom, and then I was sent in 1942 as assistant military attaché to the Polish Embassy in Washington.

Mr. FLOOD. During your period of service as assistant military attaché in Washington, did you ever have any conversations with the Russians in Washington in connection with any of the officers who were missing at Katyn?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. Only one.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you state with whom you had that conversation and the gist of it?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. I had the conversation I think the morrow after the news broke out in Washington of these Katyn discoveries by the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. Could that have been on April 16, 1943?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. 16th or 17th, something like that; that exact date is on my statement. I wrote a memo on my conversation.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me refresh your memory with this statement, and see if you can identify the date now that you refreshed your memory of that conversation.

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. It was the 23d of April 1943.

Mr. FLOOD. With whom did you have that conversation and where did it take place?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. With Major Barajew.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was he?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. He was the assistant military attaché at the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did you have your conversation with him?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. In my office, in Washington.

Mr. FLOOD. What did you talk about?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. He called me during the morning stating that he wished to see me. I was a little surprised then because although I used to see a lot of him and all the Russian representatives until that date, the news had broken out. I felt sure that he knew, that he had the same information at least that I had from the communiqués, and so on, and therefore I was a little surprised, taken aback, in anticipation of what he wants to say to me; I was just wondering what he was going to say. We used to meet often unofficially, because that was partly my duty to have contact with the Russian Embassy. That day, when he wanted to see me, I decided that I should receive him in my office, and I also, to make sure, spoke with one of our intelligence officers, suggesting that he might come in during the conversation, perhaps 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour later, because I thought something important might be said. So I arranged that meeting, I think, for the afternoon, and I think a pretty precise story is told in this memo.

Mr. FLOOD. We will discuss the memo in a minute, but will you tell us now for our purpose just now your best recollection of the conversation between you two men.

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. He started on quite a different subject, which was not so surprising to me, because, as this news was very astounding, I did not think it would sort of come out very easily. He started on

information on the United States Army. He probably thought that I knew quite a lot more and that I had more available information, so he was going on to that sort of theme. Rather breaking off at a certain point, he turned to the story of Katyn, and the gist of the story was that he was astounded and surprised; that it cannot be true; that it must be nonsense; that it must be German propaganda and really nothing concrete at all.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, will you tell who else was in the room and present?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. It was a Lieutenant Piotrowski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was with you?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. He was with me. He came in during the conversation.

Mr. FLOOD. He was the Polish intelligence officer you mentioned?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. He was a Polish intelligence officer with Colonel Minkiewicz who I was also with.

Mr. FLOOD. There was just the two of you?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. No; the three of us with the Russian.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you make any rejoinder to the Russian? Did you comment about the communiqués on Katyn?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. As far as I remember, I made no comment. I did make a comment about the missing officers, of which, of course, I knew.

Mr. FLOOD. What kind of comment, as you best remember, did you make? What did you say about the missing officers?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. I believe I mentioned that the whole thing will be straightened out, that the Polish Government had, I think, asked the International Red Cross to investigate the matter, and I rather did not wish to discuss this matter with him.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ask him about the fate of any particular officer or friend of yours at that time?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. I do not recollect that.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever have any other conversations with this particular Russian?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Or any other Russians on the subject of the missing Polish officers?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. Then, as far as your service is concerned in Washington, that is the extent of your connection officially with the Katyn matter?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. That was the end.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever have any subsequent official identity with the Katyn matter in any way in London or any place else?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. You were offered no emoluments or gratuities of any kind for offering to testify here today or any gifts of any nature, were you?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. No; but I would like to make one more statement which might be perhaps of some use to the committee. I have a young Australian friend who was an airman during the war who was shot down in the Channel and picked up by the Germans. Subsequently he was interned, escaped once and then a second time, and found his way to Poland. This young Australian spent 2 years in Warsaw collaborating and under, say, the guidance of the Polish

home army. I know about this because my brother was really in charge of all the Anglo-Saxon Allied escapees in Warsaw. This officer spent 2 years in Warsaw, of which 1943 was one. I thought, as this officer has arrived in Europe from Australia, that it might be most useful for him to testify because, being an Australian in Warsaw at that time, and having heard and known and seen people connected in some way or another, or, at any rate, the Poles with whom he was then, with the Katyn murder, and having been present in Warsaw when that shock came to Warsaw, I thought perhaps the committee might wish to have evidence from him. He actually arrived in the United States during the war, because my brother had sent him through Germany back to England during the war.

Mr. FLOOD. Where is this Australian now?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. He is today in Paris. He was in London. He is probably going to be in Paris a few months because he is a wool buyer.

Mr. DONDERO. What does he know personally about this Katyn massacre?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. It is very difficult for me to say what he personally knows.

Mr. FLOOD. If you will let us have the name and address of this Australian we will arrange to have representatives of the committee interview him in Paris and forward to this committee, which is moving from here to Frankfurt this coming week, any information and we will at that time determine if we think it advisable to call him. Would you give us the name?

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. Squadron Leader Keith Chisholm, care of Wenz & Co., 1, Rue de Metz, Paris 10.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I note that in your final sentence of this account of the meeting you had with Mr. Barajew you state you received the impression that you were called for the sole purpose of having them determine what your official viewpoint is on the matter.

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. Did I put that down?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Yes; if you read the last paragraph.

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. I did not write "The sole purpose," but it seemed to me that I could not find another reason.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The impression you got was that the only reason he called you was to find out from you what the Polish authorities feel about the loss of these officers.

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. That is what I deducted, because the only alternative I could find was that the officer was one of those individuals there who could not believe that such a thing was possible.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Not to give you any information about it, but rather to get information from you about it.

Mr. ZAMOYSKI. Sooner, yes; certainly not to give me information.

Mr. FLOOD. We appreciate very much that you would take the time to come here. We know you are interested, of course, but, nevertheless, we are grateful you came and offered us this testimony. Thank you very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Gentlemen, this is Mr. Goetel, who was living in Warsaw in April 1943.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Goetel, will you state your full name, the correct spelling of your name, and your present address to the reporter?

Mr. GOETEL. Ferdinand Goetel. My address is: No. 14, Empress Place, London, S. W. 6, England.

Mr. FLOOD. Before you make a statement, Mr. Goetel, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony.

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony. Do you understand?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; I understand.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you swear by God the Almighty and Omniscient that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, and that you will not conceal anything, so help you God?

Mr. GOETEL. I do.

Mr. FLOOD. Be seated, please.

**TESTIMONY OF FERDINAND GOETEL, NO. 14, EMPRESS PLACE,
LONDON, S. W. 6, ENGLAND**

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your name is Ferdinand Goetel?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where do you reside?

Mr. GOETEL. In London.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is your address?

Mr. GOETEL. No. 14, Empress Place, London, S. W. 6.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are a literary man, an author?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, I am a writer.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In April 1943, where were you residing?

Mr. GOETEL. In Warsaw.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And at that time were you called to a conference by the occupation authorities of Warsaw?

Mr. GOETEL. By the German propaganda office in Warsaw, by Dr. Grundman.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who was Dr. Grundman?

Mr. GOETEL. He was a State councilor in the propaganda in Warsaw.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where did they call you to?

Mr. GOETEL. They called me to a meeting and Dr. Grundman told me they have discovered near Katyn big graves and discovered that the graves are full of the bodies of Polish officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before we get to the details of what you were told, were you called to this meeting alone or with a group of other people?

Mr. GOETEL. He called me there first alone, and afterward he made a meeting of several people he invited there of the City Council of Warsaw—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The Kipa?

Mr. GOETEL. The Kipa, yes—the Bishop of Warsaw Kozeurski and the welfare committee.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is the municipal welfare committee?

Mr. GOETEL. It was the social committee, the leader was Count Roniker.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who is now in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And on behalf of that council were Mr. Martyn Machucki and Mr. Wachowiak present?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who else was there?

Mr. GOETEL. Then there was a writer, Mr. Skiwski, and a judge whose name I do not know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. A representative of the supreme court?

Mr. GOETEL. A representative of the supreme court, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And who was there on behalf of the German occupation authorities?

Mr. GOETEL. Well, there was Mr. Monzes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was the chief of the Warsaw propaganda?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And Mr. Grundman?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, Mr. Grundman.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They called you there all together, and what did they tell you?

Mr. GOETEL. They told me what was told me by Mr. Grundman; they gave more details.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They informed you of the finding of the graves at Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; and they asked us to go there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And did you agree to go?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; I agreed to go.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And the others also?

Mr. GOETEL. No, not everyone. Mr. Machucki did not agree; Mr. Wachowiak said "No," and Mr. Skiwski also said "No," but these said they would send their representatives there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But as the result of this conference, a group of you did go to Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, including two physicians, one a member of the city council, Mr. Seyfried; the name of the other I do not know.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Dr. Orzechowski?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And Dr. Grodzki?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you go to Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You went by plane?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; by plane.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us what happened when you got to Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Would you tell us the year and the day, as near as you remember, when you went to Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. The year was 1943; the exact day I cannot say, but I think it would be the 8th or 9th April.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To refresh your memory, Mr. Goetel, according to the report which you gave previously it was on April 10.

Mr. GOETEL. That may be.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of 1943?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, maybe.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did you find when you arrived at Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. It was after dinner the next day I think we were taken to Katyn. The excavation then was only at the beginning; only one big grave was excavated, with about 200 bodies. The second one and the third one——

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Pardon me. This was before the other delegations had arrived; yours was the first to arrive?

Mr. GOETEL. No, coming to Katyn we crossed a delegation of foreign journalists; they were the first—no, it was not at Katyn that we crossed this delegation, but at Smolensk, at the staff post. We could not speak with them. Then in the officers mess in Smolensk we met the man who had to speak with us, Oberleutenant Slowenczyk. We spoke a long time with him, and our impression was that they insisted there had been in the graves at Katyn 10,000 Poles, 10,000 dead Poles, but they did not know these Poles were from Kozielsk. Slowenczyk asked me, what is Kozielsk, because they had already found several cards addressed to Kozielsk. I told him Kozielsk was one of the chief camps for Polish prisoners, and Starobielsk and Ostashkov. My impression, as well as that of the other people in the group, was that he, as also the Oberleutenant Voss from the home police, both did not know Kozielsk and had then heard of it for the first time. They knew only that 10,000 or 11,000 Polish officers had disappeared because they heard it from the radio, and they had been already requested by General Sikorski—they insisted the whole time that in the graves there there must be 10,000 to 11,000 Polish officers, more than 10,000 officers. Coming there to the forest ourselves, we had not the impression that there were 10,000, but we were not sure.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How many bodies were exhumed at that time?

Mr. GOETEL. About 200.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This was at the very beginning of the excavation?

Mr. GOETEL. At the very beginning; yes. We had full freedom to speak with the people there and to go any place we wanted. Dr. Buhtz, who was the military surgeon there, asked us to see one of the bodies they had kept there, and he showed the bullet hole here [indicating] in the head and again here [indicating].

Mr. FLOOD. The witness indicating that he showed the bullet entering the base of the head, and the point of exit in the forehead at about the hair line—is that correct?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes. Our impression was certainly that the work has been done by the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What led you to that impression?

Mr. GOETEL. First the graves themselves; they were all planted with young pine trees.

Mr. DONDERO. Will you say that again?

Mr. GOETEL. The graves have all been planted again with young trees so high [illustrating].

Mr. DONDERO. On top of the graves?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The witness indicates with his hand the height of the young trees to be about 3 feet—is that correct?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; about 3 feet—and in the forest around the place they have been big trees for several years.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Why did that factor have any significance? Why did that have an special meaning to you?

Mr. GOETEL. Because the murder must be done several years ago, 2 or 3 years—the trees were sound and strong.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now will you tell us what other factors you noticed there which led you to the conclusion that it must have been the Russians?

Mr. GOETEL. There were witnesses there from the people there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean local people?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; local people.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you talk to them?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you alone with these people or in the company of Germans?

Mr. GOETEL. We were alone; we could speak with them alone. I speak Russian perfectly, but several of our members could not speak Russian, and they had to have an interpreter. The interpreter was a young man whose mother was a Pole, and he spoke both Polish and Russian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you speak Russian?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, I speak Russian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who did you talk to of the local people, do you know?

Mr. GOETEL. The name of the old man, the chief witness there, is given in my statement by me, Kisielew.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was an old man?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, he was an old man who resided nearest the camp.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And how did you happen to find him?

Mr. GOETEL. He had been there.

Mr. DONDERO. You mean near the graves?

Mr. GOETEL. Near the graves, yes, but his home was near the forest.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you happen to find him?

Mr. GOETEL. He was there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was he doing there?

Mr. GOETEL. He was taken there by the Germans for the opportunity to speak with us, as well as the other one, Kriwozerczew, but he was the most silent one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Kriwozerczew was silent?

Mr. GOETEL. He was the most silent of them.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What about the first man you spoke to, Kisielew? What did he tell you?

Mr. GOETEL. Kisielew told us that in April 1940, he heard shots and people crying there in the woods. Afterward, when the Germans came in, he was the first one to take them and post them there in the forest, and he must have been already informed about the place for the digging of graves, because it was marked by two crosses.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What you mean to tell us is that Kisielew is the one who probably led the Germans to the graves?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; he was the one who led them to the graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that he had previously marked them?

Mr. GOETEL. No, not he; the graves were marked by Poles.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did Kisielew tell you?

Mr. GOETEL. Kisielew told me that the two crosses were set up there by Poles who worked near Smolensk, in a working command who were sent there by the Germans from Poland to make clean the railroad cars from destroyed trains, and to pick out the iron. The Poles there came first to the graves there. They found that in the graves were Polish officers and they set there two crosses, one small one and the bigger one. When we have been there the smaller one was still there. The bigger one was not there any more.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now will you continue with what Kisielew told you?

Mr. GOETEL. It was all what he told me.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You say that Kriwozerczew was there also?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What, if anything, did he tell you?

Mr. GOETEL. There at that time, nothing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You say "at that time." Did he tell you something at some other time?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes. I met Kriwozerczew in Italy.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When?

Mr. GOETEL. In 1945.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you get to meet him in Italy in 1945?

Mr. GOETEL. I was a public relations officer in General Anders' army.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was he doing there?

Mr. GOETEL. He was sent there from Germany by our officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. For the purpose of establishing a record as to what he knew?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; to be a witness.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you talk to him?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did he tell you?

Mr. GOETEL. His relation is a very long one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. We want your version of it. You talked to him?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes. I lived with him more than 2 weeks together in one house, Villa Barducci in Ancona.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What did Kriwozerczew tell you?

Mr. GOETEL. Kriwozerczew told me a very long story of his.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell us in brief what he knew regarding this?

Mr. GOETEL. He worked at that time near Katyn, near Gniezdovo; he worked there and he saw one day a train coming from the direction of Smolensk with four cars.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he tell you when that was?

Mr. GOETEL. That was April.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of what year?

Mr. GOETEL. April 1940. He told he already knew that the forest in Katyn was the place of executions, and when the train came he thought as well as the peasants there that the people sent there were Finnish officers; he thought the people sent there were Finns, because it was the time of the war with Finland. But the next day he spoke to a man there who was a soldier in the first war with Poland and he told him: "They are not Finns; they are Poles." And afterward every day he watched to see and to mark the trains. The matter was that

his father, being a peasant there, a kulak, as they are called, was murdered by Bolsheviks. A kulak is a landowner and he was murdered by Bolsheviks. He attended the trains coming in, and his relation was this, that the main train came always to Smolensk, and half of it, four cars, were sent to Gniezdovo, and the other stayed still in Smolensk. The other part, when it came to Gniezdovo, the next four cars, the first party was already finished.

Mr. DONDERO. You mean they had been killed?

Mr. GOETEL. They have been killed already, yes; and the matter was this, the purpose was this, that Gniezdovo is a small siding; the big train cannot come into Gniezdovo, only on the main station, and on the main station the people could see what is coming in.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. A dead-end track?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes. That was the purpose, that it was divided always, the train coming in to Smolensk in two parts, and one being sent to Gniezdovo in the morning; they have been finished, and afterward came the second part.

Mr. FLOOD. Just so we can have a statement on the record particularly about what you have said, what you said was this: When the trains bringing the Polish officers came into the Smolensk area, they were broken into two parts?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, into two parts.

Mr. FLOOD. Because of the fact that the railroad siding at Gniezdovo was so small and only a spur or a side track, it could not accommodate the full train?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. But could only handle four cars of the train at one time?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. So what they did was to take four cars in the morning?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Into Gniezdovo on the side track, the spur track, and whoever was in those cars was disposed of or finished, as you say?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Then they would take out those four empty cars and then later on bring in the four other cars that were still waiting at the original stop?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And so on and so on?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that right?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; and so on and so on.

Mr. DONDERO. How long did that continue?

Mr. GOETEL. Up to the 20th or 21st April. It may be he said that a small party of Poles may have been executed in Katyn after that date, but the main work had been done before April 25, 1940.

Mr. DONDERO. You were at Katyn?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. What was the color of the ground?

Mr. GOETEL. The color of the ground—it was sandy lime—very dry. The water was only 2 or 3 yards under the surface.

Mr. DONDERO. White sand or yellow sand?

Mr. GOETEL. The sand was yellow—yellow sand; but there on the ground the sand was black from this.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have told the committee of your conversations with Kisielew and with Kriwozerczew.

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are there any other conversations that you had with other witnesses there relative to this matter?

Mr. GOETEL. No; I was not interested in them. I was more interested in the graves themselves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything that you found in the graves themselves which you want to tell this committee as having special significance?

Mr. GOETEL. In the graves, special significance—well, perhaps the newspapers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What can you tell us about newspapers found?

Mr. GOETEL. They were dispersed—several newspapers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where were they?

Mr. GOETEL. On the ground there you found at this time Polish money, zloties lying there and papers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What about these newspapers?

Mr. GOETEL. They were Russian newspapers mostly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What date?

Mr. GOETEL. Only dates before April 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of what year?

Mr. GOETEL. Before 1940—April 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All the newspapers that you saw there were dated not later than April 1940?

Mr. GOETEL. Not later.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was the condition of the uniforms?

Mr. GOETEL. Very good.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What about the shoes?

Mr. GOETEL. Very good—excellent—excellent condition; but the corpses were already decaying. Bohaterowicz, I could see his face. I knew him and that was he; but there were other people too.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You said also in your report that you found military officers' belts; is that correct?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And were they in good condition?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, everything was in splendid condition.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And also the medals?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All were in very good condition?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You recognized the bodies of people, I understand. Is that correct?

Mr. GOETEL. Of one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is General Bohaterowicz?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes—General Bohaterowicz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You recognized him?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, because he has a mustache and sides, and then the form of his face. That was he.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he in a separate grave?

Mr. GOETEL. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And what about the body of General Smorawinski: did you find his body?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, I have seen it, but I could not recognize it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you know it was General Smorawinski's body?

Mr. GOETEL. Because they told me that there was a register of the body, that documents have been found on him.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And the uniform?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And the insignia?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes, and the insignia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Based on what you found, did you come to any conclusion as to when the executions took place?

Mr. GOETEL. Several years ago.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And who in your opinion was responsible for the executions?

Mr. GOETEL. The Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is that the opinion of those who were with you also?

Mr. GOETEL. All—everyone.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of everyone who was with you?

Mr. GOETEL. Of everyone, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you sign a report for the Germans?

Mr. GOETEL. For the Germans; no.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did they ask you to?

Mr. GOETEL. No. I only made a report which has a form of an open letter.

Mr. DONDERO. Did the Germans allow you to go through these graves willingly, freely?

Mr. GOETEL. Everything. We could do there everything we wanted.

Mr. DONDERO. They did not stop you?

Mr. GOETEL. No. We went to the second grave. The chairman of our group has a short speech to us in Polish language, and they went.

Mr. DONDERO. You said the newspapers were all Russian newspapers. Were there any Polish newspapers?

Mr. GOETEL. No.

Mr. DONDERO. They were only Russian?

Mr. GOETEL. Only Russian, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have a copy of that report which you made?

Mr. GOETEL. Not here, no. My report disappeared.

Mr. DONDERO. Your report disappeared?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes. I will tell you about it later. I made a report there, an open letter, yes. I had a very difficult thing to do to force the opinion and to force the Polish Red Cross to take the matter in its hands, but I could not believe that the truth is to be given only by Germans and I wanted that the Polish Red Cross take the matter in its hands.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And they did that, did they not?

Mr. GOETEL. No, not in the first moment. After my letter I forced them to it, and the second mission to Katyn was already from the Polish Red Cross organized by the Polish Red Cross. At that time—General Komorowski told it also already—the opinion of Warsaw was it has been done by Germans at Katyn; the whole of the people believed it was done by the Germans—they have done this.

Mr. FLOOD. You made an open report in Warsaw?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. To whom did you give it?

Mr. GOETEL. I sent it to General Rowski.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was he?

Mr. GOETEL. He was the chief of the underground army there.

Mr. FLOOD. General Rowski was the predecessor of General Bor?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. As commanding general of the home army in Warsaw?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a copy of that?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Have you got it in your possession?

Mr. GOETEL. No; it was burned with my house—all my personal documents.

Mr. FLOOD. Then we have no copy of your report, unless it is in the files of the home army?

Mr. GOETEL. No. It can be in the German materials.

Mr. FLOOD. If we can find it in the German Wehrmacht records, that is where it should be?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; because the main purpose of it was that I requested the commission of the International Red Cross. That was my request there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything further that you wish to add to your report, Mr. Goetel?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is it?

Mr. GOETEL. There are several other things which I find important, that of Kriwozerczew, the chief witness, and my record in Poland when the Bolsheviks came in.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. We are going to get the Kriwozerczew report later in the hearing. Is there anything further you want to add now?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes. That is the record in Poland when the Bolsheviks came into Poland in February 1945. I was not firstly requested by them, but in June 1945, they posted a notice that I am a man who is wanted by them.

Mr. DONDERO. Did they post a list?

Mr. GOETEL. No; only I. I was the number one man wanted by them. I was at that time in a cloister in Cracow. I sent word to the chief investigator of Katyn, Sawicki, and asked: "What is the matter, what do they want from me?" He answered there, "Oh, we have nothing against Mr. Goetel, who is a famous writer, but if he signs a statement that he was kept by force at Katyn and that his main impression in Katyn was that the massacre was done by Germans, Oh, we have nothing; he can live here and write books and so on." I refused.

Mr. DONDERO. Was that in February of—

Mr. GOETEL. It was June, 1945.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is there anything further that you had to add, Mr. Goetel.

Mr. GOETEL. Nothing more.

Mr. FLOOD. I might say that is a very interesting observation because of the fact that one of the members of the International Scientific Commission, the Bulgarian member, Markov, we have been

advised, has subsequently changed his story. It is interesting to have this kind of observation in that connection.

Mr. DONDERO. Perhaps Mr. Markov was subjected to the same pressure to which this gentleman was subjected.

Mr. FLOOD. You, of course, Mr. Goetel, have not been offered any payment by anyone, you have not been offered any promises to come here and testify, have you; you have not been made any promises of any kind to come here and testify?

Mr. GOETEL. No.

Mr. FLOOD. And you appear here voluntarily?

Mr. GOETEL. Yes; certainly.

Mr. FLOOD. The committee appreciates the time that you have taken to come here and help us gather this testimony. We appreciate very much the fact that you have given us this very important testimony that you have presented. We thank you very much.

We will now recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:45 p. m., the special committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Friday, April 18, 1952.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
London, England.

The select committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 111, Kensington Palace Hotel, De Vere Gardens W. 1, Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Dondero, and O'Konski.

Also present: Roman Pucinski, investigator and interpreter.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

I want the record to show that at this third day of our hearings in London, Congressman Flood, of Pennsylvania; Congressman Machrowicz, of Michigan; Congressman Dondero, of Michigan; and Congressman O'Konski, of Wisconsin, are present with the chairman.

TESTIMONY OF ADAM SAWCZYNSKI, 20 PRINCES GATE S. W. 7, LONDON, ENGLAND (WITH THE AID OF INTERPRETER, ROMAN PUCINSKI)

Chairman MADDEN. Would you state your name, please?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Sawczynski.

Chairman MADDEN. And your first name?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Adam.

Chairman MADDEN. What is your address?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. 20 Princes Gate, London S. W. 7.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony.

Mr. FLOOD. Let the record show that while the witness feels he understands the English language, nevertheless, he prefers to have the interpreter translate it, to be sure.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates that he understands the statement.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you raise your right hand now and be sworn?

Do you swear, by God the Almighty, that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; so help you God?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is your name, again?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Adam Sawczynski.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where do you live?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. In London; Princes Gate, London S. W. 7.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In 1939, were you an officer of the Polish Army?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In what rank?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Colonel.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you taken prisoner by the Germans?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the summer of 1940, were you in a German prison camp?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Arnswalde.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is in Western Pomerania, in Germany; is that correct?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who was the commander of that camp?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. The German Colonel Loebecke.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you speak German?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Fluently?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes; I speak it fluently.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And did you make an acquaintanceship with Colonel Loebecke?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have frequent opportunity to have conversations with him?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. I was commander of a prisoner battalion. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At that time, were discussions being held regarding exchange of prisoners between Germany and Soviet Russia?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you apply to be exchanged on the basis of that arrangement, to be exchanged to Soviet Russia?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. No; I didn't; but many of my colleagues had applied.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have any conversations with Colonel Loebecke regarding this exchange?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes; I had a conversation with him about that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you at any time in the course of your conversations with him have opportunity to discuss the fate of the Polish officers who were in Russian hands?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us when that was?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. It was in June 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you give us the substance of that conversation, insofar as it relates to the fate of the Polish officers in Soviet hands?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us, in your own words, now?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Colonel Loebecke asked me what is the matter that the Polish officers will be exchanged, will go into Russia.

(The witness made a statement in his native tongue.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates, Mr. Flood, that he would prefer to testify in Polish, that it is easier for him to express himself that way.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Go ahead in Polish, and the interpreter will give us the substance of the testimony.

(Through interpreter:)

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. The German colonel had asked me why the Polish officers were agreeing and were desirous of taking advantage of the agreement for the exchange of prisoners between the Germans and the Russians, and he asked me why the Poles wanted to transfer to Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By the way, that agreement never did go into effect, did it?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Oh, yes. The agreement was being executed, but it was only a one-sided execution of the agreement. Transports of prisoners were arriving from Russia into Germany, and even some transports arrived at the camp in which I was interned. These transports, however, consisted only and exclusively of soldiers, enlisted men.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No officers?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Private soldiers; no officers. Some officers did come in disguise.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you mean they pretended to be privates?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you give us the rest of your conversation?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. When the German colonel asked me why our men were willing to go to Russia, I explained to him that Russia at that time was not in formal stage of war with the West and that for other reasons, on conditions prevailing in the camp, the Polish soldiers felt that they could go to Russia and become more active in the war effort.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, is it not also true that Russia was not at war with Poland, either, at the time?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Many in the camp considered that Russia and Poland were at war.

Mr. FLOOD. I do not blame them for that, under the circumstances. But I mean that, technically and actually, there was no state of war between Soviet Russia and the Republic of Poland.

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. That is correct; but, actually, it was considered that there had been a war.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. All right, will you continue now with your conversation with Colonel Loebecke?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. We discussed this matter for a considerable length of time with the colonel, but the thing that I recall most vividly is the ending of that conversation. At the end of our conversation, the colonel asked me, "Don't you know what they are doing with you?"—meaning "your soldiers."

I replied that, "We know Russia very well," and I assured him that, "We are well aware of the fact that before our conditions can be improved, they could conceivably become much worse."

He leaned toward me then and told me in German, "Why, they are murdering your people; they are murdering you."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that the end of the conversation?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he indicate to you how he had received such information?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. No.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know Lt. Alfons Koehler?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who was he?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. At one time he was my aide. He was a Polish officer who was my aide at one time. Later, however, he was released from the Army and he worked as a civilian in the intelligence unit.

Mr. DONDERO. Of what government?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Of the Polish Government. His activities were directed against Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he also in this prison camp at Arnswalde in 1940?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. From the beginning, he was not. At first he had been interned in Lithuania.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he, in July 1940, come to this camp?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes. He arrived in July of 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you have any conversation with him? Did you receive any information from him which would have any relation to the lost Polish officers in Russia?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes. I talked to him shortly after his arrival at the camp, and our conversation eventually led to a discussion of our mutual friends who had been interned in Russia. He told me at that time the method he used to escape or be transferred from Lithuania to Germany. He said that he had reported to superiors in Lithuania and explained that he wanted to be transferred to Germany because the Russians were taking over Lithuania; the Russians were taking over prison camps in Lithuania.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he have any conversations with any Lithuanian authorities at that time relative to the Polish officers lost in Russia?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. When he was granted permission for the transfer, he reported to the Lithuanian authorities and he had carried on several conversations with officers of the Lithuanian Intelligence Department.

In these conversations, a Lithuanian officer discussing the Polish officers in Kozielsk, said, "Why, those in the camp at Kozielsk had been murdered." Koehler refused to believe this and said, "It is impossible, because there were several thousand people there." The Lithuanian officer replied, "Whether this is true, or not, I don't know; but that is the information that we have."

My discussion or conversation with Koehler was in July of 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that the end of your conversation with Koehler?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all.

Mr. DONDERO. That is all.

Chairman MADDEN. You have not been promised any pay or recompense for coming here to testify today, have you?

Mr. SAWCZYNSKI. No.

Chairman MADDEN. We wish to thank you for coming here today to testify.

**TESTIMONY OF JERZY LEWSZECKI, 2 QUEENSBOROUGH TERRACE
W. 2, LONDON, ENGLAND (THROUGH INTERPRETER ROMAN
PUCINSKI)**

Chairman MADDEN. Just state your name to the reporter, and spell it.

Mr. LEWSZECKI. The name is Jerzy Lewszecki. The address is 2 Queensborough Terrace W. 2, London.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates that he prefers to testify in Polish, that he understands and can express himself better that way.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Lewszecki, before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of the testimony.

For the record, the interpreter will repeat this statement in Polish. (The interpreter made a statement in Polish.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates that the statement is clear to him.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you swear, by God the Almighty, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; so help you God?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. I do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is your name?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Jerzy Lewszecki.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Where do you live?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. In London.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In 1939, were you an officer of the Polish Army?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes; Regular Army.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In what rank?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Rank of first lieutenant.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you taken prisoner by the Germans?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To what camp were you taken?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. In Lubeck.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you there in 1940?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. In 1942.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. While in that camp, did you have occasion to meet any Russian officers?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes. During the spring of 1942, the older son of Stalin was brought to this camp. There was some mystery about his arrival prior to his arrival; but as soon as he arrived at the camp, everybody in the camp knew about it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was his first name?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Jacob.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. May I interrupt there? What last name was he using?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Jacob Dzhugashvili.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know whether or not, or have you heard that that is the correct name of Stalin?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. He told me himself.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And it is a matter of general knowledge, is it not, that Stalin is the accepted name but his actual name was the one you just mentioned?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. That is correct. Stalin is the literal translation of the name Dzhugashvili from Georgian into Russian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How was he brought in there; as a prisoner of war, or what?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. He was brought there as a prisoner of war.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he an officer of the Russian Army?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. He was a senior lieutenant, or oberleutnant. It is not quite correct because they have actually three ranks of lieutenant in the Russian Army.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there other Russian officers in this camp?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. No; there were no other Russian officers in this camp. There were some Belgian officers there and there was also a Belgian general. The Chief of Staff of the Belgian Army was there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were there any special quarters prepared for him?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes. The other generals and staff officers of the other armies had separate quarters, and Stalin himself had a separate room, and there was a window in the room and there was a guard constantly at this window.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. A special guard assigned to Stalin alone, is that correct?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes. And there was a book there that whoever visited Stalin had to register.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you get to become acquainted with Jacob Stalin?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes, I did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you speak Russian?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes, I do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you speak it fluently?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Very well.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you tell us how you became acquainted with him, in view of this guard being there, and what conversations, if any, you had with him regarding the fate of the Polish officers who were in Russian hands?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. When he first arrived, he was very weak and undernourished. We were giving him packages and we tried to restore him back to health through nourishment.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that permitted, in view of the guard?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. At first the Germans did not permit us, but we had our own methods of getting the food to him, and we used to give American cigarettes to the guard over there and he became cooperative. That was the best currency at the time, the American cigarettes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And as a result of this exchange of food and cigarettes, did you become acquainted with Stalin?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. The Germans were very easily bought over in those days. Undoubtedly, that did contribute considerably to the friendship that we established.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Tell us how this conversation with young Stalin was brought about and what he told you.

Mr. LEWSZECKI. I asked him who he was, and he told me that he was Jacob Dzugasvilli, who was the oldest son of Stalin, by his first marriage.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now tell us what he told you regarding the Polish officers in any of these three camps—Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov.

Mr. LEWSZECKI. He did not name any of those three camps in particular, but we did receive letters. These letters were from our families and from our friends to our camp, and they were about our friends who were being held prisoner in Russia. In one of the letters I received there was a notation: "As to my friend Victor Kaczynski, I will not see him again." This was a letter that was written to me from Poland.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you discuss this letter and other similar letters with Stalin?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes, I took these letters to him in order to translate them to him in Russian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he make any comment about them?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. His first reaction was one of shock. Then later he recalled that he had heard that there was a prison camp with Polish officers in the Smolensk region, and that there had been an uprising there, and that this uprising had been suppressed. He had heard that there was shooting there, and that there were some victims who fell dead. He terminated that part of our conversation and changed to another subject. A few days later, I began pressing him again on this particular subject. When we talked about the collectivization of the Ukraine, he told me that during that process there were about 3 million of our people—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By "our people," you mean Russians?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. I mean his, Stalin's people, the Russians, were murdered, about 3 million, "so," he said, "why are you surprised that your people should be murdered also?"

Mr. FLOOD. Well, actually he means Ukrainians, not Russians.

Mr. PUCINSKI. He was speaking of the 3 million victims as being Ukrainians, but he did not make a particular distinction between the Ukrainians and the Russians.

Mr. FLOOD. No, but I did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now will you continue the conversation regarding these Polish officers?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. The letters continued coming, and I told Stalin that there is something wrong. I said: "Something is not in order over there," and he said: "Yes, that's right." He said: "Why, those were the intelligentsia, the most dangerous element to us, and they had to be eliminated." He told me exactly (and this I remember very well) that this is an element which is not very easily converted, because the younger people were capable of being converted, of educating; but he assured me that the murders must have been committed with a humanitarian method, unlike the brutal tactics of the Germans.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he say anything further on that subject?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. No; he just said in Russian that they had to be destroyed, that they had to be removed.

Mr. FLOOD. As I understand the witness, as he understood Stalin's conversation, that it was necessary for the Russians for various reasons to dispose of these Polish officers; is that correct?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. But it was a nice clean human murder rather than a messy job; is that the understanding?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes; that is correct; Stalin tried to point out that it was not done with the same method that the Germans used to destroy the people. My impression, on the basis of these conversations with him, was that he did not realize, did not take cognizance of the fact, that these murders could have been something deplorable; he considered that it was a national and government necessity.

Mr. DONDERO. Where did you have these talks with Stalin—in his room, or out in the prison camp?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. In his room. I spent most of my time in his room.

Mr. DONDERO. Were there any other people present?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Normally he was hesitant to converse when others were present, but on several occasions there were others present.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you inform Stalin that you were a Polish prisoner of war?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes; of course; I was in the Polish uniform, and he knew that. As a matter of fact, I told him that I belonged to Pilsudski's legion, and I was an open foe of the Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he understood that?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Yes; he understood that.

Mr. DONDERO. Was he friendly or did he appear to be angry toward them?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Generally he behaved very well, but on many subjects we disagreed, and our conversations would end abruptly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That's all.

Mr. FLOOD. You had the impression, did you, that Stalin, in all of these conversations about the disposition or the killing of these Polish officers, gave the impression of no sense of immorality or injustice or inhumanity, but that it was an administrative and political necessity for the Russians to so act?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. I frequently called his attention to the fact that these murders were not humanitarian, but he merely told me that they were a government necessity. The problem of humanity or humanitarianism did not at all interest him; this did not enter into his thinking at all.

Mr. FLOOD. Then as I understand it, Stalin gave evidence of a state of mind which could be described as unmoral, amoral, rather than immoral?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. The question of morality or immorality never entered into his mind; he thought that it was a necessity of the state, and that was it.

Chairman MADDEN. Is that all? Any further questions? Mr. Lewszecki, has anybody promised you any pay or recompense or emoluments for coming here today to testify?

Mr. LEWSZECKI. Absolutely none.

Chairman MADDEN. We wish to thank you for your testimony here this morning.

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEF GARLINSKI, NO. 104 HOLLAND ROAD,
LONDON W. 14, ENGLAND**

Chairman MADDEN. Just state your name to the reporter, and the correct spelling of it.

Mr. GARLINSKI. Josef Garlinski.

Chairman MADDEN. And your address?

Mr. GARLINSKI. My present address is No. 104 Holland Road, London W. 14, England.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony. You understand that?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; certainly.

Chairman MADDEN. Now raise your hand and be sworn. You swear by God Almighty, that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GARLINSKI. I do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your name is Josef Garlinski?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you are a resident of London?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you previously an officer of the main command of the Polish National Army?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes, I was an officer of the Reserve.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And in 1943 were you arrested by the Gestapo in Warsaw?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; on April 20, 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And where were you taken to?

Mr. GARLINSKI. First they sent me to the prison camp Pawiak; it was in Warsaw, inside the Warsaw ghetto. As you know, the Germans organized a ghetto for Jews, and it was inside there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you later taken to the concentration camp in Wittenberg, Germany?

Mr. GARLINSKI. First I was sent to Oswiecim (Auschwitz).

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Eventually did you get to Wittenberg?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Wittenberg was the third one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the spring and summer of 1944, were you in Wittenberg?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the concentration camp there?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And while you were in that camp, did you meet any Russian soldiers?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes. It was a small camp; about 400 people altogether, but a branch of the big camp, and we worked in a factory there; we were sent there to work in this factory. There were about 400 people in there, the majority of them Russians, so I met there a large number of Russians, all types of Russians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. While in that camp, did you meet any soldiers or officers of the Russian army who were not Russians?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; definitely.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Are there any you particularly remember?

Mr. GARLINSKI. When you say Russians, they were not all born Russians, but they were all the citizens of Soviet Russia, and they were all soldiers or officers of the Russian forces.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you meet any of Greek origin?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes, I remember one of them; his Christian name was Aleksiej, but unfortunately I do not remember his surname.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did it sound like Georgopopolos?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes, it was a typical Greek name, but I just do not remember.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. About how old was this man?

Mr. GARLINSKI. I think he was about 30 at that time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he a rather intelligent person?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; he was definitely an educated man.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you become well acquainted with him?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes. We were not friends, of course, but his Russian language was very good, and he wanted to improve my Russian, because I speak Russian, and it was a very good chance to have good Russian conversation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he a former officer of the Red army?

Mr. GARLINSKI. I think so; he did not say this, but I think he was definitely.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now did you discuss with him Russia and the life in Russia?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes. We discussed this very carefully, of course, because a concentration camp is not the best place to discuss things.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did he ever tell you that he was in or around Charkow?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes. He told me he was born there and lived there for several years, as far as I know, although he is of Greek origin, but he was born in Russia.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now did he tell you whether or not he was in or around Charkow in the spring of 1940?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell us what he told you about that?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Well, when we have spoken about the life in Russia and everything, once he told me that in the spring of 1940, 1 year before the Russo-German war started, he had seen there some work which the Bolsheviks started there. It was not in Charkow, but near Charkow. Firstly, they started to build a big wall—I do not remember this word in English—not from bricks, but from wood.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. A sort of fence?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes, a fence to protect something from the view of the public.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. A sort of tall fence?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; and the people were told that they must not be interested in this, that they must not go near to this fence and see what is on the other side. This was nothing special in Russia because it happened very often after some work of this type, so he did not know at that time what happened there behind this wall. But later, when the Germans came to this part of Russia, after the

beginning of the war in 1941, the Germans discovered that there are some people killed there, and the bodies of these people were there in the mass like in Katyn, like the same type.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did Aleksiej draw you a map or plan?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; he presented me with a plan on a piece of paper. I do not remember this plan, but it showed how this was made; and the people from Charkow and from suburbs of Charkow and the neighboring villages came in because the Germans, of course, organized big propaganda about this, that the Bolsheviks killed people there; and the Russian people who lived in Charkow and the suburbs of Charkow and the small villages there found their relations there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean, among the bodies that were recovered?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; they found their relations. I must tell you that Aleksiej did not mention to me that Poles were found there; he did not tell me that. I did not ask him more about this because it was very dangerous in a concentration camp to speak about such a rather difficult political subject; but as I knew already about Katyn, and all this business—because you will remember the Germans arrested me in April 1943—

Chairman MADDEN. What day?

Mr. GARLINSKI. It was April 20, 1943—and I have known already from the German press that the Katyn grave was discovered. As far as I remember, I think they started to print articles about this in January 1943—at the beginning of 1943—so before they arrested me, I have known this already.

Well, Aleksiej said to me about this Charkow. Well, it was rather something very interesting for me also from this point of view, that my father was taken prisoner of war by the Russians and was sent to Starobielsk. Starobielsk was the nearest camp to Charkow. So it was that this information from this Aleksiej was very important also from my personal point of view, as my father was prisoner of war in Starobielsk, and I did not find his name among those named by the Germans when they discovered Katyn. They started to print the names of Polish officers found there, in the German press published in Poland at that time. I did not find the name of my father there. So when Aleksiej said that they discovered something almost the same near Charkow, it was quite possible that my father was found there. So it was very important information from my personal point of view—not only from the Polish point of view.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you find out anything further from Aleksiej regarding who was in these graves?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Well, he said that in his opinion they killed these people of Russian nationality who were against the Government and against what they wanted to do for the near future, because everybody was sure in Russia at that time that the war against Germany will start in the near future; and it happened 1 year later.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now one other question: Did Aleksiej tell you how many bodies were found in those graves at Charkow?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Well, as far as I remember, he said thousands, but it is difficult for me to say now.

Mr. FLOOD. Now here is one thing we are trying to presume: as you know or have heard, we seem to have accounted for the missing Polish officers from the camp at Kozielsk.

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Because of the names that have been listed from the graves at Katyn; but nobody seems to be able to account for the missing officers from Starobielsk and Ostoshkov.

Mr. GARLINSKI. No.

Mr. FLOOD. It has been suggested, and we are trying to develop the theory, that the Russians may have had execution camps or execution spots set up for various districts or geographic areas. Do you understand?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is why your testimony is important, because it indicates that possibility. Now, I want to emphasize that your friend did not mention Polish officers, did he, at that time?

Mr. GARLINSKI. No; he did not.

Mr. FLOOD. He mentioned thousands of bodies—yes or no?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; thousands of bodies.

Mr. FLOOD. Did he indicate that his information was that there were executions taking place in the Kharkov area at this spot you are talking about in 1939 and 1940?

Mr. GARLINSKI. 1940.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is one other question there I want to bring up: You were released in 1945 and came to England; is that correct?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; I was released by American forces, the American Army, in May 1945, and came here in November 1945.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you at that time, when you came to England in May 1945, relate the very same story as you are now telling this committee?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To the Polish Government in exile?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that this matter which you have told us today has been related by you in exactly the same text in November 1945?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Immediately upon your arrival?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Not in November 1945—a bit later.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When?

Mr. GARLINSKI. It is difficult to say.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Shortly after November?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Even later. I think it was 1946 or 1947.

Mr. FLOOD. By the way, did you ever hear, then or later, of any German announcements or reports or propaganda having to do with executions in the Kharkov area?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Not German propaganda; no.

Mr. DONDERO. Where were you from 1943 until 1945, when you were released and came to England?

Mr. GARLINSKI. From 1943 to 1945 I spent this time in the German concentration camps.

Mr. DONDERO. That is what I want to know; that is all.

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes; there were other camps. You may be interested, if you would like to hear this: Just before the war, in 1938, my father was married again, the second time; because my parents were separated—you know—divorced, when I was still a small child. He married a young girl. She is only, I think, 2 years older than my wife.

And we were friends. My father was mobilized in 1939 as a major of reserve. He was still not too old—only 49 or 48; and he disappeared during the war. We did not know what had happened to him. At this time we stayed in Warsaw—I with my wife, and we were friendly with his second wife. It was the beginning of 1940, as far as I remember. My wife is here. My wife is Irish—not Polish. She may be a good witness for you. She spent all the war in Poland. And suddenly the second wife of my father got a post card from my father from Starobielsk. It was the first information about him, where he is. It was one post card. I remember that she got another one also in January or February of 1940; and later the last news from him was a telegram sent through Moscow and Berlin for her. Her Christian name is Maria. This may be important for the date. [The witness looked at a diary.] It is the 25th March.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What year?

Mr. GARLINSKI. 1940. She got this telegram from him, with wishes. You know, it is the Polish custom: we always remember the name—the Christian name—not the birthday. Her Christian name is Maria and Mary is March 25.

Mr. FLOOD. By the name day? You mean the saint's day, do you not?

Mr. GARLINSKI. The saint's day, yes.

Mr. FLOOD. It is the Polish custom to send greetings on your name day or saint's day?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes, that is it.

Mr. FLOOD. Rather than on the natal day or birthday?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes, that is true.

Mr. FLOOD. Her name is Maria; her saint's day is St. Mary's day. The husband from the camp at Starobielsk sent her a telegram saying "Happy Birthday"?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Or "Happy Saint's Day"?

Mr. GARLINSKI. Yes. That is through Moscow and Berlin; it was the way of this telegram. It was March 25, 1940. It was the last news from him. Later, nothing.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any further questions? Has anybody promised you any pay or recompense for coming here to testify?

Mr. GARLINSKI. No, no.

Chairman MADDEN. We want to thank you for your testimony here today. It is very valuable testimony. Thank you.

Mr. GARLINSKI. Thank you very much.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This is the wife of the last witness.

Chairman MADDEN. State your name and address.

Mrs. GARLINSKI. Eileen Frances Garlinska, 104 Holland Road, London, W. 14.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts if anyone considered he had suffered an injury by reason of your testimony. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility on your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony. You understand that?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. I understand that.

Chairman MADDEN. Now will you raise your hand and be sworn. Do you swear by God the Almighty that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. I do.

Chairman MADDEN. What was your name before you were married?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Short.

Chairman MADDEN. Where were you born?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Liverpool.

Chairman MADDEN. How long were you in England before you met your present husband?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. I was in England until 1935. I went out to Poland in 1935. I met him in 1936 and we were married in 1939.

Mr. FLOOD. The last witness who has just testified is your husband?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. He is my husband; yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you hear his testimony?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard everything he said this morning?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard him say that you and he were living together as husband and wife in Warsaw; is that correct?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And at that time your father-in-law's second wife was also living in Warsaw?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes; for a time we lived in the same house as she did.

Mr. FLOOD. The three of you lived together?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes; with her mother too.

Mr. FLOOD. You heard your husband say she had received on different occasions two cards from her husband at Starobielsk?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Are you aware of that fact?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you see the cards?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. I did.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you corroborate the testimony given by your husband?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. I can.

Mr. FLOOD. As true and correct?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Of your own knowledge?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you recall of your own memory the date of the last card that the wife received from her husband?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. The last was a telegram. In fact, I remember the date chiefly—I remember that this had come for her Name's Day or Saint's Day on March 25, 1940. We saw it. She always showed us the correspondence she had from him. I know that she tried frequently to get news. I was in contact with her until 1945 personally and I still write to her. We were always very good friends.

Mr. FLOOD. Your nationality is not Polish?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. No; I am Anglo-Irish—more Irish.

Mr. FLOOD. Anglo-Irish?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Yes, but more Irish than Anglo.

Mr. FLOOD. That is all; thank you.

Chairman MADDEN. Nobody has made any promise to you to pay you any emoluments for coming here to testify?

Mrs. GARLINSKA. No.

Chairman MADDEN. We wish to thank you for your testimony.

Mrs. GARLINSKA. Thank you.

Chairman MADDEN. Will you state your name and address?

Mr. SZLASKI. Janus Prawdzic Szlaski, of 22 Buer Road, London, S. W. 6.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make your statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony. You understand that?

Mr. PUCINSKI. This witness has indicated that he wants to testify in Polish.

Chairman MADDEN. Yes. Will you interpret that. (The admonition was interpreted to the witness.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness has indicated that he understands the statement and the admonition.

Chairman MADDEN. Now, if you will be sworn. Do you solemnly swear by God the Almighty that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

**TESTIMONY OF JANUS PRAWDZIC SZLASKI, OF 22 BUER ROAD,
LONDON, S. W. 6.**

Mr. O'KONSKI. The witness has given his name and address for the record. Will you ask the witness where he was and what his capacity was in the year 1944?

Mr. SZLASKI. I was the commanding officer of an underground army, district Nowogrodek.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask him if that was what is commonly known in America as the Polish Home Underground Army that participated in the Warsaw uprising at the instigation of the Allies during the months of August and September of 1944?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is correct? Ask him if it is not true that that home army was made up of the greatest patriots and the so called intelligentsia of what was left of Poland and particularly Warsaw, at that time?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness said that in his particular battalion 40 percent of those in the underground unit that he commanded were White Russians.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask him what he knows about any Russian order or any Russian attempt to liquidate any leadership or any intelligentsia in Poland?

Mr. SZLASKI. I had several opportunities to observe these tactics. When the Russian Armies were virtually destroyed by the Germans in 1941 many of the Russian Officers and NKVD officers transferred their allegiance and worked with the German Gestapo, and these

officers, especially in this district of Nowogrodek, began then an intensive campaign of collecting the intelligentsia of that area and surrendering it to the Germans. As soon as we discovered this in the Polish underground, we began intense efforts at destroying this procedure of these Russian NKVD officers selecting the intelligentsia and transferring it to the Germans.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Why did they transfer these intelligentsia to the Germans?

Mr. SZLASKI. They wanted to eliminate all of the pro-Polish elements in that particular region. After we had succeeded in destroying the intelligence union of the NKDV officers working with the Germans, then those who survived began efforts and contacted us with an effort to try and work with our units against the Germans. We had several conversations with their leaders and we did reach an agreement and we did work together and we did manage to destroy many of the installations in various German towns. During this period of co-operation with the remainder of the Russian NKVD with which we were working, we had several conversations to work out various details of points that came up and questions that came up. On the December 1, 1943, the Russians invited some of our officers for a series of discussions. After inviting us, and we told them to come to one of our underground meeting places, when the Russians got there, they attacked us by surprise. They had succeeded in this attack in killing some of our people and capturing others of our people, whom they had taken back to Russia.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, the Russians asked for a meeting with the leaders of the underground home army?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And then, when they set the time and place of the meeting, the Russians came, and, instead of meeting with them, arrested them and killed some of them; is that correct?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes. Those of our people who were away on patrol duty managed to escape this ambush, and then we started a bitter war with the Russian Partisans. They frequently attacked our villages and our meeting places.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is, the Russians attacked?

Mr. SZLASKI. The Russians, and they murdered many of our people, and during one of these battles a Russian Army Staff officer was killed. One of our officers who searched the body of this dead staff officer came across a package of papers. This officer is now in the United States.

Mr. O'KONSKI. What is his name and address, if he knows?

Mr. SZLASKI. His name is Josef Niedzwiecki. He lives in Buffalo, and I will have to give you his exact address a little later. Among the papers that were found on this dead staff officer was an order in the Russian language issued by the commanding officer of the Partisan Russians named Ponomarynko, who until recently was President of White Russia and is now a member of the Russian Politburo.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, it was a very high ranking Russian officer?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes. The order stated that as of the December 1, 1943, all efforts should be made to destroy these Polish underground battalions and to particularly select the officers and noncommissioned officers.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask him if he has a complete copy of that order in his possession.

Mr. SZLASKI. I have a copy of that order here which has been translated onto the Polish language. The original of this order I have in Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me see the document. [Document handed to Mr. Flood.] Show this document handed to me by the witness to the stenographer and have it marked as exhibit 31. As I understand it, exhibit 31, this document now marked for identification, is a copy of the order you have just described found upon the body of this Russian officer. Is that correct?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes.

(The order referred to was marked as "Exhibit 31" and is shown below).

EXHIBIT 31

Строго секретно

Дзержинский.

За разсекривание вперед всей операции карается
Воинское разпоряжение
 Командиру и Комиссару
 Партизанского отряда бригады им. Сталина
 30-е ноября 1943 года — 1500 часов.

Во исполнение приказа начальника центрального штаба партизанского движения при ставке Верховного главнокомандования Красной Армии ин-лейтенанта Пономаренко и уполномоченного центрального штаба партизанского движения при ставке Верховного главнокомандования как В.Р. № 8/К.м.о. Тварановичской области ин.май. Платонова.

1-го декабря 1943 года передать ровно в 7 часов утра, во все населенные пункты районов преступить к обезоруживанию личного состава польских легионеров и партизан.

Собранное оружие и документы зафиксировать, а личный состав легионеров вместе с собранным оружием доставить в польский лагерь Милановского в р-н. деревни Нестеровичи, Ивницкого района.

При соприкосновении во время обстреливания со стороны немцев, партизан' на месте раз-
стреливайт.

С получением данного приказа немедленно строго секретными пакетами разосылать в распоряжение в районы оперирования ваших групп, рот и взводов с задачей выполнения данного приказа.

Приказ держат в строгом секрете.

За разсекретивание приказа с какими либо группами будут отвечать лично командиры отрядов.

Командир Бриз. им. Сталина (-) полк. Гудевич
Водиссар Бриз. им. Сталина (-) полк. Муранов
Начальник штаба Бриз. им. Сталина (-) штаб. Карпов

Отпечатаваемо 10 92 земляргов

Эз.	Ар.	1.	-	в дело	
"	"	2,3.	-	отряды	им. "Болшевик"
"	"	4,5.	-	"	" "Суворова"
"	"	6.	-	"	" "Катява"
"	"	8.	-	"	" "Буденного"
"	"	9.	-	"	" "Рыжска"
"	"	10.	-	"	" "О" (октябрьской революции)

М.м. Озвучивать печать
бригады им. Сталина.

(English translation of the above exhibit appears on the following page under remarks of Mr. Machrowicz.)

Mr. FLOOD. You have the original document in your possession, but it is in Poland in safekeeping; is that correct?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you exhibit No. 31 and ask you, after you examine that, to state whether or not that is an exact copy of the original document taken from the Russian officer's body which you say is in Poland. Will you examine it and say?

Mr. SZLASKI. It is an exact copy.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask the witness if, in his observation, particularly during the Warsaw uprising before and after, he feels that that order was actually being carried out by the Russians.

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes. I saw it being executed.

Mr. FLOOD. I have just examined the document to which we referred, exhibit No. 31, and I notice that you also have a Polish translation of exhibit 31. I understand that the original order, of course, found on the dead Russian officer's body was in Russian and this is an exact translation, as I understand it, of the Russian order. Is that correct?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes, it is correct.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask him if the refusal of the Russians to come to the aid of Poland during the Warsaw uprising was part of the pattern of getting the leadership of Poland liquidated.

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes, it was; but I, however, did not participate in the Warsaw uprising. I was in Russian-occupied territory of Poland.

Mr. O'KONSKI. When the Russians moved forward and they kept on taking over more and more of the Polish territory and Polish people, what was the policy of the Russians concerning anybody who worked in a Polish underground or who was left as a possible leader of Poland? What happened to them?

Mr. SZLASKI. They arrested them and removed them to Russia.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, ask him if it was not a general policy on the part of the Russians to destroy every segment of any possible Polish resistance of any nature.

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes, that was their policy. I worked together with these people and we had participated in the attack on Wilno. When the Polish Army attacked Wilno we were supported by the Russians and we subsequently guarded the flank of the Russian units. I was then removed from my present post and transferred to another assignment to form Polish units near Wilno.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Ask him if he sees any similarity in the Russian actions during his experience under the Russians in that territory, if he sees any similarity in the Russian order to eliminate and liquidate all possible oppositions, if he sees any similarity between that and the mass murders at Katyn.

Mr. SZLASKI. I see no difference between the two.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, it was a part of an over-all picture to wipe out the Polish leadership, the Polish intelligentsia and any possible Polish resistance?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. DONDERO. Did you personally see that order which you found on the body of this dead Russian officer actually carried out against any of your people?

Mr. SZLASKI. Yes. I was a prisoner of the Russians in 1941 in a Russian prison, and they had me scheduled for an execution.

Mr. FLOOD. Exhibit No. 31 is very short. It is in Polish; and, for the information of the committee, I would suggest that it be read in English, so that we can hear exactly what that order from the Russian officer's body actually said.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. If the chairman wishes, I will give my translation of it. It is very short.

Chairman MADDEN. Proceed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. On the very top the words are contained:

Strictly secret. Copy No. 7. An earlier publication is subject to penalty. Military order to the commandants of the Partisan detachments of the Stalin Brigade, dated November 30, 1943, 15 o'clock. In execution of the order of the Chief of the Staff of the Partisan movement attached to the General Commander of the Russian Army, Lieutenant General Ponomarenko and of the authorised Chief of Staff of the Partisan movements, Baranowski Serge, Major General Platonow.

On December 1, 1943, you are ordered at punctually 7 o'clock in the morning to publish and announce that in all occupied points commence immediately the personal disarmament of all Polish Legionnaires and Partisans. The guns and ammunition and documents taken from them to be registered and the Legionnaires, together with their guns, to be taken to the Milaszewski camp in the region of the village of Niestorowicze in the Iwieniecki region.

In case of resistance during the time of disarmament on the part of the legionnaires and partisans, they are to be immediately shot.

Immediately upon receipt of this order it is to be immediately sent by strictly confidential message for execution in the operational regions of our groups, companies and sections, with instructions for immediate execution of this order.

This order is to be kept in strict confidence.

The commanders of the various sections will be personally responsible for the publication or for the revealing of this order for any reason whatsoever. Signed by the commander of the Stalin Brigade, Colonel Gulewicz, and the commissar of the Stalin Brigade, Lieutenant Colonel Muranow. Also the chief of staff of the Stalin Brigade, Lieutenant Colonel Karpod.

This order is issued in 10 copies.

Then follows the names of the various detachments to whom the copies are to be delivered. Sealed by a round seal of the Stalin Brigade.

Mr. FLOOD. That should be submitted in evidence.

Chairman MADDEN. That is accepted in evidence. (To the witness): Has anybody promised you any pay or emoluments to come here today to testify?

Mr. SZLASKI. No.

Chairman MADDEN. We wish to thank you for your testimony here today, very valuable testimony.

Mr. SZLASKI. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. C.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you will run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considers he has suffered an injury. As the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives does not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of your testimony. You understand that?

Mr. C. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Do you swear by the God Almighty that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, for the record, this witness has relatives behind the iron curtain, and he requests that his identity be preserved exclusively for the knowledge of the members of the committee and be not made a part of the public record.

Chairman MADDEN. Have we his address?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, we have his name and address. His identity is known to the committee.

Chairman MADDEN. If he is known as "Mr. R" is that all right?

Mr. PUCINSKI. "Mr. C."

Chairman MADDEN. All right. You proceed, then.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Where were you born?

Mr. C. In the Province of Pomorze.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When were you born?

Mr. C. Twenty-eighth November, 1900.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you have occasion to serve in the Polish Armed Forces?

Mr. C. Yes, I did.

Mr. PUCINSKI. In what rank and when?

Mr. C. Staff sergeant.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When?

Mr. C. Do you mean before the war or during the war?

Mr. PUCINSKI. When did you first join the Polish Armed Forces?

Mr. C. Seventh September, 1919.

Mr. PUCINSKI. In other words, you are a career soldier, a professional soldier?

Mr. C. I joined the Polish Border Guards after the mobilization in 1922.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You were in the Polish Border Guards in 1922, and did you remain in that organization right on through the war?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You were in the Polish Border Guards on September 1, 1939, when Poland was invaded by the Germans?

Mr. C. Yes, I was.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And you were in the Polish Border Guards on September 17, 1939, when the Russians moved into Poland?

Mr. C. No; I was a soldier then. I was incorporated again into the Army.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What were your duties?

Mr. C. Fighting; nothing else.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Your rank was that of staff sergeant?

Mr. C. No; it was sergeant then.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You were a sergeant at that time?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were you ever taken prisoner by either the Germans or the Russians?

Mr. C. I was arrested by the Russians on the 25th October, 1939. They ordered a registration of all newcomers to the town I was living for that moment, and I went there to register myself and my family. My family has been evacuated from the western part of Poland to the eastern part.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long did you remain a prisoner of the Russians?

Mr. C. From the 25th October, 1939, till the 24th August, 1941.

Mr. PUCINSKI. During that period of internment did you ever have occasion to be interned either at the camp of Ostashkov, Starobielsk, or Kozielsk? Just answer "Yes" or "No."

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Which of those three camps were you interned in at any given time?

Mr. C. Among others, I was in Ostashkov.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When did you arrive at Ostashkov?

Mr. C. We arrived in Ostashkov on the 11th February, 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Am I correct in assuming that you were taken there by the Russians?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. At the time that you arrived at Ostashkov on the 11th February 1940, how many other Poles were there in this camp?

Mr. C. About 7,000.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Who were these people at that camp?

Mr. C. Most of them were Polish policemen. There were a certain number of officers of all ranks, mostly police and the border guard, but there were some civilians like priests, lawyers, and other classes of people.

Mr. PUCINSKI. There were 7,000 is all?

Mr. C. In all about 7,000. I did not count them personally.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long did you stay at Ostashkov after you arrived there on February 11th?

Mr. C. I stayed there till the 13th May, 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long did the other 7,000 inmates or prisoners in that camp stay at Ostashkov after you arrived there on February 11th?

Mr. C. They were there.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long after that did they remain there?

Mr. C. I was among the last ones to leave Ostashkov.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You were the second from the last group to leave Ostashkov?

Mr. C. That is right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What date was that?

Mr. C. I was among a group of about 70 people to leave. And there remained after us about the same number—that means about 70 people—who I later learned left Ostashkov the next day.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You left on what date?

Mr. C. The 13th May, 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What happened to the rest of the 7,000 inmates that you had seen when you arrived there?

Mr. C. I cannot tell you what happened.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were they taken out of the camp between the 11th February and the 13th May?

Mr. C. They were being taken away from the camp.

Mr. PUCINSKI. They were evacuated?

Mr. C. Evacuated.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Can you tell us in your own words the method of evacuating these men?

Mr. C. Every day in the morning a certain number, say about 70 to 130, were read from a list, and they took their mattresses and

blankets, went to the church—there was a big hall—and there was a division. They left there these mattresses. Then there was a ring of guards. They took them through another door straight into the guards ring and then in a group, like soldiers, they were marched away from the camp.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When did that evacuation begin, as far as you remember?

Mr. C. Fourth April, 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As far as you know, then, the first group ranging from 70 to 130 left Ostashkov on April 4th?

Mr. C. The first group left Ostashkov on the 4th April 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Then do I understand you correctly that subsequently in similar groups they left every day thereafter?

Mr. C. Sometimes three groups a day left.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How were they actually evacuated from the camp? How did they leave the camp?

Mr. C. Marching away singing in fours.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you see them boarding trains or trucks, or anything?

Mr. C. No. They were taken to a station which was far away from the camp.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How do you know that they were taken to the station?

Mr. C. Because I was taken there myself.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you have any idea what happened to these men that were evacuated prior to your own departure?

Mr. C. I cannot tell. Just one thing which strikes me is that in the beginning of May 1940 there was gossip among the prisoners there, the Poles.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When you say "gossip," you mean rumors?

Mr. C. Yes, speaking about it, that the first thousands of Ostashkov men have been put on the ships and pulled up the river to the White Sea.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Up what river?

Mr. C. I could not tell you which river, but a river which leads to the White Sea, and the ships with the people were sunk in the rivers. that is what we heard.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When did you first hear those rumors?

Mr. C. I cannot tell you the date, but in the first days of May 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is when the rumors started, more or less?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That was the first 1,000. Did you hear any other rumors regarding the other approximately 6,000?

Mr. C. I personally heard only this one.

Mr. PUCINSKI. About the first 1,000.

Mr. C. No, not 1,000; of the first thousands.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you say how many thousands?

Mr. C. No, I cannot.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you have any idea where those rumors started?

Mr. C. No, I cannot tell you.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When you heard those rumors repeated to you, did your friends tell you where they heard it from?

Mr. C. My friend could not tell who started, as I cannot tell you who started.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you ever talk to any of the camp officials about these rumors?

Mr. C. No, never.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You never asked them?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And they never volunteered any information?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you believe those rumors at that time?

Mr. C. There are certain things which one who has been in Russia can take for granted.

Mr. PUCINSKI. May what?

Mr. C. May take for granted; you may take it as the truth.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As far as you know, then, only on the basis of rumors, the first thousands of men who were evacuated from that camp were taken down the river to the White Sea and placed on barges, and there the barges were sunk off the coast line?

Mr. C. That is what we heard.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did those rumors indicate where; how far off the coastline?

Mr. C. No, they could not.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You left on May 13, 1940?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How did you leave that camp?

Mr. C. The same way as my friends before. I was read out of a list by Russian guardsmen. I took my mattress and blankets into the church there and I have put down the things, and a severe personal revision was made; everything was taken away.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were your personal belongings taken away from you?

Mr. C. They were taken long before in Poland.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were letters and pictures taken away from you?

Mr. C. Everything.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Everything?

Mr. C. Everything, which means pens and papers and things.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Letters and pictures also of your family?

Mr. C. No; they were not allowed to a prisoner. Everything was taken away.

Mr. PUCINSKI. After you marched out of the camp, where did you go?

Mr. C. We were led out of the camp to, I believe, the nearest station and loaded into wagons.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Into trucks or trains?

Mr. C. Into trains with bars, of course.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Prison cars on a train?

Mr. C. That is it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Where were you taken from there?

Mr. C. Again to Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you know the name of that station?

Mr. C. No; not this one. I know that one which I came into Ostashkov. It was Ostashkov as well.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you know of your own knowledge whether the other men that preceded you who left the station were taken away by train?

Mr. C. I have not seen with my own eyes, but I do not think in those regions there is a possibility of taking people on foot.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Were there roads around there?

Mr. C. I think so.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But there were large numbers being evacuated?

Mr. C. You mean groups?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Some 70 to 130.

Mr. C. As I said before, about 70 to 130 people at a time.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When you boarded this train, did you see any inscriptions in the train cars regarding any hint as to where the men from Ostashkov may have gone?

Mr. C. No. There were different things of this kind, but nothing about the people from Ostashkov. Perhaps there may be, but I did not see any.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you, while you were still back at the camp and while these men were being evacuated, reach any agreement, or did you instruct the men leaving before you to leave you any clues on the trains, if they could, as to where they were going?

Mr. C. No. The camp was newly created, so I had very few friends there. There were days in which you were unable to get in touch with the people. We could not speak honestly to each other because you could not trust. You should understand one thing in Russia. In any group of people they put somebody in who takes from you and gives the information to the Russians. So you cannot trust anybody.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you know if any of the inmates of that camp had made any arrangements with those leaving the camp to try and leave some clue as to where those leaving before you were going?

Mr. C. No; I did not hear that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You do not know that?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You say you did see inscriptions. Can you tell us very briefly what some of those inscriptions were?

Mr. C. Big places of Russia, say Briansk. I have forgotten the names—I do not remember them now—but the first thing of a prison in Russia—

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you remember any other names besides Briansk?

Mr. C. It is too far away. I cannot remember the places.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Can you tell me from your own personal knowledge where is Briansk in relation to the White Sea?

Mr. C. It is in the Province of Smolensk.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Briansk is?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Do you know of your own knowledge whether a trip from Ostashkov to the White Sea would require you to go through Briansk?

Mr. C. You may, but there are other ways as well.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I notice that you have been referring to a little board here in answering some of these questions. What is this board?

Mr. C. This is part of a Polish knapsack, before the war. Everything what means paper was taken away. I was sure I couldn't keep all these dates and places in my mind; so, finally I got the idea to write them down with little pieces of pencil and kept it in the proper place, which is between two boards.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Those are the staves for your knapsack; aren't they?

Mr. C. Yes, sir. And all these hundreds of observations were my personal observations taken. I got the idea that there were things like this.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Why did you keep this so-called diary?

Mr. C. Because in case I would be murdered, because we believed they are able to do so, somebody may find the thing, and in case I would stay alive it will help me to tell the people where I was and to where I went. That is the idea I kept the dates in the place.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This is not very long. It shouldn't take very long.

Would you briefly give us the notations you have on that staff?

Mr. C. Yes, sir. It is in Polish.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you translate that into English?

Mr. C. The 25th of October, arrested in Bolechów, taken to Dolina. The 2d of November, taken to Stanislaw.

Mr. PUCINSKI. This is still 1939?

Mr. C. Yes, sir.

The 3d of November, taken from Stanislaw to Tarnopol and through Podwoloczyska, in Russia, Proskirów, Szpytówka, Konotop, Bryansk, to Babinino. The 25th of November 1939, we arrived at the camp of Juchnow.

The 2d of December to the 16th of that month, I was very sick in that camp.

The 21st of December that year, the police were taken away from us; just a border guard remained, were left there.

The 30th of January 1940, we left that camp.

The 11th of February 1940, we came into the camp of Ostashkov. The 13th of May, I left that camp through Torzok, Rzjew, Bryansk.

The 16th of May 1940, again I arrived into the camp of Pawlisczew Bor. There are two names: Juchnow and Pawlisczew Bor.

The 13th of June 1940, we left Pawlisczew Bor and came into the camp of Giazowiec—at the 18th of June 1940.

The 30th of July 1941, a treaty took place between the Russians and the Polish Government in Lublin. The 12th of August 1941, we were told that we are a free people, told by the Russians.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You were given your freedom?

Mr. C. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Let me ask you here: Do you have any idea why you and the other 140 from Ostashkov were singled out as those who were to go to Pawlisczew Bor? Do you have any idea why you were in that group?

Mr. C. That is a question I often put to myself, and I found only one answer to that question. The first protocol was put down by the Russians in Bolechów. They asked me whether I had been serving in the Polish Army during the Polish-Bolshevik war in 1920. Although I took part in it, I told them I didn't; I was born and brought up and did my duty only on the western part of Poland, on the German border. That is what may be the cause they sorted me out, for my best friend, with whom I was doing my duty before the war for 10 years, being born as well at the western part of Poland, he vanished because, as he told me during our stay in Ostashkov, he was put down in the protocol that he was fighting against the Russians in 1920. And that is what, I think, may be the cause I was sorted out.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You subsequently joined General Anders' Polish Army in Russia?

Mr. C. I did.

Mr. PUCINSKI. When did you first hear of the discovery of bodies in Katyn?

Mr. C. In 1943, in Jerusalem.

Mr. PUCINSKI. At the time that you heard of this discovery, what reaction did that have on you in regard to your own personal experiences at Ostashkov, if any?

Mr. C. It only came true what I was thinking all the time after we had been searching for those people and we couldn't get any reply from the Russians, and we couldn't find them and they didn't join the army.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What, in your own opinion, do you think happened to the rest of the men who were interned with you at Ostashkov?

Mr. C. They had been slaughtered in the same way as at Starobielsk.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Not at Katyn?

Mr. C. No; not at Katyn, because there are, as I believe, more Katyns in Russia.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you have any idea, in your own mind, on the basis of your stay at Ostashkov and some of the things that you heard there, where these men could have been exterminated?

Mr. C. It is only as I suggested before, they were drowned in the White Sea, according to reports I heard.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did you believe those reports?

Mr. C. I believed this was possible, on the basis of what I knew about the Russians.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How far is the White Sea from Ostashkov?

Mr. C. Hundreds of miles.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Approximately how many hundreds?

Mr. C. I can't tell.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You don't know?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You have heard, no doubt, since the discovery of the bodies at Katyn, that those at Starobielsk and at Kozielsk had read inscriptions on the trains, of where these men were going; haven't you?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. You have not heard that?

Mr. C. No. I can't tell because I didn't see it personally. I can tell only things which I experienced or saw myself.

Mr. PUCINSKI. But have you heard, in your subsequent study of this whole case, that some of the men did notice them?

Mr. C. No; I didn't.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I can tell you that some of the witnesses here did testify that they had seen inscriptions on the train, of their compatriots which were intended as a clue as to where they were going. The reason I ask you this question is to determine if you have any idea, any opinion, since you say there were no inscriptions on the train that you traveled in giving you some clue as to where your men from Ostashkov were sent?

Mr. C. I don't deny there were inscriptions, but I haven't seen them and, therefore, I can't describe them. But I don't deny it; it is possible.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And you have no idea why those names may not have appeared, or why these men didn't leave any clues as the others did?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is there anything else you would like to add to your statement at this time that might give us an opportunity to establish who was responsible for the disappearance of these men?

Mr. C. Personally, I believe that the slaughter of the Polish prisoners had been done by the Russians, because when we were searching for them in Russia and were waiting for them, the staff officers of the Polish Army, knowing that there is a big search going on, they couldn't tell us where the prisoners were. But when the Germans discovered the mass graves in 1943, they rapidly found out that they were at Smolensk in a camp from which nobody came out and nobody knows about such a camp.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did the Germans ever occupy, to the best of your knowledge, the camp at Ostashkov?

Mr. C. Yes. I have photographs, but I haven't them here, in an English magazine. In that camp are German prisoners.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I want to know whether the German Army, after the Germans invaded Russia in 1941—did the German Army ever reach Ostashkov?

Mr. C. Never in 1941.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Did they reach there subsequent to that?

Mr. C. I wasn't interested then.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As far as you know, they did not?

Mr. C. As far as I know, they weren't.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As far as you know, the German armies never occupied Ostashkov?

Mr. C. No.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As far as you know, when you left Ostashkov on April 4, 1940—

Mr. C. No; May 13, 1940.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Excuse me. As far as you know, when you left Ostashkov on May 13, 1940, there were approximately 70 more Poles remaining in that camp?

Mr. C. After my leaving the camp, about 70 people remained and came after me the next day into Pawlisczew Bor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Witness, I think you have answered all of our questions.

Does anyone else have any questions.

Chairman MADDEN. Are there any questions?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. DONDERO. No questions.

Chairman MADDEN. Is there anything further now?

Has anybody promised you any pay or emoluments to come here today to testify?

Mr. C. Heaven forbid.

Chairman MADDEN. Thank you for coming here today.

Mr. C. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PUCINSKI. At this time, Mr. Chairman, we will have Mr. Lunkiewicz, who is the custodian of the Polish archives of documents and files relating to the various correspondence and efforts made to clear up this matter of Katyn. Mr. Lunkiewicz has with him the

originals from their files and he has duly authenticated photostatic copies which he will then hand over to this committee.

TESTIMONY OF COLONEL LUNKIEWICZ—Resumed

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, you are the same Colonel Lunkiewicz who was called by the committee yesterday and sworn for the purpose of reappearing today and having in your custody and possession for the purpose of presenting to the committee certain documents of the London Polish Government; is that correct?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you now have with you such documents?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Yesterday you were requested by the committee, as far as time and circumstances would permit, to bring here with these documents a short statement in connection with each one as you proposed to introduce it; is that correct?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. A short statement about each document?

Mr. FLOOD. About each document that you intend to comment on.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. Now, what is the first document that you are prepared to present?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. May I speak generally of these documents first? All these documents were used by the Polish Investigation Committee for making a big report and an additional report. These two reports I gave yesterday to Congressman O'Konski, a big report of the Polish Government and an additional report.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, you are about to give us the title of certain reports prepared under the auspices and direction of the Polish London Government on the Katyn Massacre; is that correct?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What are the official titles of those reports?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. The official title of the first report is "Facts and Documents About Polish Prisoners of War in U. S. S. R."

Mr. FLOOD. Do both reports bear the same title?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. No.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the other one?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. The other one was after we got the additional evidence in 1947, a supplementary report of facts and documents concerning the Katyn Massacre.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me have those two documents, the original report and the so-called supplement. [Reports handed.] For the purposes of this record, we will mark the supplementary report of facts and documents concerning the Katyn Massacre as exhibit 32 and the other document will be marked as exhibit 33.

Colonel, I show you exhibits Nos. 32 and 33 and ask you whether or not these are the reports to which you have just referred?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. They are to be admitted. At this time the committee would like to state on the record that all of these documents and exhibits that are being presented by the colonel at this time will be marked for identification on the record and will be admitted with the understanding that only those parts of such documentary exhibits will be printed in the official record of these hearings as this committee

at the time sees fit and proper and considers material to the investigation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to add to that. The committee considers them all material, but only those we may consider as necessary will be printed.

Mr. FLOOD. Necessary and essential.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is right.

(Reports referred to were marked "Exhibit 32" and "Exhibit 33" and will be found in a separate volume, pt. 6, of this committee's record of proceedings.)

Mr. FLOOD. What is the next document, Colonel.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Documents produced to us for report, and now I present only some of the more important documents divided in three groups. The first group is concerning prison camps. The second is a question of discovery of the Commission of Polish Red Cross in the Kriwoserczew case. The third is the diplomat documents.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By that you mean the exchange of diplomatic notes between Poland and Russia?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Russian minutes of talks in conferences with Stalin, Molotov, Sikorski-Stalin conference, and so on, and certain special notes about missing Polish officers. The last is only four documents, not connected with the Katyn affair. Two of the documents were asked for by Mr. Pucinski and two documents are given by me. The first is the proclamation of Timoshenko that Mr. Pucinski yesterday asked about, and the second document is an instruction on how to deport the civilian population from Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have the original of that Timoshenko proclamation?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. No; I have not.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a copy?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. It is a photographic copy. I think the original is somewhere in London. Probably it is in the Sikorski Institute. I am not sure.

Mr. FLOOD. Is that all?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you let me have those documents in this order: First I want the document referring to the camps.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Here is the testimony of Mr. Komarnicki. It is the best relation about Kozielsk Camp. I also have the original report of Narcys Lopianowski, who was taken by the Russians to the Villa of Bliss, where the Reds tried to convert him to Communism.

Mr. FLOOD. Let me have the entire folder dealing with the camps. As I understand it now, this exhibit deals with comments and documents and written material dealing with the camps.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you have the stenographer mark that as Exhibit 34?

(The document referred to is an original document. It was marked "Exhibit 34" and subsequently withdrawn when exhibit 35, a photostatic copy of this document was introduced. Exhibit 34, the original, was returned to the witness.)

(Exhibit 35, English translation of the Komarnicki Report and Exhibit 35A, translation of the Lopianowski report follow:

[Translation copy of exhibit 35]

9-th Field Court Martial
Supreme Command of
The Armed Forces in London.

Sow: 29/43.

RECORD OF HEARING OF WITNESS

LONDON, the 21-st of May, 1943.
Time—11 a. m.

Criminal case against: N. N.

PRESENT:

Military Judge: Cpt. Aud. Dr. KURATOWSKI ROMAN,

Recorder: u. c. BAGINSKA STEFANIA.

The witness having been cautioned and informed in accordance with art. 81 of the Military Penal Code about the responsibility for making untrue statements and after having taken oath in accordance with the 83-rd art of the M. P. C. stated as follows:

- 1/ Name and Chr. name: KOMARNICKI WACLAW,
- 2/ Date and place of birth: 29.VII.1891, WARSAW,
- 3/ Names of parents: TYTUS and JOZEFA, born SUSZYCKA,
- 4/ Religion: Rom. Cat.,
- 5/ Family status: married,
- 6/ Nationality: Polish,
- 7/ Citizenship: Polish,
- 8/ Military rank: 2-nd/Lieut. of general conscription,
- 9/ Allocation: The Ministry of Justice,
- 10/ Relationship to parties concerned: no objections.

I was brought to Kozielsk with a transport of prisoners of war from the Ukraine in the beginning of November 1939. I had spent the first two months of captivity in the Sum'ska Oblast /district/ to the South of Kursk. I lived first in huts erected for the use of peat diggers /in Boloto near the Tiotkino railway station/ and then in the Sofrono monastery. The conditions of life were atrocious: we slept on an overcrowded floor; it was extremely cold in the huts and we were kept starving/ the only food we received was lentil soup and black bread /.

During those first two months the officers were being segregated from other ranks. The latter were removed from the camp and at least some of them found themselves back in Poland after having been handed over to the Germans. According to an account of N. K. V. D. Captain Wasilewski—which I heard from him in Giazowiec—the handing over was to have taken place in Brześć. I know of one such case which has been confirmed: a Warsaw practitioner Dr. Bauer, after having been taken from the Sofrono Monastery with a transport which left in October 1939, visited in Warsaw the wife of Zieliński [professor of the Poznań University] and is now in Palestine, after having escaped from German imprisonment.

After the other ranks had left [in groups formed according to the districts in which they had resided] the officers assembled in the Sum'ska District [there were 4 camps quartered in huts and one in the monastery] were directed by way of Briansk to Kozielsk.

In Kozielsk we found about a 100 other ranks left over from the inmates of the former camp which existed there. In that first camp there were allegedly many Bielo-Russians and Ukrainians who had initially adorned their breasts with red cockades which however soon vanished when disillusionment replaced their initial enthusiasm. I learned about this from the Rev. Canon Kamil Kantak, a professor of the Pińsk Seminary whom I had encountered in Kozielsk and who is now in the Carmelite Monastery in Baghdad.

Later on, other prisoners from other camps began to arrive. An unusually large transport arrived in the latter half of November from Szepietówka [Kazimierzak now in Nairobi] whose members complained of exceptionally hard conditions which had existed in that camp. In the beginning of December arrived a strongly guarded convoy counting well over a hundred persons which was placed in an isolated block of the camp, separated from the rest by barbed wire. It was allegedly composed of judges, military and civil prosecutors who had already received sentences of long term confinement in penal labour camps. From among these I recollect the name of Col. KORNILOWICZ. They looked awfully ill-treated and the only contact we had with them was in the latrines. In less than three weeks they were removed from our camps. If they were not sent to Ostaszków—and this was impossible in respect of those who had been already

sentenced—it is possible that some of them might be still in penal labour camps. Gen. WOLKOWICKI had a list of their names.

The Kozielsk camp was composed of two parts completely isolated one from the other. The first part was a cluster of former monastery buildings which in pre-Bolshevik times had been an Orthodox Seminary and since the revolution had been turned into a rest house named after Gorkij. [The prisoners paraphrased the name calling it "BITTER-REST HOUSE" instead of "GORKIJ'S REST-HOUSE". *Translator's note:* GORKIJ in Russian means BITTER]. The second part of the camp was the so called SKIT or "hermitage" where at one time the Bolsheviks had set up a rest house for mothers with babies.

The first part formed quite a little town surrounded by a high wall within which were 22 buildings called by the Bolsheviks "Corps", while the prisoners called them "Blocks".

Staff officers were separated from the subalterns and were concentrated: — Generals and colonels in blocks No. 7 and No. 22 while the majors were quartered in block No. 14 which stood in the nearest neighbourhood of block No. 7. An order existed of which nobody took any heed forbidding the inhabitants of one block to pay visits to other blocks. In particular anyone visiting block No. 7 was persecuted. In block No. 15 a few rooms were reserved for civilians. The camp had a hospital fairly adequately equiped, an infirmary, a pharmacy and Turkish baths. These sanitary arrangements were under the supervision of a Georgian doctor Gelenidze whose behaviour was full of sympathy for the prisoners. Polish doctors were employed in the maintenance of health with Col. STEFANOWSKI and Col. SZARECKI, acting as senior medical officers. The hygiene of the camp was entrusted to Lieut./Col. Dr. MILLAK, the kitchen was supervised by Cpt. Dr. WROCZYŃSKI.

There was a cinema within the camp, also a club with billiard tables and a reading room with Russian and foreign books. The interiors of the blocks were crammed with board beds sometimes in four condignations and they were stuffy, dark, full of dust, dirt, bugs and lice and at no time quiet. Only the blocks 7 and 22 where the staff officers were quartered had beds.

In the "Skit" there were several small barracks and one large block in which the kitchen was placed. The whole was meant to be a garden. I only spent one night there and therefore cannot describe in detail the lay-out of the "Skit".

In the "Skit" were quartered officers who had lived in the Soviet occupied part of Poland. They were given much better food. In the main camp the food, although better than in the UKRAINE, was very insufficient. We were always hungry. The administrative staff stole rations. In March 1940 the officers from the Soviet occupied zone were transferred to the main camp and mixed with the officers from the German and Lithuanian zones.

The total number of prisoners detained in Kozielsk can be accurately estimated. Incessant lists were being compiled in the camp for various purposes [general records, food rationing, camp outfit, medical for various inoculations, etc.]. We were assured that copies of all these lists were sent to Moscow. The Soviet Government had to have an accurate record. Further to that, various posts in the camp were entrusted to the prisoners themselves such as the senior officer of the camp, block commanders, etc. These functionaries kept strict records. Basing my calculation on those various lists I can estimate the strength of the camp to be round about 5,000 [closer to 4,700].

Included in this figure were a hundred other ranks, about a hundred ensigns and some forty civilians. /POHORECKI—President of the Codification Commission of the Polish Republic./ The rest were all officers.

Among the officers were the following generals: MINKIEWICZ [taken prisoner from his land allotment near Breześé and therefore even without his uniform but dressed in a very shabby light brown suit with knickerbocker trousers wrappers and a cyclist cap; the poor man was so embarrassed to show himself dressed like that that he mostly remained in block No. 7 from where he issued orders as the highest ranking Polish officer in the camp]. The other generals were: BOHATYREWICZ [pensioned], WOLKOWICKI and SMORAWINSKI [very active] and Rear-Admiral CZERNICKI. The number of colonels and lieut./colonels amounted to about a hundred and there were over 300 majors.

There were a few chaplains with the Rev. Prelate WOJTYNIAK, Deputy of the Field Bishop as their senior. Also the Rev. Prof. KANTAK, the Rev. Mjr. ZIOLKOWSKI, the Rev. Prof. NOWAK and Rev. Father SKOREZ. Occasionally the priests celebrated mass on Sundays, heard confessions and in general were very active. They were strongly persecuted by Soviet authorities. Three of them were held under arrest.

Further to the sum of military knowledge and value which the officers concentrated in Kozielsk represented, they were undoubtedly the pick and choice of the Polish intellectual elite. The most numerous were the doctors. There were quite a few university professors /PIENKOWSKI from Cracow, STRASZYNSKI and ZIELINSKI from Poznan, lecturer MISIURA from Warsaw, MORAWSKI and lecturer SIENICKI from the Warsaw Polytechnic College, KOMARNICKI, GODŁOWSKI and SWIANIEWICZ from Wilno/.

There were therefore numerous lectures given daily in the camp and they covered various fields of science. They were mostly forbidden by Soviet authorities /with a few exceptions/ who, however, did not persecute us unduly about them. Mjr. SKOCZYNSKI the "Senior" officer of block No. 10 edited together with Lieut. GINSBERT a "Bulletin of the 10-th block"; some 10 numbers of it were issued but they were finally caught at it and both were punished with a few weeks of arrest.

There was also one woman prisoner in the camp. A Mrs. LEWANDOWSKA but allegedly her true name was DOWBOR-MUSNICKA.

Commissar KORALIEW was the camp commander. However, it was Brigade Commissar /Kobrig/ ZARUBIN who, till the middle of April 1940, was the head of the camp authorities. He spoke many languages /German, French, English/ and had a general Soviet standard of education. In his talks with our high-ranking officers / in particular with Col. KUNSTLER / he showed strong political sympathies for the Germans.

As 2-nd in command we had N. K. V. D. Mjr. ELMAN—an Estonian, a silent and sickly man who was, however, polite in his behaviour towards the prisoners. From mid-April he took over ZARUBIN'S post.

ZARUBIN'S A. D. C. and his right hand was N. K. V. D. Cpt. ALEKS-ANDROWICZ a busy-body individual who catered for popularity among the prisoners by distributing small favours which were of tremendous value in prison-camp life such as the sending out of letters in advance of the prescribed time, the supplying of certain books, paints etc.

Another important functionary was Lieut. DEMIDOWICZ who was the camp's Commissar. In the political field were active: a certain Cpt. WASILEWSKI, a lawyer who claimed himself to be a Pole, a rather un-interesting character, also a drug-addict Lieut. GUBAJEW, while the administration was in the hands of a Lieut. BOGDANOWICZ who also maintained that he was a Pole.

Further to these there were numerous other political and administrative functionaries.

The six months during which the Polish officers remained in the Kozielsk camp were spent on the de-coding of their political affiliation. For this purpose a numerous staff of N. K. V. D. commissars experienced in carrying out inquests interrogated the prisoners. These hearings called "doprosy" were held night and day. They were different from normal inquests confined only to the sphere of military activities and, contrary to the latter, probed into the political and social opinions of each prisoner.

The prisoners were questioned as if they were criminals. Although, in principle, it was already a crime to be in the service of a "bourgeois Army" and to have taken part in the "world counter-revolution" against the Soviet Union, the inquests were aimed at picking out the qualified culprits such as the officers of the 2-nd Section/Intelligence Service/and those actively engaged in anti-communist activities, while the most commonly ascribed crime was the "endeavour to wrench away Bielorrussia and the Ukraine from the Soviet Union". We were questioned about our whole lives in particular to what political parties we belonged to which most of us answered that we were independent and non-party. This caused consternation among the questioners who could not understand how it was possible that intelligent people were not interested in politics. In the U. S. S. R. the principle is that everything is political, They were interested in our contacts with foreign countries. At that time the attitude of the Soviet authorities was distinctly pro-German. It was Great Britain who was mostly to blame for the outbreak of the war, by having used Poland as an implement to launch an aggression against Germany. Poland was always referred to as "the late Poland", /"Poland no longer does and never will exist again"/ and the Polish Army as "the late Polish Army", against which the questioned officers protested. Sympathizers of the Bolshevik regime were also sought for among those questioned. Two photographs, one "en face" and one from the profile, were taken of every single prisoner.

As a result of these investigations certain officers were removed from the camp either individually or in groups. One of the 24-th of December 1940

/Christmas Eve/the group of chaplains left the camp/with the exception of Father ZIOŁKOWSKI who was under arrest/. From among them only the Rev. Father KANTAK had been found later. He was a citizen of Gdańsk and had been in the meantime in the Ostaszków camp and in the Łubianka prison. On the 8-th of March 1940 a group of seven officers was removed. Of these only Col. LUBODZIECKI had been found alive later on. The officers were taken away to prisons, for further questioning and many of them were sentenced to corrective labour camps.

The prologue to the general evacuation was the removal of other ranks from the camp which took place in the middle of March 1940. Toegther with them was sent a lecturer of gynecology from the Wilno University whose name I no longer recollect. This departure was commented upon in two different ways: some said that our soldiers were being sent to work while optimists maintained that they were being sent to Poland and gave them messages to be passed on to their families. Anyhow the departure made a great impression on those remaining in the camp.

Rumors began to circulate about the liquidation of the camp which was to take place shortly. Initially the Soviet commissars talked about the breaking up of the camp into smaller units /"rozgruzenie"/, because of its overcrowding. "Its quite impossible to allow people to live in such a terrible congestion—think of what would happen if a disease broke out?"

When the regular evacuation started i. e. on the 6th of April 1940 the official comment given by the Soviet authorities was: "homeward bound". Those from under the Soviet occupied part of the country were to be sent to their respective places of residence, and the prisoners even began to worry that once they were going to lose their status of prisoners of war which after all did give them some hope of claiming rights under international law, that they would be "disposed of in no time" by local Soviet authorities. As to the prisoners whose residence was on German occupied territory, it was maintained that an agreement existed which stipulated their handing over to the Germans. When I asked cpt. ALEK-SANDROWICZ where they were going to send us he answered: "Westward—closer to your families". The same ALEKSANDROWICZ was supposed to have shown to col. MISIURA a frontier station on the map where the handing over of the prisoners to the Germans was to take place and where his camera would be returned to him. Under the influence of these hints spread by the Bolsheviks an atmosphere of joyful excitement seized the inmates of the camp. People left the camp without any fears, in excellent spirits. The authorities treated them not unkindly, at the time of departure and even the herrings supplied for the journey were wrapped up in clean white paper, a most unusual thing to happen in the U. S. S. R. At the research to which those leaving were submitted and which took place in block No. 21, the functionaries carrying out the search were dressed in white aprons and they confiscated all sharp implements and occasionally letters and notebooks.

Among the first to leave were three generals: MINKIEWICZ [dressed as a civilian as described above], BOHATYREWICZ and SMORAWINSKI. Also Col. STEFANOWSKI. The Bolsheviks arranged a farewell party at which they treated them to pancakes. The generals left in a radiant mood through rows of cheering officers who ranged themselves to bid them farewell. It happened on a beautiful, sunny, spring day.

From then on transports left nearly daily in groups of up to 200 persons. Sometimes there were a few days of interval but on some days one group left in the morning and another in the afternoon. On the 27-th of April the largest transport numbering about 400 people left the camp.

The order in which the prisoners were chosen for departure was accidental. We were unable to work out a clue as to how the choice was made. What happened was that in the morning an N. C. O. came to the block and called out the names of those who were to leave which he read from a slip of paper. Various ranks, zones of occupation and places of birth were all mixed together. The Bolsheviks maintained that they received their instructions by telephone from Moscow, the prisoners—that a parrot drew the names from a hat. In that way friends were separated and only one case was given consideration when father and son were sent together.

This mixing up of the groups which left was explained by the Bolsheviks by the fact that all were being sent to transit camps in which the sorting out was going to be carried out. We still thought it to be rather odd. From the 22-nd of April departures were interrupted till the 10-th of May. The prisoners remaining in the camp were all concentrated in one corner of the camp—in block No. 10. Silence and boredom reigned in the camp. It was beautiful springtime. Of the

staff officers only Rear-Admiral CZERNICKI, with whom I lived in one room now, and Mjr. KOPEC were left. We were awfully depressed at being left behind. However one of the Bolsheviks had whispered to one of the prisoners: "Don't grumble. The later you leave the more you win".

It was only on the 10-th of May that the disbandment was resumed. A small batch of up to twenty officers left and another group went on the 11-th. Rear-Admiral CZERNICKI left with that group. On the evening of the same day barbed wire was set up around block No. 10. I felt uncommonly depressed.

The next morning at 7 a. m. we were woken up and told that we were leaving. The names of those who were to stay behind were read out. There were 9 of them.

After breakfast when everything was ready we left. I accompanied Mjr. KOPEC who led the column. We were stopped at the gates of the camp. We waited there for quite a time under the blazing sun. I started talking with Commissar DEMIDOWICZ who stood leaning against the gate. He was the one who always formed the transports. "Where are we going?"—I asked. "You are going in the direction of Smoleńsk"—he answered.—"Is Smoleńsk a nice town?"—I asked. "It's a large and nice city but you will not see it"—replied DEMIDOWICZ./This was in conformity with what we had been told by the Bolshevik servicemen from Kozielsk who maintained that: "Your men are sent towards Smoleńsk". The escort and the railway team were always the same and returned to the camp after each transport/. "What are we waiting for?"—I asked the Commissar. "We are waiting for ELMAN who is speaking on the phone with Moscow". "I would like to see him"—I said—"because he had lent me a book from the library. 'The Gardemaryn'/a novel about the life of Imperial Navy cadets and about the revolution in Kronstadt/. ELMAN came up at last and taking DEMIDOWICZ aside talked to him for a while. A superficial search was carried out. We were loaded into lorries and left. It was a joy to drive through the open fields even though under strong escort. On the station which was about 3 km. from the camp/one stop from Kozielsk/we were loaded into prison railway coaches on which the name "BABYNINO" was scribbled in chalk. After a journey which lasted over 24 hours and was made in unheard of conditions we arrived to the Babynino Station and after remaining there for a good few hours we were transferred once again into lorries. It was Whit Sunday. The heat and dust were awful. We travelled 40 kms in the trucks. We finally arrived to Pawliszczew Bor and we were placed in the so-called Juchowski camp. We encountered there the group of officers from Kozielsk which had left on the 26-th of April. In that group were: Cols. SZARECKI, KUNSTLER, FELSZTYN, Commander ZEJMA, Lieut. GINSBERT and a number of ensigns. They were all dressed in clean underwear which had been just issued to them. The ensigns were playing net-ball.

A beautiful forest surrounded the camp but we were separated from it by barbed wire. We were led to a shower bath/the only one I had ever seen in the U. S. S. R./and then assembled in a dining room where there were tables covered with tablecloths. /Till now we had always eaten on our plank-beds/. The food we received was in more than ample portions.

The camp was under the command of Mjr. KADISZCZEW, who was very particular about discipline and even touchy about elegance in the camp. However a few days later arrived from Kozielsk: ELMAN, ALEKSANDROWICZ and WASILEWSKI together with most of the politruks. We were rather astonished to learn that they had all followed our group. "Your comrades have gone to Germany"—they assured us—"You will follow them soon".

Soon after that a group of officers arrived from the Starobielsk camp. They were also the last group to have left that camp / CZAPSKI, CZERNY, ŚLIZIEN and others /. A few days later about 180 men arrived from Ostaszków. There were 3 officers among them, the rest were policemen, other ranks, civilians and a few convicts from the St. Cross prison.

We left Pawliszczew Bor on June the 12-th. We travelled through Moscow where we were held up for 24 hours. On the 18-th of June we arrived to GRIAZOWIEC in the Vologda district. We found the same old team of our Kozielsk politruks already there: ALEKSANDROWICZ, ELMAN, WASILEWSKI.

The correspondence with our families, (one letter per month), had been interrupted since the end of February. [On March the 4-th KOMBRIG ZARUBIN left Kozielsk for Moscow, as it became known later on, for the purpose of discussing there the problems of our evacuation. I remember the date so well because he had arranged to interrogate me on that day promising to talk to me "three to four hours" ["Tri-czetyrie czasika"] and I was rather scared of that interview and therefore very happy when the Kombrig left for Moscow on the same

day]. In Pawliszczew Bor letters to our families were collected only once but we found later that they never were sent. Correspondence with our families was re-established only late in September 1940 from Gрязowiec. However a new rule had been imposed forbidding us to write in our letters about any of our comrades. We began to receive enquiries from families of those who had left Kozielsk "to go home". We were unable to answer these enquiries but it became plain that none of the others had reached either German occupied territories or Germany proper.

As late as the last days of August, at one of the long inquests /"dopros"/, which lasted 5 hours, ELMAN promised me that "you will be sent home as have been all your comrades—your turn has come now"—but after that no mention was made about it and when late in Autumn I once asked WASILEWSKI whether we would ever be sent home he answered: "Did you ever hear about prisoners of war being released while the war lasted? It may be that you will remain to live in the Soviet Union even after the war". "What about our comrades who had been sent to the German occupied zone?"—I asked. "That is a different matter"—answered WASILEWSKI and changed the subject.

Another time he complained to me that he "a political functionary of the Smoleńsk district" was ordered to come to this Northern country for two months only and now he was kept here so long, in this rotten climate which affected his health.

And in fact we were ordered to organize the camp as if we were meant to stay in it for good. We were allotted plots of land for planting vegetables. Hitherto forbidden Polish lectures were given approval. A Russian woman was appointed organiser of our cultural and educational life. We were allotted a monthly quota of books which was fixed at 14 kilograms a month. Food had improved considerably. We were granted a monthly wage which amounted to 20 roubles for officers and 10 roubles for the other ranks. We were supposed to remain thus till the end of the war. We were released on the strength of the Agreement signed in July 1941.

Before it happened, towards the end of June 1941,—1300 more prisoners were sent to the camp among them a thousand officers treated as "internees", who had been captured in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. On the other hand officers of German nationality were removed from the camp.

The worst month of the entire captivity was July 1941. A special commission from Moscow came to the camp before which officers were summoned individually, mostly those who were of greater potential military value. Before the interview started they were requested to sign an undertaking that everything that was going to be said during the hearing would be kept strictly secret under the penalty of several years of imprisonment. After which they were coaxed to join the Red Army and threatened that all who refuse would be executed. A few officers were removed from the camp. But the general attitude of the officers remained unyielding and the exceptions were few and were confined to those who attended the so called "Red Corner gatherings." The Soviet commissars usually got the answer: "We are soldiers of the Polish Army. We have our own Supreme Commander in the person of General Sikorski. We will report to wherever he tells us to report."

The Bolsheviks cut our food rations by half. Hunger spread. The camp unrelentingly resisted to yield. The discussions with the commissars became more and more heated. On the 31-st of July, the day of the signing of the Soviet-Polish Pact the attitude of the Bolsheviks changed abruptly for the better and shortly after Polish authorities took over the control of the camp.

In answer to the appropriate questions put to him the witness replied: from among those who were removed from Kozielsk I have never seen again neither have I heard anything about:

Prof. of the Cracow University Mjr. PIENKOWSKI,

Prof. of the Wilno University Lieut. GODŁOWSKI

Prof. of the Warsaw Polytechnic School Lieut. MORAWSKI;

Generals: MINKIEWICZ, SMORAWINSKI, Rear-Adm. CZERNICKI, BOHATYREWICZ;

Clergymen: The Rev. Mjr. ZIOLKOWSKI, The Rev. Father SKOREL, The Rev. Col. NOWAK, The Rev. Col. WOSTYNIAK—Deputy Field Bishop, The Rev. Col. PESZKE, The Rev. Minister Col. KORNIŁOWICZ;

Doctors: MOGILNICKI—from Łódź, Mjr WIRSZYŁŁO—from Warsaw, Cpt. ZALEWSKI Jerzy—St. Lazarus Hospital in Warsaw, Cpt. WROCZYNSKI—former Deputy Minister of Health, KEPINSKI—optician from Warsaw, STEFANOWSKI—from Warsaw, ZUBERBIER—from Warsaw, Cpt. FREIDA and KALICINSKI—from Warsaw, ROGOZINSKI,—Col. NELKEN;

Also: Col. DZIURZYNSKI—brother of the Prof. of Cracow University, Lieut. WIRSZYLO—solicitor from Wilno, Col. LEWAKOWSKI—from the Geographical Institute, Col. MARYNOWSKI—from Wilno, retired Col. OLSZOWSKI—from Southern Poland, Col. LEUKOS-KOWALSKI—Commander of the Riflemen's Association, Engineer SREBRNY—brother of the prof. of Wilno University, the Deputy President of the District Court of Appeal in Wilno whose name I forget, Mjr. SKOCZYCKI, Col. ROSNOWSKI—Prof. of the Wilno University, the Custodian of the Artizans' Museum in Warsaw in the rank of a major but whose name I forget.

I cannot recollect any more names for the moment.

I wish to add that in January 1941 I was summoned to the camp Command in Giazowiec by N.K.V.D. Capt. WASILEWSKI who read to me a report sent from Wilno that ALEKSANDER ZWIERZYNSKI who lived in Wilno had allegedly stated that we had often talked before the war about the necessity of detaching Bielorussia and the Ukraine from the Soviet Union. I denied this, following which, the statement was forwarded to Moscow, and after a few weeks the inquest against me was discontinued of which I was informed, being told at the same time that I had been put on the list of the group of officers who were to be extradicted to the Germans.

Upon which the hearing ended at 11,30 a. m. and after the record had been read over it was signed.

/Signatures/.

Bagińska,

Wacław Komarnicki,
Kuratowski, Lieut. Aud.

[Translation copy of Exhibit 35A]

RECORD OF STATEMENT:

Taken down in writing on the 13-th October 1942 in the office of the II Section of the 1-st Armoured Corps Command/Dept. of Counter-Espionage/by Cpt. Giedronowicz N. and given by Cpt. Lopianowski Narcyz and relating to the subject of "Malachówka".

Cavalry Cpt. Lopianowski Narcyz, born 29-th Oct. 1898 in the country estate Stoki—county of Wilno, son of Ignacy and Mary, born Woronków; Religion: Rom. Cat. Regular officer states as follows:

The outbreak of the German-Polish war found me in Augustów in the 1-st Lancers Regiment as commander of their anti-aircraft defence unit. I took active part in air battles; I was then sent, in accordance with our mobilisation plans to the 101-st Lancers Reg. which was being formed in Białystok. On the 6-th of September 1939 in fights with German airmen in the neighbourhood of Starosielce I brought down a ME109 aircraft and damaged another one. I was using then a German Ac-ac gun No. 34 which we had taken from the enemy. In the night of 6-7-th Sept. I moved together with my regiment to Wołkowysk where we were joined to the group "Wołkowysk" commanded by Gen. Przeździecki.

On the 20-th Sept. we had our first encounter with the Bolsheviks in Dzieńbrowo. The Soviet infantry was destroyed and the prisoners taken were shot. The tanks extricated themselves without losses. It was a cavalry charge. During the night of Sept. 21-st our units occupied Grodno after having forced the Bolsheviks out of the town. The fighting in the suburbs of Grodno lasted till noon of the 21-st Sept. On the 22-nd Sept. a battle took place in Kodziówka. The Red Army threw 40 tanks against us of which 17 remained on the battle-field and their infantry was wiped out. The entire 101-st Regiment was engaged in the fight. Our losses included Mjr. Żuchnowski—O. C. of the Regiment, two squadron commanding officers, one platoon commander. The casualties of the 2-nd Squadron which was under my command amounted to 50% of the men and 75% of the horses. In this battle I commanded a group of 2 squadrons. The O. C. of the Regiment personally led the other half of the Regiment. The day was ours. The Bolshevik casualties amounted to 800 men. In spite of all my attempts to stop them the Lancers finished off the wounded and the prisoners.

On the 23-rd of Sept. 1939 at 8 p. m. the Regiment crossed the Lithuanian frontier on orders of our Group Commander Gen. Przeździecki. When crossing over the border we had practically no ammunition left. In Lithuania we were interned in the camps of Rakiszki and Kaūwaria.

On the 11-th of June 1940 following the Soviet occupation of Lithuania we were transferred to prisoner of war camp in Kozielsk in the Ukraine. On Sept. the 9-th

1940—21 of us with Gen. Przeździecki at the top of the list were transferred to the "Butyrki" prison in Moscow. This group included among others:

- 1/. Gen Przeździecki,
- 2/. Lieut Col. Konczyk,
- 3/. Mjr. Zaorski Kazimierz,
- 4/. Mjr. /now col./ Gudakowski,
- 5/. Mjr. Stoczkowski,
- 6/. Artil. Capt. Święciecki,
- 7/. Cpt. /now mjr./ Ziobrowski,
- 8/. Cavalry Cpt. Pruszyński Andrew /Brother of Xavier/,
- 9/. Lieut. Tacik,
- 10/. Lieut. Siewierski,
- 11/. Lieut. Tomala,
- 12/. Lieut. Szumigalski.

I cannot recollect the names of the others. We were first placed in cell No. 94. After a short inquest Gen. Przeździecki together with 10 other officers were transferred to the Łubianka prison. I was interrogated,—I learned his name only later,—by the Chief of Staff of the N. K. V. D., Lieut. Col. Jegorov. He was about 40, slightly over average height, well build, light blond with a lean clean shaven face. He was elegantly dressed in a military N. K. V. D. uniform. After a short questioning about my health, morale etc. he asked me about my family, where I came from, was I married, had I any children, was I a regular officer and had I given up the idea of fighting against the Germans. The conversation lasted about 10 to 15 minutes and took place between midnight and 1 a. m. I was then sent back to the cell.

Two days later we were transferred to the Lubianka prison as mentioned above. They placed us in cell No. 62, very small and dark, with a small little electric bulb attached to the ceiling which was lit day and night. After having been put through a number of formalities such as the checking of our identity and personal details, having been photographed a number of times from all possible angles we were given a supper and were allowed to go and rest. At midnight Gen. Przeździecki was summoned for interrogation. 10 minutes later my turn came and I was called out and led in the company of a N. K. V. D. Lieut. Colonel and two guardsmen through various corridors till we came up to an iron door in the wall. This turned out to be a passage which connected directly the Lubianka prison with the N. K. V. D. Beyond the iron door we found ourselves in a wide corridor with coconut mats on the floor. At the far end of the corridor was a board with "IV floor—main entrance" written on it and a marble plate with the following inscription:—"Member of the N. K. V. D.—take example from the Chekists of how to destroy the people's enemies". Beneath were inscribed the names of those who had given their lives in the fight for "freedom". As first figured the name of "Felix Dzierżyński" inscribed in guilt letters. After passing several more corridors and staircases we stopped before a door numbered 523. The N. K. V. D. Lieut. Colonel who accompanied me took off his cap before that door and tried to peep through the key-hole. He then opened the door and went in leaving me behind. A moment later he summoned me to enter; I found myself in a very large room with walls covered with grey tapestries and luxurious office furniture. To the right, very close to the entrance I noticed an ash-wood cupboard of abnormal height. That cupboard caught your eye against the background of the grey tapestries. Upon the words: "go ahead" which a female clerk present in the room uttered the N. K. V. D. colonel opened the cupboard with a little key and disappeared behind the door. My two guards ordered me to stand with my face to the wall. After some time a voice invited me to enter the cupboard. I went in, found myself before a door and a dark red curtain. I waved it aside and entered another room. The Soviet Lieut. Colonel remained in the neighbouring room behind me. Before me I saw JEGOROV sitting in an armchair behind a desk. To his left stood a man in civilian clothes with a blank expression on his face. Another man dressed in a grey civilian suit was pacing the room in quick unsoldiery steps with his hands behind his back. /Four months later I saw these two men on a photograph and learned that the man with the blank face was Mergulov—a Security Commissar and the other one was Berja the N. K. V. D. Commissar. On Jegorov's request I sat down in an armchair which stood before the desk. After preliminary questions about my health etc. he asked me why we were overcome so swiftly by the Germans in 1939. I answered that we succumbed not to the Germans alone but also to the Bolsheviks who thrust a knife into our backs. Did I fight against the Bolsheviks in 1939?—Yes.—"Where"?—I did not give an answer to that and told them that being an officer I am not allowed to answer that question. They did not raise this matter again.

"What do you think about the present situation?"—I answered that nothing had changed and that Poland was in a state of war with the Bolsheviks—"Where do you know this from?"—I replied that Sikorski's Government issued a declaration to that effect in October 1939. To which Jegorov said—"The Sikorski Government is an imposterous Government which has nothing to say in Polish matters. The Polish Nation will form its own Government". He then asked—"And how do you like the Soviet system introduced on the Soviet occupied territories?"—I answered that I can understand their behaviour in respect of the soldiers and men who were capable of fighting against the Bolsheviks but what was the offence committed against them by the innocent children and unhappy women to cause them to be deported to Siberia and to the North in order that they may perish there from hunger and cold. Col. Jegorov answered that we should be grateful to them because our women and children were taken away in order to save them from the vengeance of the local inhabitants.

Merkulov asked me only one question—"Why are you so stupid—you are a brave officer and yet you are incapable of understanding "the great issues".—

Upon which ended the inquest on the first day. Having returned to our cell I related to Gen. Przeździecki and my other comrades what I was asked about and in what form. Gen. Przeździecki informed us that the questions put to him were similar with the difference that he was also asked on what conditions would he agree to organise Polish units in the U. S. S. R. The General had answered that if he receives an order to that effect from London he would execute it.

I would like to mention additionally that I was also asked by Jegorov whether I would agree to co-operate in the organising of a Polish Army on U. S. S. R. territory. I answered that being an officer I would always do it on orders from my Commander-in-Chief. I heard sarcastic laughter and the next question was:—"And would you do it on receiving such orders from any particular general?"—I answered that I would comply with the orders of any man duly authorised by the Government in London.

Similar inquests were repeated frequently and lasted till the second half of December 1940. All the interrogations were conducted in more or less the same manner.

In November the question of my wife and of my two children,—aged 3 and 6, was raised. When to a question put to me by Col. Jegorov I replied that my wife was in Warsaw, I was told that was "a mockery on my part". /My wife together with my children was in the hands of the N. K. V. D. for 6 months and had escaped to Warsaw with the help of my soldiers in May 1940/. Two weeks later I was summoned up once again and I was allowed to write a letter to my wife to Warsaw. At that occasion Col. Jegorov told me that my wife had in fact "disappeared somewhere" and that what I had said was true and that he only wanted me to inform him by what means did my wife manage to escape. I answered that I was most grateful to the N. K. V. D. authorities for helping my wife to escape because I could not believe that a helpless woman with a couple of babies could have possibly escaped otherwise onto the German side having to go through a couple of rows of barbed wire and through trenches. Round about the 20-th of December 1940, Gen. Przeździecki renewed his request—made I do not know how many times already before—that we be given a larger cell because in the small one we were kept in, the eleven of us literally suffocated. After a major row the General was led to the Chief of Staff of the N. K. V. D. from where he came back with an assurance that we were going to be given better accommodation.

And in fact on the 24-th of December the General together with 5 other officers were removed from the cell. Those who remained were: Cpt. Lopianowski, Lieut. Siewierski, Lieut. Szumigalski, Lieut. Tomala and Lieut. Tacik. That evening we wished one another a happy Christmas. About 8 p. m. the door was suddenly opened and a man dressed in the uniform of a Polish colonel entered the cell. He was accompanied by a man in civilian clothes. The colonel gave his name as—Gorczyński. The civilian introduced himself as Staff Col. Berling. Both were without caps and coats. After short greetings Col. Berling tried to engage us into conversation solely on political topics. Not inclined to talk to strangers we answered very reluctantly. In the meantime, on Col. Berling's request a supper for two was brought to the cell from a restaurant. Col. Berling invited us to have also a supper which could be brought on his orders from a restaurant. This deepened even more our suspicions that these were not prisoners like we were but men sent to us for some special reasons. The more so that Col. Berling was unable to explain to us why were they looking so well if they were

kept in jail. Lieut. Tacik who could not resist from being dragged into the discussion, very vehemently protested against accusations which Col. Berling raised against Poland and the Polish Nation. That visit lasted about two hours. When Col. Berling knocked on the door of the cell it was opened and our guests left, assuring us, that we would meet again on the following day. The next day on the 25-th of December I was summoned for the first time in the morning hours to a hearing. Col. Jegorov handed to me a letter from my wife. Although the letter was sealed, when taking it from the Colonel I noticed a Russian translation of it. I had to read the letter in the presence of Col. Jegorov and some other individual who sat in an armchair in the shadow in such a way that I could not recognise his face. I, on the other hand, had been placed in the only armchair opposite the desk of Jegorov with my face turned towards the light. /Room No. 507/. Col. Jegorov suddenly asked me casually:—"Why did you fight in 1939 against the Red Army?"—I replied that I am an officer, that I was in command of the detachment and it was my duty. The Colonel told me then in a brutal form that—"In that battle several excellent Soviet soldiers were killed and how did you dare to do it and to incite your lancers to fight against the Bolsheviks?"—He wanted me to tell him what methods I had used to force my soldiers to fight with such determination. I answered that they were Polish soldiers who fought in the performance of their duty and in defence of their honour. The individual who sat in the armchair turned to Jegorov and said in a quiet voice:—"Leave him alone, he only did his duty".

After I had returned to the cell we received orders to eat quickly our dinner and prepare ourselves for departure. About 2 p. m. on the same day a Lieut. Colonel whom I had already met before / the one who had conducted the preliminary interrogations came to our cell and bid us to follow him. We went after him and we were not even astonished that we were not accompanied by guards. Downstairs in a closed courtyard passenger cars awaited us. We got into one of them together with the Lieut. Colonel. Our things were shoved into the second car. We drove alongside the river Moskwa and our guide pointed to us the bridges built across the river the theatre and, in the distance, the Kremlin. I could not make out in what direction we were driving. Only after about 30 km. we passed a bridge over a railway track and on a crossroad I saw a road-sign which informed that our road led to Riazan'. After having covered about 40 km. counting from Lubianka we turned into a forest lane from which the snow was cleared. We arrived to a fence. The gate was opened by a Soviet soldier. The car stopped before a villa. A group of men came out to greet us. They were unequally dressed—some in Polish officers' uniforms, some in civilian clothes others in a combination of both. I recognised among them Col. Gorczyński. Col. Berling greeted us as if we were expected guests and led us into a dining room for tea. After that he showed us our bedroom which had seven beds. In this room further to our group lived ensign Kukuliński and Lieut. Szczypiński who was to join us later.

A short characteristic of the villa: it was modern with central heating and a bathroom with constant hot and cold water. The house had 7 rooms and a kitchen. One of the rooms was used as a dining room and in it lectures and talks took also place. The furnishing of the bedrooms seemed to me then to be luxurious. Spring beds with mattresses, quilted bed covers, feather pillows, divans and even soft armchairs. The service was female—two young chambermaids, a woman cook with aristocratic features and a male cook called Fomicz / from the Kremlin /, a footman to polish the floors and chop the wood and a few Soviet soldiers. The rules were: freedom of movement within the enclosure was unrestricted from 8 a. m. till 9 p. m. During the night we were forbidden to leave the house under the pretext that there were vicious hounds which could do us harm. One evening I decided to go out to find out whether that was true and all I discovered was a Soviet soldier sitting on wires which were drawn across between the two doors. He was fast asleep with his face turned towards our entrance door.

On the 31-st of December 1940 Col. Jegorov arrived and asked Col. Berling to pass on to us all his best New Year wishes. He also declared that in accordance with Polish customs he wished to arrange for us a New Year's party. The details were fixed between Jegorov and Berling. We were not allowed to enter the dining room till 11 p. m. At 11 p. m. Berling invited us to come in and we found the tables covered with white table-cloths and laden with cold meat, fresh fruit, brandy, red and white wine. . . . Waitresses attended. After completing all preparations the servants were offered a glass of brandy and then left the house.

At midnight the "International" was played on the radio. With a few exceptions the Polish officers stood to attention. The first to do so was Col. Tyszyński.

When the tones of the "International" had died out, Lieut. Szczypiorski raised the toast: "Long live the Communist Party!"—I crushed the glass I held in my hand and left the dining room. The officers who had arrived with me followed me out. Next day, early in the morning Col. Berling had a long / and hour and a half / speech to us in which he tried to smooth out the incident. He explained that those were Communist excesses, that he himself was not and never would be a Communist but that there were many things which we should understand and which we were most surely going to understand after we had stayed here long enough. This lecture was given to us in our bedroom. None of the occupants of the villa who had been there before our arrival was present.

After the 15-th of February 1941, Col. Berling suggested that we ask the Soviet authorities to send us portraits of the leading men who ruled the Soviet Union with the purpose of hanging them on the walls of our villa. I looked at him like I would at a madman and declared that it was impossible that he, a Polish officer held in prison could ask his enemies for such a thing. Cpt. Rosen-Zawadzki turned to me and asked:—"What do you mean by that? You are no longer in prison".—I answered that whether in the Butyrki prison, in the Lubianka jail or here in this villa I was always a prisoner. Maybe only in slightly better conditions here. In a resigned tone Cpt. Rosen remarked:—"Oh well—in that case it is hopeless to talk to you about it". Col. Berling announced that we were going to vote to decide this question and did not allow us to discuss the matter. The voting was to take place in the following manner: Each of us would go to Col. Berling's room and place a little card on a plate lying on the table in the presence of Col. Bukojemski. On the card we were to write the symbol of plus for "yes" and of minus for "no". The card was to be folded. On Berling's request I took a card lying on the table and with a sharp pencil I drew a line across it making a hole in it. It was supposed to be a "minus". Without folding up the card I put it on the plate. I thought that the secret voting would reveal a majority which understood that to make such a request was a disgrace not only on the part of an officer but of every Pole. I thought that the four officers who had arrived with me would vote against the motion and also that ensign Kukuliński would do the same. I also counted partly on Mjr. Lis, Col. Gorczyński and on one or two others. After the counting of the votes by Col. Berling and Col. Bukojemski it turned that out there were 12 votes supporting the proposal, 2 were against and one card was blank. I learned later that the other card against was cast by Mjr. Lis and the blank one by ensign Kukuliński. All the others voted in favour. The portraits were hung on the walls. When hanging the portrait of Kaganowicz over my bed Col. Berling remarked sarcastically:—"I hope that this won't cause you to have cramps, captain" I replied that it was of no significance whatever to me and that if he wished he could paste the entire walls of the villa with such portraits once it had already happened that a Polish officer had sent such a disgraceful request to the Soviet authorities.

In the second half of March 1941 Col. Berling requested all officers who had assembled for dinner that they lend their support to the proposal of sending a declaration which had been drafted by Lieut. Col. Dudziński and which ran more or less as follows: "We, the undersigned officers of the Polish Army declare that the Polish Nation had been hitherto deceived and exploited by the proprietor's class. It was only the Soviet Union which had pointed out the right way by means of which happiness could be brought to all men".—The declaration ended with the sentence:—"A great part of the Polish Nation has already benefited from the Stalinist Constitution. Let us hope that the time will come as soon as possible in which the remainder of Poland will also join and become one of the happy nations of the Soviet Union".—I quote only a short synopsis of the text of this declaration not being able to reconstruct it in full from memory. The quoted passages modestly reflect what it contained and anyhow do not change its character of a declaration of homage and servile submission.

Col. Berling told us that this was Col. Dudziński's suggestion, his proposal and his draft and that we should immediately proceed with the voting as to whether to send this declaration or not. Remembering the sad experience in the matter of portraits I tried to prevent the voting. I clutched frantically with my hands at a great wrought iron vase / probably originating from some aristocratic residence / and did my best not to hurl it at Berling's head. I requested that the voting be abandoned anyhow for the time being. Berling asked:—"Why should we?"—2-nd Lieut. Imach noticed that I was on the brink of bursting out and asked me whether I was ill.—"Not I"—I retorted—"probably all of you, gentlemen, must be ill".—Anyhow Lieut. Imach supported by suggestion arguing that this was indeed a most important problem and that it would be advisable to wait

a few hours with the voting. Col. Berling agreed and left the dining room. I followed him to his room and asked him to be allowed to talk to him. I then said:—"Do you really intend to permit this voting to take place?"—He answered in the affirmative. I tried to persuade him that nothing worse could happen after that, that it was bad enough that such an idea could have ever been conceived, that it would have been better to disregard it completely since the very thought of such a thing was disgraceful to any Polish officer. Col. Berling tried to convince me that the signing and sending of such a letter would increase the confidence the Soviet authorities had in us which was the most important thing from our point of view. I replied that it was beyond me why we should strive for gaining the confidence of people who had done us so much wrong and with whom we were in a state of war. Col. Berling burst into a rage and exclaimed that I was incapable of understanding "the great issues" and requested me to tell him I really had against the signing of that kind of a slip of paper. I told him that I did not want to have anything to do with the henchmen of the Polish Nation and I have no intention of gaining their confidence. Col. Berling angrily, told me that he did not believe that those were my true motives for refusing to sign that paper and that he wants to know the truth as to what were the aims I really had in mind in acting as I did. To which I answered that for the offense contained in his words he should pay me with his blood.—Not being able to act in the customary way I declared that I had nothing else to do but to leave the room asking him to request immediately the Soviet authorities that I be removed from this place. I then left the room. I had a nervous breakdown that evening—my temperature jumped up to 104°. On the same evening the voting over Dudziński's proposal took place. Before the voting started Col. Berling explained that Col. Gorczyński and Capt. Łopianowski would not take part in it—the first because he was afraid of the repercussions which the German authorities might apply to his family which was under German occupation—the second because of his lack of confidence in the Soviet Union.

I must add here that Col. Gorczyński had declared already earlier that he would not take part in the voting for the given reasons. The voting took place and the proposal was approved unanimously. I remained two days in bed with a high temperature. On the second day /it was Sunday/ I went out of the house before 8 a. m. to take a breath of air. Mjr. Lis noticed me and came up to me. He told me that I had done very well in condemning the action of Berling and of the other officers, that he fully agreed with me and that he would not sign that declaration. Before noon on the same day the declaration was signed by all—including Mjr. Lis.

Col. Berling, Cpt. Zawadzki and Col. Bukojemski came several times to my bedside urging me to change my mind and to sign the declaration. Those sleeping with me in the same room also begged me to sign it, arguing that being the eldest of our group if I left them they would be unable to counteract the reactionary behaviour of the other inhabitants of the villa who had been in it longer than we had. While I was in bed Col. Berling paid me a visit together with Cpt. Zawadzki on the 24-th of March 1941 for the last time. They tried to prove to me that it was my duty to comply; they spread before me mirages of a glorious future in which I appeared as commander of a regiment stationed in Warsaw; that I would spend my leave in the sunny Caucasus and indulge to my heart's content in my hobby of hunting. Determined to end once and for all similar conversations I begged Col. Berling to grant me the greatest of favours, namely to persuade the Soviet authorities that they shoot me on the steps of the villa in the hope that this would bring them all back to their senses. Berling answered:—"Well,—in that case,—there is nothing more to be done". That was our last interview. That declaration was never sent in its original wording because it was censured by our "three communists"/Cpt. Zawadzki, 2-nd Lieut. Imach and 2-nd Lieut. Szczypiński—who decided that the Soviet authorities might feel insulted by the phrase—"we the undersigned officers of the Polish Army"—and that this should be changed into—"we the undersigned officers of the LATE Polish Army". The amendment was approved but the declaration had to be re-written. This was done by Lieut. Szumigalski. Three officers did not sign this new copy of the declaration, namely: Col. Gorczyński, Cpt. Łopianowski and Mjr. Lis. Initially Lieut. Siewierski also refused to sign it but by some means which I cannot understand they finally induced him to do it. The declaration was handed to Col. Jegorov who after consulting with Col. Berling summoned us all to the dining room and made the following declaration:

"Some of you accuse the Soviet Union that it treats badly your women and children who have been deported. I, therefore, officially declare that all Polish

families live in very good conditions, that every family has its own room and larger families have even two. Does that satisfy you?

The last question was aimed at me. I replied that I did not believe it.

On the 26-th of March at noon a car drove up to the villa. Mjr. Lis and I received the order to take seats in the car side by side with the guards. We were driven to the N. K. V. D. and led once again into room No. 523 through the cupboard door which we already knew. Col. Jegorov who was sitting behind his desk ordered the two guardsmen to leave the room. He then started telling us in a raised voice that we were ungrateful, that we were incapable of appreciating the goodness of the Soviet Government. He turned to me:—"You, Lopianowski, who are you? You so brave an officer, so martial. . . . Your name could be inscribed one day in historical annals. And now you want to be more clever and more worthy than Berling or Wanda Wasilewska".—I told him that I was only an officer. Col. Jegorov went on talking on this subject for a long time. I did not give any answers, which ended in his saying:—"You do not say anything. Take care that you are not silenced for ever".—I said then:—"I renew my plea—which was—shoot me. . . ." Col. Jegorov turned then with a few words to Mjr. Lis, repeating once again that we were ungrateful. He ended up by getting up from his seat and, standing to attention, he informed us that by order of the Supreme Commissar we would be placed in the Butyrki prison. He then rang the bell for two wardens who drove us to the Butyrki prison, where we were placed in cell No. 95. There we encountered Col. Künstler Stanislas, Col. Morawski (retired) and Lieut. Tacik whom I greeted with the greatest joy as the only person whom I knew. I immediately related to all present—especially to Col. Künstler—the whole story of the "Malachówka" villa. I was afraid that Col. Künstler would not believe me but it turned out to be the opposite and he did all he could to help me in regaining my mental balance. I owe it to him that my state swiftly improved. I only avoided Col. Morawski, of whom I had heard, while still in the villa, that he had sent a memorandum to the Soviet authorities about the formation of a Polish Government and of Polish red rifle-men's units under his command.

On the 28th of March 1941 at 3 p. m. I was summoned to a hearing. Leaving the cold and damp cell I found myself in a warm corridor and then I was shoved through an iron door into a large hall in which a large number of women walked to and fro smoking cigarettes. I crossed the hall to the opposite side. I was told to stand with my face to the wall. The wall in this place subsided and I was pushed into a round chamber which had the shape of a well of about 3 and a half yards in diameter which had an oval shaped cupola instead of a ceiling. The walls were of a steel-like colour, the light coming through from the middle of the well allowing to discern the contents. The light was of a greenish shade. In the middle of the well stood an antique chair. On closer inspection I noticed that the back of the chair must have been frequently used because the paint was worn out in places. I tried to move the chair. It was light and was not fixed to the floor. However I hesitated whether I should sit down or not. After some time I felt a drowsiness overcoming me as a result of the warmth. I sat on the chair and fell asleep. A voice woke me up. I opened my eyes and saw an opened door before me with a curtain hanging over it and again I heard the voice beckoning me to enter. I went through the door and found myself in a large room. From behind a desk an N. K. V. D. captain rose to greet me and asked me about my health. I refused to shake his outstretched hand. He asked me to take a seat in an armchair by the desk. After a long conversation with no particular point or aim he explained that he was Col. Jegorov's commissary and asked me whether I had not changed my mind and if I would not like him to communicate something to Jegorov on my behalf. I told him that everything I had to say—I had said already long ago, and that I had nothing to add. He repeated his question three times intermixing the whole with casual and polite conversation. When at the third time I answered asking him to thank Jegorov for his friendly concern the captain rose from his seat came up to me and with an outstretched hand said:—"What a pity, what a pity—you are an honest man". This time I did shake his hand and left. It was my last interview with a representative of the N. K. V. D.

I wish to mention that in the middle of February one day Mjr. Lis condemned in very harsh words the fact of the disappearance of Poland from the Soviet map / a new edition /, which simultaneously retained however Abyssinia in its original frontiers. I had myself pointed this out to Mjr. Lis. Col. Berling reacted violently to this remark made by Lis, shouting:—"Damn you, Lis, shut up!"—A stormy interview followed in Berling's private room.

On the 1-st of April 1941 we received orders to make ready for departure. From 6 a. m. a survey and searches were carried out. In the afternoon we were transferred into a large waiting room. The doors suddenly opened and I saw Gen. Przeździecki entering followed by the other officers whom I had left in cell No. 94 of the Butyrki prison. After short greetings and yet another search we were all loaded into prison vans and driven to the station where we were transferred into a railway prison coach. The train took us to a station called Putywel. After unloading we were driven in lorries to an isolated camp in a former orthodox monastery. I do not know the name of that monastery. It is situated over the river Sejma close to the railway station Werba in the Ukraine. We regained our strength there because the conditions were not bad and we were allowed to make the most of the fresh air during daylight of course within the limits of the enclosure surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by soldiers.

On the 15-th of June 1941 we were loaded once again into prison railway trucks on the Putywel station and sent through Moscow to the station of Gрязowiec near Wologda. On our way we observed war preparations and rejoiced that probably the long expected war would break out at last in the near future.

On the 22-nd of June 1941, after crossing the Volga we were standing on a small railway station. Through the barred window Gen. Przeździecki overheard a railway worker telling his comrade that the Germans had attacked Russia, that Lomza and Kolno were taken and that Leningrad and Sebastopol had been bombed. It was 10 a. m. There were no limits to our joy. We raised such a noise in the wagon that our guardsmen rushed up to us together with the commander of the convoy who arrived coatless—shouting:—"What's all that?—a revolt?" Being the nearest to him I answered:—"We are expressing our joy. Hitler has caught Stalin by the throat. There's a WAR!"—He told me I had gone crazy. In the meantime a crowd of workers began to gather. I pointed with my hand to them. The convoy commander ran off to them still without his jacket. When he returned we no longer saw the guardsmen around us. They just stood quietly by the door. Instead of the usual salted fish we were given sausages. In the afternoon of the same day we reached the station of Gрязowiec. An N.K.V.D. Lieut. Col. awaited us there accompanied by a woman doctor. His first words were:—"Is the General among you?" We answered:—"yes." The colonel said he wanted to speak to the general. The general answered:—"If the colonel wants to speak to me let him come to me". The colonel's first questions were—how did we feel, was our health good, had we any wishes? He very much apologised for not being able to give us all the comfort he would wish but he had been only just informed about our arrival. The cars would be there any moment; having got out of the railway coach we mounted onto two motor lorries and accompanied by a strong convoy we were taken to a prisoners camp also called Gрязowiec.

We were placed in an enclosure surrounded with barbed wire adjoining the camp. A little house stood in the middle of our enclosure. The space to walk was 8 steps wide and just the length of the little house. Water, food and fuel wood was supplied to us by the Bolsheviki. We had to cook our own food.

On the 30-th of July 1941 we were at last let into the main prisoners camp.

On August the 27-th 1941 Gen. Anders arrived together with Gen. Szysko-Bohusz and took command of the camp. All officers and other ranks who expressed their wish to serve in the Polish Army were immediately and automatically reinstated as members of the newly formed Polish Forces. On the same day I was summoned to General Anders to report about everything which had taken place in the Malachówka villa. Gen. Anders had already heard about the villa from Gen. Przeździecki who had told him about it. I had related to Gen. Przeździecki everything in detail on the very first day of our encounter which I had thought to be accidental. I did that because I was very much determined not to let the memory of that villa disappear together with me. As a subordinate of Gen. Przeździecki it was my duty to give him all the details. Gen. Anders told me that he acknowledged having received all the information I gave him but that at the present moment the political situation was of such a nature that he must enroll any available men for the formation of the Army, and that he orders me, therefore, not to raise this matter any more. Complying with his wish I had not spoken of it to anyone. However, having left the U. S. S. R. I no longer feel compelled to remain silent.

On September the 7-th 1941, I joined the 5-th Infantry Division. I was appointed to the Divisional Staff. I took with me Lieut. Chomiński whom I placed in the capacity of chief of the operational section. I reported to Col. Grobicki the 2-nd-in-Command of the 5-th Division. While I was giving my report Col.

Berling appeared on the scene. It caused quite a little consternation. After Col. Berling had left, Col. Grobicki took me to his room and asked:—"Have you met Col. Berling anywhere before?"—I answered with a question:—"On what grounds do you assume that I had met him at all?"—Col. Grobicki then told me that he cannot recollect ever seeing a man with such a terrified expression as that with which Col. Berling stared at me while I was talking with the 2-nd-in-Command, with my back to the door. I then said that I had in fact met Col. Berling quite frequently in Moscow and that I have rather painful recollections of those encounters. Two days later I was removed from the Staff of the Division. That day I spent the night on the verandah together with Lieut. Chomiński. The windows of Col. Berling's room showed onto that verandah. We were preparing to lie down to rest. Through the opened window we could see that Col. Berling was already in bed. Suddenly the door of his room opened and the O. C. of the 5-th Division—Gen. Boruta—Spiechowicz entered and gave him some orders or made some remarks which must have been very much to the dislike of his Chief of Staff, because when the General left the room and the door closed behind him we saw Col. Berling sitting on his bed shaking his clenched fists in the direction in which the General had gone. Lieut. Chomiński turned to me with an expression of awe on his face:—"Well, Captain, are we supposed to go into action with such a man who is capable of shaking his fists at his own Division Commander?"—I told him not to worry because as I knew all about it he, therefore, had no obligation to report it to anyone. Cpt. Wilczewski the Chief of the Intelligence Section of the 5-th Inf. Div. knows about this incident.

On the 9th of September 1941, I met Lieut. Imach. He came up to me and said:—"Well, Captain, what did you gain by it all? There we are together in the Polish Army—do not think, however, that we have given up our work". I told him:—"If you want to speak to me, first of all stand to attention and stop waving your hands before my face, after which I may answer you".—Imach complied with my orders. I then told him:—"Do you imagine that any State in the world will allow anarchists to rule it? The Polish Nation will have gallows for such men".—2-nd. Lieut. Imach answered:—"Maybe the Nation will have gallows".—I never talked to him again.

In the middle of September I met for the first time with Captain Rosen-Zawadzki who told me:—"You see . . . we are together again. The Republic in her Majesty has granted us pardon. We shall work together again. Was it worth kicking up all that row? Nobody would have known about it, anyhow".—I do not remember what I answered him then.

Towards the end of October Mjr. Choroszewski came to me to tell me that I had a great friend in the person of the Chief of Staff,—Col. Berling. I asked him why. Mjr. Choroszewski told me that the question of the promotion of captains to the rank of major and higher ranks had been discussed and that Col. Berling had immediately suggested my name for promotion. Mjr. Choroszewski added that he was sorry to have been forestalled in proposing it. I told him that if my promotion was to be granted with the help of Col. Berling I thank for the favour but I do not wish to receive it from his hands. Mjr. Choroszewski remarked:—"You are a queer man. It will be much more difficult to get that promotion in Poland. You will have to pass the Staff School in Rembertow etc."—I answered:—"I know that, but nevertheless I cannot accept anything from the hands of Col. Berling".

On the 6-th of November 1941, Col. Grobicki, Lieut. Col. Bukojemski, 2-nd Lieut. Szymanowski Korwin, Cpt. Łopianowski and one more officer were ordered to leave as the nucleus of a new Infantry Division which was to be formed in Tashkent. We reported at the Army H. Q. in Buzuluk on the 14-th of November 1941, where we had to wait for our order of travel to the appointed district. We left only on the 13-th January 1942. In the Staff of our Army I encountered Col. Korczyński and Lieut. Col. Tyszyński who greeted me as if I was an old friend. During our stay in Buzuluk Col. Bukojemski tried to discredit me in which he partly succeeded. My former comrades and friends began to avoid me. Wherever I arrived I found myself to be alone. Initially I could not understand what was going on. It was only after one of the Intelligence officers asked me whether I had ever been stationed together with Col. Bukojemski that it dawned upon me what was the reason of my increasing solitude. Watching closely the development of things I soon had proof that I was right in my suspicion as to Bukojemski's endeavours to isolate me. This discovery was a severe shock to me. I turned for help to initiated people i. e. to General Przeździecki and Col. Künstler but there was no way out of it. I got so unstrung nervously that on the 6-th of January 1942, during some presentation in the reception hall of

our Staff, I lost consciousness and had to be carried out of the room. However, the watching of Col. Bukojemski led to unexpected results. It was proved that he purposefully acted so as to cause harm to our Army. A girl friend of Bukojemski/Col. Künstler knows her name/repeated his words: "What a marionette Army this is! It must fall to pieces. It is only we—the Communists—who can form a strong army. Here there is nothing but chaos in this Staff of ours! What a pleasure it is to go to the airmen's mess. There's everything there, everything can be got and its always open to me".

On the 13-th January 1942 I left with the nucleus of the 8-th Infantry Division, under the command of Gen. Rakowski, to the place assigned for the formation of the new divisions.

In May 1942 I was summoned to the II Section/Intelligence/to Teheran by Cpt. Zumpft and requested to make a detailed statement about the whole matter. This statement was required for the purpose of sending it to London. I wrote it out in my own handwriting on 16 sheets of office paper. At that occasion Cpt. Zumpft informed me that Col. Bukojemski had been sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment for his activities in Buzuluk which was equivalent with degradation. He was handed over to the Soviet authorities as a German spy.

Twice during my stay with the 5-th Infantry Division in Tatishchev my belongings were searched in the tent—I do not know by whom and who could possibly have done it. The second time the search was carried out while I was out taking part in a hunt which we had organized with Mjr. Choroszewski.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL THE PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN INMATES OF THE MALACHÓWKA VILLA AND OF SOME OTHERS WHO ARE MENTIONED IN THIS RECORD

VILLA MALACHÓWKA:

1/. Lieut. Col. BERLING:

A man with excessive personal ambition. Talented, enterprising, absolutely without any scruples. Would sacrifice anything to satisfy his own whims. In his plans worked out jointly with Cpt. Zawadzki he included the deportation of the entire Polish intelligentsia into the depths of the Soviet Union together with women and children. This referred to the part of Poland under German occupation, which was to be incorporated into the U. S. S. R. as the 17-th Union Republic. He might be used to a useful purpose if given the illusion of absolute independence, otherwise his brutality and ruthlessness would not allow him to be directed by anyone.

2/. Lieut. Col. GORCZYNSKI:

A man of indisputable honesty with a weak will and aiming at saving himself for the sake of his own family. Could work usefully under normal conditions. He did not sign the "declaration of homage".

3/. Lieut. Col. BUKOJEMSKI:

Of vehement and uncontrollable temper would sacrifice everything for women and vodka. Apart from that courageous, obstinate, capable of anything, vindictive. He told me in Buzuluk: - "I hold no grudge against you. You came to us as our enemy from the start. And you remained as such till the end. But as for Mjr. Lis, he sneaked into our confidence as Berling's comrade and then followed you. When I shall leave the U. S. S. R. I will shoot him. You remain silent now while he spreads around untrue rumours. I repeat my positive intention of shooting him the moment we find ourselves abroad" - He repeated this threat several times. The Chief of the II Section / Intelligence / of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R. knows about it.

4/. Lieut. Col. TYSZYNSKI:

A talented, intelligent man capable of thorough work. Heedful of his own comfort to exaggeration. Scared out of his wits at the prospect of changing his prosperous existence for the wretchedness of prison life. A Pole only by name.

NOTE:

These four officers constituted the Committee appointed by the N. K. V. D. authorities for the purpose of regulating the inner mode of life of the Malachówka collective. Col. Berling presided over the whole.

5/. Mjr. LIS:

Shrewd, agile and nervous, curious and eager to know everything—appeared to me rather an enigmatic figure. I was rather suspicious of his behaviour because when alone in our room, he used to hold patriotic speeches but the moment all the other officers were present he became another man. He put his signature to the first draft of the declaration in spite assuring us that he would not do it. He did not sign the revised text and he followed me. He compiled a detailed essay about the population of the U. S. S. R., based on Soviet sources and containing the distribution of the Union's population according to nationality and the development of the Soviet industry in particular of the heavy industry. His essay exists in spite of the searches.

6/. Lieut. Col. DUDZINSKI:

A limited intellect with tremendous self-assurance; followed blindly Col. Berling's indications and used by the latter whenever he required someone to play the role of an initiator of some action. Courageous and capable of anything, he uncompromisingly maintained the necessity of getting rid of the entire Polish educated class from the future 17th Union Republic.

7/. Cpt. ROSEN-ZAWADZKI:

A man of indisputable talent consciously heading to his chosen goal. He played the part of Berling's "Chief of Staff". On his initiative were held various lectures on communist topics which glorified the ideology of Leninism and Marxism and the Stalinist Constitution. Knowing that I had fought against the Bolsheviks in 1939 he quoted his own example of how as a battalion commander he rode over to the Bolsheviks to report to them that his soldiers were not going to fire at the Red Army. Together with 2nd Lieut. Imach, 2nd Lieut. Szczypiorski and later on also with 2nd Lieut. Wicherkieicz they formed the communist intellectual team which decided what can and what cannot be done or what should or should not be done in accordance with the teachings of Engels and Marx. They constantly lectured on communist topics and advised all others to know at least as much as they did about communism.

8/. 2nd Lieut. WICHERKIEWICZ:

A man incapable of having an idea of his own, of limited intelligence and with an unhealthy mania of equalling his three "communist" comrades. He once had a very long lecture about the origins of the family. The lecture would have served as a welcome contribution to the most pornographic gutter paper.

9/. Lieut. SIEWIERSKI:

A courageous young man rather of an impetuous character greatly concerned with his personal comfort. He constantly maintained that when back in Poland at the head of his battalion he would instantly run away from the Bolsheviks at the very sight of the Polish Army. He refused to sign the revised text of the "declaration of homage" but after long persuading was forced somehow and did sign it in the end.

10/. Lieut. SZUMIGALSKI:

A quiet level-headed and sensible man wanted to preserve his strength "for Poland".

11/. Lieut. TOMALA:

Limited intelligence. He only thought about his own comfort and had no idea at which point the road to disgrace began.

12/. Ensign KUKULINSKI:

An honest man and patriot, educated in a clerical seminary. Subordinate of Col. Berling while still in Poland, accustomed to execute his orders. No family background. No orientation where "good" ended and "evil" started. Courageous.

NOTE:

Those numbered from 9 to 12, in normal conditions would have been good officers and would have performed their duties quite well but in the given circumstances when it came to choose between personal comfort and the misery of imprisonment they chose the former.

13/. 2-nd Lieut. IMACH:

A confirmed adherent of communist ideology. He started working for them already in Poland and had done so till most recent times. He believed that humanity will be happy only if and when communism will gain power in the whole world. An ideological communist executive.

14/. 2-nd Lieut. SZCZYPORSKI:

Active Polish socialist and a zealous assistant of Berling and the whole communist group. An impetuous man with no ethics at all, ready to sentence without a wink the entire Polish intelligentsia, including women and children, to deportation from the future 17-th Union Republic.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The facts related above had taken place during the most critical stage of the present war. Towards the end of 1940 and at the beginning of 1941, it was impossible to imagine that any human force could induce the Soviet Union to release from its concentration camps and prisons the Poles they kept in their hands. All believed in a final victory over the Germans and in the rebuilding of Poland. At that time the power of the Soviet Union was steadily increasing and was aimed at overpowering Poland and all Western Europe. The leaders of the U. S. S. R. maintained that with the collapse of Germany the Red Army would enter Poland and that at its head would march Polish Red troops and that everybody would be therefore greeted with flowers and acclaimed as liberators. The entering of the Soviet Army into Germany was supposed to be, according to the plans of the III International, accomplished amidst joyful celebrations held throughout Germany. To my remark that the Germans even if defeated would still have sufficient arms and ammunition to resist the Soviet Army, Col. Jegorov told me that I was very naive to think so. There were very many communists in Germany who were going to prepare thoroughly the reception of the Red Army. At the present time the greatest enemy of the Soviet Union was—England.

People with foresight began to seek other ways out without taking any heed of whether the road they were taking led to disgrace or not. Today I recall the words of Col. Berling who, when trying to persuade me to sign the declaration I have already spoken about, used the argument that after all if by some miracle Poland would be rebuilt there would be a general amnesty because there would be thousands of people who would have done the same as we had and it would be an impossibility to sentence all of them. At the time I thought this to be a most prudent way of taking things. After that conversation when the inmates of my room endeavoured to make me change my mind I answered that I did not wish my son or my wife to have to say that his father or her husband was a traitor. All that time I had no illusions about the possibility of a happy ending of the whole affair. What happened next seems to me like a fairy tale from the "Thousand and one nights" because I was absolutely sure that I would never regain freedom again.

To end up I give the characteristics of a few persons who had nothing to do with the "Malachówka" villa:

Staff Col. MORAWSKI:

A man with an obsession to become "a great man". Liked to drink vodka. Made himself known because of two memoranda he had sent to the N. K. V. D. in which he suggested the creating of a Polish Government and of "Red Riflemen" under his command. Later on he was Commander of the Reserve Centre of the 5-th Infantry Division in Tatishchev. In October 1940 he had spent a few days in the "Malachówka" villa but was removed from there probably on Col. Berling's request.

Lieut. Col. GUDAKOWSKI:

Wanted and tried to oblige all representatives of the Soviet authorities without exception. He once said that he would rather be a "Soviet tractor-driver than a Polish officer". Gen. Przeździecki knows all about this incident.

I wish to stress that Gen. Przeździecki Waclaw could give the most exhaustive explanations on all these matters, having watched over, cared for and taken lively interest in the lives of all the officers throughout that time for doing which he had adequate possibilities, namely, an organisation which aimed at taking notice of everything that was going on.

As to Col. Morawski, Staff Colonel Künstler and Mjr. Lis could give details about the memoranda deposited by him with the N. K. V. D.

The whole team /"collective"/ assembled in Malachówka was chosen and moulded by the N. K. V. D. authorities /Col. Jegorov/ as well as by Berling and his group of "communists" assembled in the villa, with the purpose of performing important tasks in the creation of a Red Poland which would become the 17-th Union Republic. From among the members of that team was to be formed a nucleus of the future Government and Army of a Red Poland which was to march at the head of the Soviet Army to facilitate its task of taking over German occupied Poland.

Col. Berling together with his collaborators openly mentioned about such aims being prepared. N. K. V. D. Col. Jegorov also spoke unequivocally to this effect.

I would also like to mention that in that same villa a communist Government for Finland had been trained before our arrival there and which did in fact turn up in Finland in the beginning of 1940. We had established this fact by discovering Finnish cigarette holders and newspapers of Finnish origin with Finnish inscriptions they must have left behind and also by what we were told by the female members of our servant staff. Col. Rosen-Zawadzki had also mentioned it to us.

Re: THE BATTLE OF KODZIÓWKA.

Kodziówka is a village situated 7 km. west of Sopoćkinie. Close to the village there is a farm of the same name. In the battle with the Bolsheviks which took place on the 22-nd September 1939 only the 101 Lancers Regiment took part, strengthened by a platoon of pioneers and a signal squadron. We had no anti-tank arms except for one anti-tank rifle with 4 cartridges which was in the hands of one of the Lancers in the O. C.'s Colour Party.

The Bolsheviks had two groups of tanks accompanied by motorised infantry. Each group had 18 heavy tanks/Medium Krestians/plus two light tanks. In all the enemy engaged into action 40 tanks. At 8 p. m. on the 21-st September 1939 our advanced patrols established the presence of enemy tanks. I sent on reconnaissance an officer's patrol and went myself to the Regiment Commander who had his post on the farm. After half an hour's talk with the O. C. I returned to the village to put into effect his orders. At 0.1.20 a. m. 7 enemy tanks rolled through our lines of protection and cut off the farm from the village. The night was very dark and a drizzly rain was falling. We managed to retain contact between the farm and the village. At 3 a. m. the Regiment Commander together with 2-nd-in-Command and the A. D. C. came to my post. The O. C. asked me what was the morale of the men and when I answered that I could wish no better he asked: "Well, what are we going to do? Do we fight or withdraw?"—and without waiting for me to reply he said: "I know what you will answer and therefore we will fight . . ." He left me in command of the village giving me further to my own 2-nd squadron, the 1-st squadron, a platoon of pioneers and half of the machine-gun squadron with its commanding officer to help me. The whole was formed into a cavalry battalion. The rest as the second cavalry battalion which he retained under his personal command took up positions round the farm. We fixed 4 a. m. as the time in which we would simultaneously launch an attack against enemy infantry which had stopped nearby apparently without setting up guards for protection. At the appointed time the O. C.'s battalion went to the attack and precisely at the same time the Bolsheviks launched an attack upon the village I occupied, throwing 12 tanks and their infantry into action. Twelve times they tried to storm the village during which eleven of their tanks were put out of action by means of bottles of petrol which we flung at them. From my observation point I could see six more enemy tanks immobilised by the O. C.'s battalion—in all 17 tanks were destroyed. The battle ended in our favour at twenty past eight.

Our casualties were very high. The 2-nd squadron which bore the brunt of the enemy's attack lost 50% of its men and 70% of the horses. The soldiers behaved in a heroic way—Among other feats, corporal Choroszuca and lancer Poloczanyń jumped upon enemy tanks and with the butts of their own rifles damaged the tank machine-guns by smashing the barrels thus making them harmless.

Among those fallen were the regiment commander, two squadron commanders and one platoon commander. The commander of the 2-nd squadron was wounded and suffered from shell-shock, the officer commanding the pioneers' platoon was also wounded.

The casualties of the enemy, according to Soviet sources, amounted to 12 tanks and about 800 men. According to informations received by the O. C. of the

"Wolkowysk" group /Gen. Prześdziecki—was the commander of the group / the total of the destroyed tanks was 22.

Everything I have stated in the above record has been described exactly as it had happened without exaggeration—rather moderately if anything—and strictly according to truth which I confirm with my own signature.

/—/ Łopianowski Narcyz.
Cavalry Captain.

Heard by:

/—/ Giedronowicz Narcyz, Capt.

[TRANSLATION COPY. PART II, EXHIBIT 35A]

Capt. ŁOPIANOWSKI Narcyz,
14-th May, 1943.

In reference to my statement recorded in writing at a hearing which took place on the 13-th of October 1942 in the 2-nd Section of the Staff of the I Armoured Corps—I wish to state that:

In view of the development of the political relations between Poland and the U. S. S. R. I relate herewith, reconstructed to the best of my memory and knowledge, the statements made by the People's Commissar of the U. S. S. R.—BERJA, by the future People's Commissar of Security—MERKUŁOW, and by their executive N. K. V. D. Lieut. Col.—JEGOROW whom I shall refer to in this statement as "Chief of Staff".

I would like to stress that my first interrogation took place on the night of 13-14-th October 1940, between midnight and 0.3 a. m., in room No. 523 at the Supreme H. Q. of the N. K. V. D./People's Commissariat of Interior Affairs of the U. S. S. R./. This room was the office of the People's Commissar himself. The questions were put to me by the Chief of Staff. This statement deals only with those questions which referred to political problems and leaves out the usual questions about health and about what I thought of the Communist regime in the U. S. S. R. Where I use the Polish form of "Sir" /"Pan"/ the Russian form "you" /"wy"/ was used throughout the hearing. /TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—In English the form "you" is used/. I also wish to add that my answers were given in Polish.

"Would you like to fight once again against the Germans?"

"Why don't you put this question to a Polish child, a Polish woman or any youth.—Their answer would be yes".

"On whose orders would you agree to take an active part in the fight against the Germans?"

"On orders of the Polish Government residing in London".

"But that Polish Government in LONDON is an impostrous Government which has nothing in common with the Polish nation. The Polish nation does not recognize this Government. You, an officer of proletarian descent must surely realize that only the Soviet Union can assure a happy future to Poland—but you must also help us in that. If you expect to receive help from Great Britain you are in error. England after making the most of the Poles will sell them if only she will gain anything from doing so. While to us—England is enemy number one. As long as British Imperialism exists and until it is destroyed the Soviet Union will be unable to spread the idea of freedom throughout the nations of the world. Remember that if England will not sell you it will be only because she will turn you into her slaves, as she has done with the yellow and black races in her colonies. If and when the whole of Europe organised by us will march with us under the Red banner, the overthrow of England will not be a difficult task to achieve. We can easily launch an attack against India which would be a deadly blow to British imperialism, and would force America to join hands with us."

"What then do you imagine will be done about Germany with which you have signed a non-aggression pact and, if I am right, even a treaty of friendship".

"The Soviet Union has a realistic approach to the problems of tomorrow. Sentimental considerations do not exist. The only thing which exists is materialism and the strength of the nations of the Soviet Union. The nations of the Soviet Union will conclude any kind of pact with everyone of their enemies but no such agreement is valid. It is only a means to reach an aim decided upon by the Communist Party which strives for freedom, happiness and wealth of all the nations of the world. The Red Army is powerful and will fight with enthusiasm for the achievement of this aim."

"Do you think that the Germans will greet with flowers the entering Red Army? Don't you think they have enough iron and steel to resist your march to the West."

"The Germans, tired out by their struggle with England will try to force an issue by invading the British Isles and will suffer such heavy losses that they will be unable to resist us with their Fascist Army. The German nation seeing that we bring with us freedom and wealth will undoubtedly greet us as its liberators from the yoke of capitalism. We have enormous stocks of food, which are being kept for the purpose of distributing them to the starving West. Once we overpower Germany we will have no difficulties with France because she is ours anyhow while Czechoslovakia being our friend will help us in the South. In about ten years time when we complete the re-organisation of the European Continent in a common effort we shall destroy the British Empire. And only after that shall we proceed all together with the building of a happy life for all the nations of the world."

"I know that the war in 1939 had been arranged in Moscow between Ribbentrop and Molotov with the cooperation of Stalin himself, and therefore I know that when thrusting a knife into our backs you had more in mind than just to liquidate Poland who had in no way caused you any harm".

"Yes, quite so. We did want this war to break out, because this war will enable us to free the subjugated nations from the yoke of capitalists and landlords. If we do not make the most of this war the capitalists will want to destroy us. Poland was hostile to the Soviet Union and was subservient to capitalists who oppressed the Polish Nation ruled by a Fascist-Capitalist Government which defended the interests of the capitalist Western States and, as such, Poland was a hindrance and we therefore made an agreement with Germany in result of which Poland ceased to exist as a State. We want to rebuild a strong Poland which would be friendly towards us in order to be able to work together towards the aim of destroying other capitalist States. Do you need better proof than the case of Czechoslovakia. When the Germans were entering Czechoslovakia the Polish Government prevented us from helping her. As if that was not enough it even helped the Germans—by grabbing part of Czechoslovakia for itself."

Similar discussions went on and on till the 25-th of December, i. e. until P. S. C. Lieut. Col. BERLING Zygmunt appeared on the scene.

The hearings were mostly conducted by the Chief of Staff.

I emphasize that the Soviet authorities were in no way embarrassed by what they told us and shamelessly disclosed to us their plans creating thus the appearance of frank sincerity by which they hoped to win for their cause the cooperation of the chosen Polish officers. Moreover they treated us as living dead who anyhow would not have a chance to repeat to anyone what they were told.

When watching today the fantastic blackmail on which the Soviet Union has engaged, I see that, in spite of the change of circumstances and a different balance of strength, the same plans which I have sketched above are consistently being put to life, and that the present development is treated as a test of the American and British resistance to the unilateral decisions undertaken by the Kremlin and aimed at destroying the defence wall which Poland represents in their drive to the West. They go even further than that and try to find partners who would back them in their present action so as to be able to make use of their cooperation at a later stage.

The thought of a strong and independent Poland deprives the Kremlin rulers of their sleep. They incessantly return to this subject and raise it in their speeches broadcast on the air and printed in the press which is anyhow nothing else but the voice of the ruling clique. Soviet authorities do not deny the existence of a Poland but their main effort is concentrated upon the attempt to establish a Poland which would become another Soviet republic or, at least, to create a Poland which would be so weak as to present no obstacle to Red imperialism.

To uninitiated people the plans described above may look like phantasies or the products of a morbid imagination. The same applied to Hitler's plans as described in his "Mein Kampf". Scarcely anybody took heed of what seemed to be utterances of a sickly brain. Nevertheless the programme of the Kominform is just as much a reality as was "Mein Kampf" with the difference that it is being put to life with even greater brutality and ruthlessness.

The rulers of the U. S. S. R. will stake everything on one card to achieve their goal because if they fail to take advantage of the results of the present war it would postpone indefinitely if not make completely unfeasible their plans of a world-wide revolution.

In the fulfilment of their plans the Bolsheviks had assigned a special role to the chosen Polish officers. The selection of the officers who were to become the pioneers of the future Red Army was entrusted to P. S. C. Lieut. Col. Z. BERLING who had chosen them with the approval of the highest N. K. V. D. authorities and had them trained at special courses organised in the neighbourhood of Moscow.

In my earlier statement I did not give details of the programme which was worked out in the "MALACHÓWKA" villa. It ran as follows:

1/ The change of Poland's political structure enforced with the help of the Red Army.

2/ The incorporation of Poland into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the 17-th member Republic.

3/ The consolidating of the newly imposed structure by getting rid in a humanitarian way of elements hostile to the new order, i. e. of the officers' families, of the class of civil servants and all others who would dare to voice their disapproval. The getting rid of these elements was to be achieved by their deportation to distant districts of Soviet Russia.

Lt. Col. Berling maintained that one had to look ahead and understand the "major issues". There was nothing to fear from the prospect of Poland becoming one of the happy nations of the Soviet Union as the 17-th Soviet Republic. The Poles were a talented race, the present generation was well prepared and capable of playing a major part within Soviet Russia. Those in power in the U. S. S. R. had limited intelligence and inadequate education which opened before the Poles enormous possibilities and unlimited horizons. In a short time all key positions would fall into the hands of the Poles and they would soon rule the entire Soviet Union. If those who refuse to comply and join us will perish it would be through no fault of ours and we therefore need not feel any pangs of conscience in respect of people who are unable to grasp the "major issues".

I would like to quote here Berling's version of the talks about the missing Polish officers. Among them there were many whom he wanted to draw into his plan of collaboration with the U. S. S. R. During one of the conversations with People's Commissar Berja in the presence of N. K. V. D. Lieut. Col. Jegorow, Berling explained to the People's Commissar his intention of making use of these officers. Berja had favourably received the suggestions and turning to his Chief of Staff had said: "Well then, I think we should hand over to Berling these officers if he wishes to have them". To which the Chief of Staff replied: "Unfortunately I think it will be rather difficult, if at all feasible, to trace these officers". The People's Commissar then said: "It was a great mistake". The Chief of Staff added: "We shall try to find them—perhaps it can still be done".

I relate the exact wording of this conversation to the best of my memory, according to how it was repeated by Berling himself and by Cpt. Rozen-Zawadzki. To my question about what could have happened to these officers Cpt. Rozen-Zawadzki replied that they had probably been sent to such places from which the Bolsheviks were unable to retrieve them. One thing is sure—that not a single one of these officers had been found up till the end of March 1942.

The conversation between Berling and the People's Commissar related above took place either in October or in November 1940.

To conclude I will quote an episode which occurred in result of Lieut. Col. Berling's constant assertions that it was essential to gain at all price the confidence of the Bolsheviks. I, on my part constantly maintained that I did not wish to have anything in common with the henchmen of the Polish Nation who sentenced to a slow death innocent Polish children and unhappy Polish women. My attitude began to influence to a certain degree the "younger" adherents of Berling's group. Towards the end of March 1941 the Chief of Staff arrived one day and after a long talk in Berling's room a roll-call was ordered at which all officers living in the "Malachówka" villa were to be present. When we were all assembled the Chief of Staff accompanied by Berling turned up and assured us once again that all Polish families deported to Russia were living in good conditions and he ended his speech with the following sentence; spoken in a raised voice: "Maybe some of you are afraid that by some miracle a Poland will be revived which will hold you responsible and want to punish you. I assure you that the Soviet Union is sufficiently strong and powerful to ensure in any circumstances safety and care to all who co-operate with the U. S. S. R."

NOTE: By "first interrogation" I mean the inquests which were started in the prison of Łubianka, as it was from then on that I became the object of their regular "sounding" and "shaping" procedure.

/Signed/ ŁOPIANOWSKI N.
Cavalry Capt.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show the witness exhibit 34 and ask him whether or not these are the documents to which he refers dealing with matters about the prison camp, and have they been in his possession until the time they were presented to the Commission.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show the witness exhibit 35 and ask him whether or not exhibit 35 is an exact photostatic reproduction of exhibit 34.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. At this time we offer in evidence translations of exhibit 35 and return to the witness exhibit 34.

Now let me have the Red Cross folder, the documents dealing with the Polish Red Cross reports? Will you separate from the documents which you have before you, Colonel, all of the documents that refer to the Polish Red Cross reports, or the Polish Red Cross matter in connection with Katyn? Do you have them separate?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now will you give to me all the documents you have in your possession that deal with the Polish Red Cross report relating to Katyn?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. I am not presenting all these documents, because they were presented by Mr. Skarzynski.

Mr. FLOOD. They were referred to by him?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And you have the documents?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Only a medical opinion of the doctor of Polish Red Cross who worked in Katyn.

Mr. FLOOD. Those are all the documents you have on that subject?

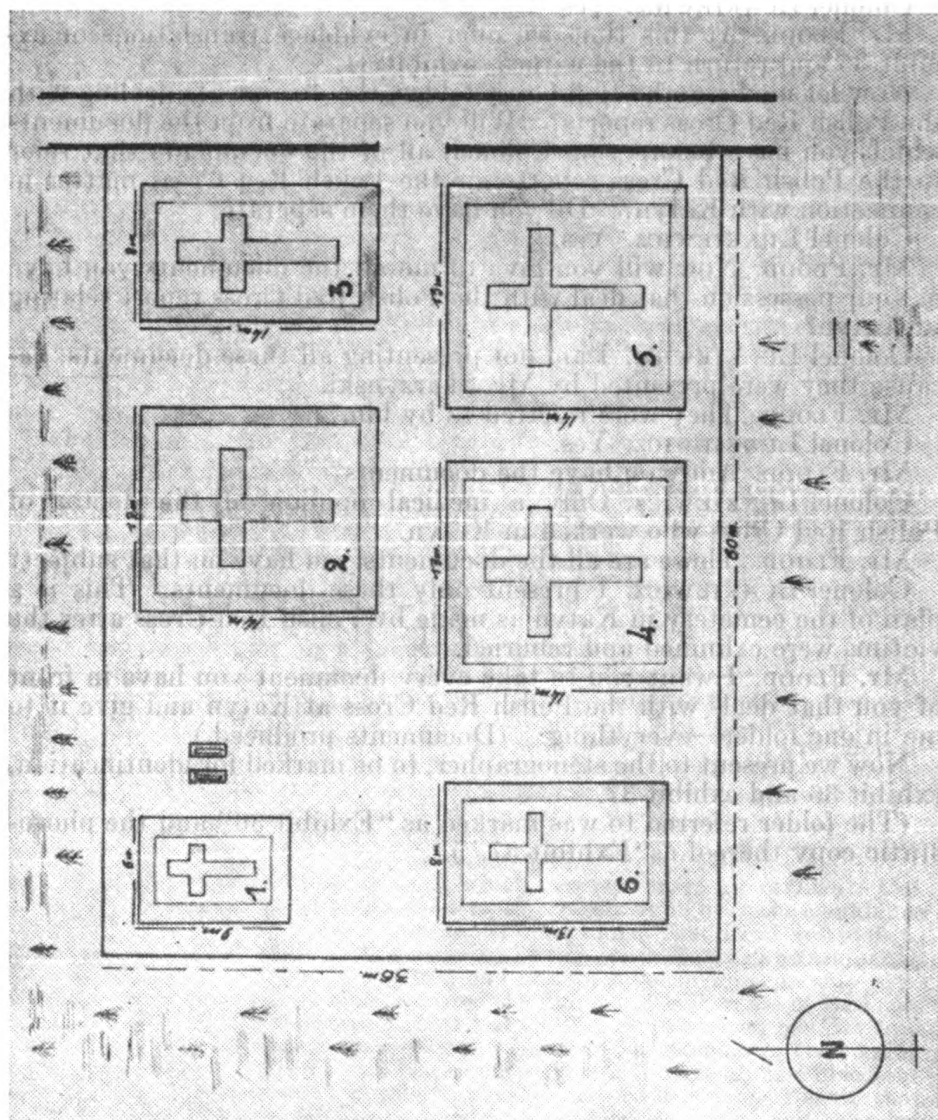
Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. I present only these documents. This is a plan of the cemetery in Katyn as made by Polish Red Cross after the victims were exhumed and reburied.

Mr. FLOOD. I want you to take every document you have in front of you that deals with the Polish Red Cross at Katyn and give it to me in one folder—everything. (Documents produced.)

Now we present to the stenographer, to be marked for identification, exhibit 36 and exhibit 37.

(The folder referred to was marked as "Exhibit 36" and the photostatic copy thereof as "Exhibit 37.")

EXHIBIT 37



[Translation copy of Exhibit 37]

MEDICO—LEGAL OPINION

As the result of the work of exhumation undertaken with the assistance of the Technical Committee of the Polish Red Cross between, April 29-th 1943 and June 3-rd 1943, on the site of the crime at Katyn Forest situated about 16 km. to the west of Smoleńsk, I arrived at the following final conclusions:

1/ The exhumed bodies numbering 4.145 were buried in eight mass graves. Seven of the above mentioned graves, lying close together, were situated on a sandy mound at a distance of about 500 m. from the Orsha-Smoleńsk main road.

The largest grave which was "L" shaped contained about 2.500 bodies, the remaining from 700 /grave No. 2/ to 50 /grave No. 5/.

The exhumed bodies were closely packed in layers side by side and for the most part face downwards and only in the upper layers of grave No. 1 were they thrown in at random.

The grave No. 8 situated at a distance of about 100 m. from the group of the other graves was only partially emptied but on the strength of comparison of its dimensions with those of the other graves it could contain about 150-200 bodies.

2/ Taking into account the fact that in the large majority of cases the bodies were dressed in Polish officers' uniforms and were provided with inoculation certificates from Kozielsk camp, it must be assumed that they were bodies of the Polish officer prisoners of war of 1939, interned in the Kozielsk camp.

3/ The post mortem examinations of the bodies established the cause of death to be a shot in the skull, damaging the vital centres of the brain / for the most part the medulla / and causing instantaneous death.

This shot, aimed as a rule from the back slightly below the occipital protuberance and running upwards and towards the front of the cranium, for the most part terminated in an exit wound within the upper part of the forehead.

Only in a few cases was a double or even a triple shot in the back of the head established.

4/ This stereotyped bullet channel proved the executioners to be both systematic and experienced.

5/ All the shots were fired from pistols and the ammunition used bore the trade mark "Greco 7'65 D".

The fact that it was often found that the edges of the wounds were singed and that grains of unburnt powder were stuck round them, proved that the shot had been fired from a very close range.

6/ The relative large number of cartridge cases and bullets in the vicinity of the graves, under the pine needles and even inside the graves, were a sufficient basis for the supposition that the execution was carried out over the graves or even after the victims had been led into the graves, previously dug out.

7/ The absence of any traces of a struggle having occurred before death led to the supposition that the victims were overpowered by assistants and only then shot by proper executioners. The fact that in nearly 20% of the cases the hands were bound behind the back with a cord tied in a double slip knot, suggested that this method was used as a preventive measure against selfdefence with individuals who could offer resistance / physically fit /.

Also the throwing of the greatcoats over the heads of the victims / grave No. 5 / and the tying of them with a cord at the height of the neck and connecting this knot with the knot typically used for the binding of the hands behind the back, suggested that this refined method of disabling the victims was intended to prevent any shouting before the execution.

8/ The precision with which each victim was shot, the fact that the layers of bodies were spread over with a calcium compound / grave No. 1 /, the period covered by the dates of the Soviet newspapers and diaries found on the bodies and finally the careful arrangement of the bodies in each grave / with the exception of the upper layers of grave No. 1 / sufficiently proved that the crime was carried out over a long period of time.

9/ It was impossible to fix exactly the length of time the bodies had lain under the ground by the degree of the putrid decomposition only. It is true that the research of Prof. Orsos / Budapest / is supposed to have established that an incrustation of calcium salts on the inner side of the skull does not occur before a body has lain in the earth for three years. But this phenomenon, which was met with several times on the Katyn bodies, has still not been definitely accepted in the field of forensic medicine and cannot, therefore, be used as a basis for the calculation of the exact period of time the bodies had lain in the earth.

The exhumed bodies showed a varying degree of putrid decomposition depending on the layer of soil, its reaction, the accessibility of air, humidity and the pressure under which they were lying. Thus in the upper sandy layers the bodies were light and brittle and presented a picture of a partial mummification, whereas in the lower layers of clay or peat / grave No. 1 / they showed signs of the formation of the so called adipocere which was characterised by the preservation of the general features of the body.

The skin of these bodies was covered with a sticky, grey grease which had an unpleasant, strong smell which had also permeated the clothes of the bodies.

The above mentioned layer of grease protected from external influences not only the bodies, but also the documents found on the bodies. The clothes on the bodies in the upper layers were faded and fragile and in the lower layers they were strong and the colours were preserved.

10/ The above mentioned degree of putrid decomposition being dependent on external factors and the exact adherence of contiguously lying bodies, proved that the original arrangement of the bodies had not been disturbed.

11/ The presence of wooden soles /"apelówki"/ attached to the boot legs by means of a string or by leather straps found on quite a considerable number of bodies in grave No. 1, and the absence of them in the other graves, led to the supposition that grave No. 1 was filled with the victims of the first executions, carried out in the colder part of the year, and that the other mass graves had been filled one by one at a later time in the season.

From notes found in the diaries of the exhumed bodies it could be calculated that the time in which the first seven mass graves had been made was the end of March and the month of April 1940.

Grave No. 8, discovered on the first of June 1943, was the latest and I calculate that it was made in the first half of May 1940. The bodies in it were, clad in summer uniforms and the Soviet newspapers found on them were dated the first days of May 1940.

12/ The examination of the material evidence found on the bodies such as anti-typhoid inoculation certificates from the prisoners camp at Kozielsk, identity cards, P. K. O. savings books / Post Office Savings Bank /, diaries, letters received at Kozielsk or not yet sent from Kozielsk, military aluminium identity discs, visiting cards, sketches, photographs etc. made it possible to establish for the greater number of the victims their surname, Christian name, military rank, profession, age, the locality from which they came, religion etc.

13/ The above mentioned material evidence and more than anything else the diaries and note books made it possible to establish more precisely the time of the crime. They all ceased in the second half of March and April 1940.

These made it also possible to establish the route along which the Polish prisoners were brought to the scene of the crime, which was Kozielsk, — Smoleńsk, — Gniezdowo. The further route was covered in prison cars to the place of execution in the Katyn Forest. So, for instance, the diary of Major Adam Solski, No. 490, finishes on the 9-th of April 1940 with the note: "We have been brought to a wood, hour 8'30—they take away watches, belts, pen knives, roubles".

14/ The data collected as a result of the examination of the scene of the crime and the exhumation of the bodies agreed with the depositions of the Russian witnesses, who in the spring of 1940, saw the Polish prisoners being brought in parties in prison wagons, to Gniezdowo Station and from there being driven in prison cars in the direction of the Katyn Forest/Zacharov, Kisielev/:

The witness Kisielev, who lived nearby, had even heard shots and shouts from the direction of the forest.

15/ The finding, in the area of the Katyn Forest, of quite a number of other graves containing Russian bodies with typical shot wounds in the skull led to the supposition that the Katyn Forest had already been used for some time as a place of execution.

Judging by the degree of putrid decomposition of the bodies in the different Russian graves the time that they had lain in the earth should be calculated as being from 5-15 years.

16/ The expert reserves to himself the right of giving a supplementary forensic medical statement after he has finished the analysing of further material.

Mr. FLOOD. I show to the witness exhibit 36 and ask him whether or not exhibit 36 is a report of the Polish Red Cross in connection with the Katyn massacre and direct his attention to that part of exhibit 36 which is a map purporting to be a map of the graves and the number of graves found at Katyn, and ask him for the record to designate

from the number of graves how many graves in number are shown on that map. These are the graves shown on this map which were dug by the Polish Red Cross at the time they reburied the bodies of the Polish officers that were dug up by the Germans at Katyn, and the comment is significant for the purpose of showing the contrast between the number of graves as marked on the map by the Polish Red Cross and the number of graves subsequently the Russians said they found at Katyn, namely, one.

Colonel, will you state from the map the number of graves marked on the Polish Red Cross report?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. It is six large graves and two small, two individual graves.

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness exhibit 36 and ask him whether or not exhibit 36, which I have just shown him and he has read from the map and the other document, is the report of the Polish Red Cross on the Katyn matter which has been in his custody until presented to the committee today?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show the witness exhibit 37 and ask him whether or not exhibit 37 in its two parts, including a photostat of the said map, is a true translation of exhibit 36?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. We now offer in evidence exhibit 37 in two parts and return to the witness exhibit 36.

Will you now let me have all documents in one exhibit referring to the Kriwoserczew case? [Documents produced.]

Would you have this exhibit, which contains three separate documents, marked as exhibit 38 and the photostat thereof marked as exhibit 39.

(Documents referred to were marked as "Exhibit 38" and the photostatic copy thereof as "Exhibit 39.")

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you, Colonel, marked for identification, exhibit 38, which contains three separate documents and ask you whether or not exhibit 38 in its three parts contains references in your files to the Kriwoserczew case, and has this exhibit been in your possession until such time as it was presented to the committee today?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you exhibit 39 and ask you whether or not that is an exact photostatic reproduction of exhibit 38 in its three parts?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. We now offer in evidence exhibit 39 and return to the witness exhibit 38.

[Translation copy of Exhibit 39]

[The document translated below is written on a printed form / No. 5/8/. The names and data are typed in the spaces between the printed text. The printed text has been italicized in the translation.]

Field Court Martial.

*No. 5/S.
Doc. Ref. Sow. 6/46.*

RECORD OF HEARING OF WITNESS

In the field, Day 22-nd May 1946, Started at 2.30 p.m.

Criminal case against:

PRESENT

Military Judge Lieut. Auditor LEWICKI KAZIMIERZ,

Recorder Sergeant HUBERT STANISLAW,

The witness having been cautioned and instructed in accordance with art. - 81 of the Military Penal Code, - stated as follows.

1/ Name and Chr. name: KRIWOŻERCOW IWAN son of GREGORY,

2/ Date and place of birth: 20.VII.1915, NOWE BATOKI, borough of KATYN, District of SMOLENSK,

3/ Religion: Orthodox,

4/ Family status: bachelor,

5/ Military rank - profession: metal turner,

6/ Allocation - address: resided before the war at his birth place,

7/ Relation to defendant and/or other parties concerned in this case: -

8/ The witness was sworn in accordance with art. 83 of the Military Penal Code having been first instructed in accordance with art. 82 point 2 of the M.P.C.

The hearing was conducted in Polish. Now and then the less usual Polish expressions were translated into Russian to the Witness by 2/Lieut. Heitzman Marian from the General Staff in LONDON. The Witness understands Polish perfectly. The Witness gave evidence as recorded on the attached sheets No. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

*Follow four signatures,
St. Hubert,*

*KRIW / KRIWOŻERCOW/ /in Russian/
LEWICKI, Lieut,
M. HEITZMAN.*

Strona I, protokołu przesłuchania sw. Kriemierowa Józefa.

W początkach marca 1940 r. rozmawiałem się pogłębienie, na N.K.W.D. budowa stacjonary jakichś budynki w lesie na Kozich Górach, gdzie było się doły pod fundamenty. Doły te kopali cywile Niemcy przetrzymywani na trzech lub czterech samochodach pod strażą N.K.W.D. z wiezieniami w Smoleńsku. Przechowywani tych wiezieni wiezieni na wiosnę czoły. Roboty te rozpoczęły się w początkach marca. Przechowywani, na byli to wiezieni na Smoleńsku, na ciemności jechały z tamtego kierunku.

Kiedy roboty te zostały wykonane zaczęły przychodzić transporty oficerów na stację Gniezdowo. Przechowywani sobie, na transporty te zaczęły przychodzić wtedy kiedy zostały zostały poboj z Finlandią i nawet dlatego ludzie początkowo mówili, na N.K.W.D. wani fińskich oficerów. Ale już drugiego dnia niektórzy z ekolichnych mieszkańców poznali polskich oficerów i było wiadomo, na to na transporty polskich oficerów wojennych, oficerów.

Transporty te były przewożone specjalnymi pociągami składającymi się z maszyn i 3-4 wagonów. Osadzeni byli to oficerowie wojskowi, oficerowie, a osadzeni w większe obozowiska.

Cały pociąg poddawano na bocznicy tam było magazynu, gdzie był mały plac. Tam znajdował tyłem do wagonu czarny wagon i do niego ładowano oficerów. Były dwa czarne wagony, oprócz tego odcinek na którym ładowano rzeczy oficerów i osobowy samochód. Osobowy samochód jechał na przystanku, oficer N.K.W.D., składano nie widziałem od razu, ale stało się, na miał jeden samochód. Po załadunku oficerów do czarnych wagonów, cała kolumna oficerów samochodów jechała w stronę Kozich Gór, a potem wracała po następnej partii.

Mieszkańcy ekolichnych wai twierdzili, na oficerów tych wani N.K.W.D. na Kozie Góry, żeby ich tam restryktywano. Wprawdzie nikt o nich nie widział, ale wiadomo było, na w lesie na Kozich Górach miała sadnego obozu, a poznany mówiono na było miejsce stracenia od szeregu lat.

Wskazywano oficerów na Smoleńsku, a jednego oficerów który jechał czarnym wagonem miałem osobiste; nazwisko jego było Jakub RABEWAJEW a wołano go krótko KIL. Poznałem go, na oficer Pletka, nazwisko nie pamiętam, który prowadził odcinek na której wozono rzeczy oficerów do lasu na Kozie Góry i który został wygnany ze służby w N.K.W.D. i pracował w Smoleńsku w Sejustrans, opowiadał jeszcze przed wyjeżdżeniem z przyciem Niemców, na oficerów tych N.K.W.D. restryktywano.

Na j krowy opowiadał mi, na kiedy przetrzymywano wagony z oficerami na alejce tam, restryktywano w obozie swego znajomego oficerów. Wiedział nie a nim w rozmowie i zapytał czy przewożono tych ludzi do obozu. Na co ten odpowiedział: A gdzie tu u was są obozy? Co ty takie głupstwa mówisz, ty nie wiesz gdzie są takich ludzi wani?

Personal dowcy N.K.W.D. składał się tylko z 3 lub 4 osób, ponieważ na to dawno oficerów przyjeżdżali tylko na krótko i tam nie mieszkali. Niedaleko od dawcy N.K.W.D. wani Burek znajdowało się duże sanatorium NKWD. Za osadów niemieckich na dawcy N.K.W.D. mieszkał jakiś wyższy oficer niemiecki, podobno generał na swoim adiutanta, ale sadnego oddziału wojskowego tam nie było. Razem z tym generałem mogło tam mieszkać około 10 ludzi.

Pe wojnie w 1939 r. sadnych oficerów polskich oficerów wojennych w ekolich Gniezdowa i Katynia ani dalej na zachód nie było. Sadnych też robot drogowych w tej ekolichy nie prowadzono poza normalnym poprawianiem dróg przez dramiików.

Wojska niemieckie zajęły ekolich Gniezdowa 27 lipca 1941 r., a Smoleńsk (główna część miasta) około 16 lipca. Przed 15 dni do przyjazdu wojsk niemieckich nie było sadnej władzy i kasy robót co chodzi. Były wprawdzie resztki oficerów nie oddziałów wojskowych, z których ostatnie wycofały się 26 lipca z samowolnym most kolejowy i drogowy, ale sadnego porządku nie było.

Na wiosnę 1942 r. robotnicy polscy, którzy pracowali tam w organizacji Todta zbierając żon samy dowiedzieli się od miejscowej ludności,

Stwierdzenie *A. Huking*

from 11/1-11/10/1979 production is 2.1 million tons

—

sa w lozie na Kozion Gornach zajejcha sie greby rozstrzelanych polskich oficerow. Ja sam zlyszalem tuha rownow. Od Kizialowa wiesz, na rebotnicy od byli u niego przeciez by ja pokazal mogily i Kizialow ich zaprowadzil na greby na ktorych oni postawili niewielki krzyz drewniany. Ten krzyz ja sam widzialem.

W styczniu 1943 zniknął nie w gazecie "Nowy Jut" wydawanej po rzymskiej przez Niemców w Rzeszowie artykuł epizodyczny o średnim popołudniu prasa belaruskich na terenach zajętych w 1939 r. Była tam mowa o aresztowaniach, o wysiedleniu na Syberię setek tysięcy ludzi, których znaczną część to Niemcy i wreszcie wspomnienie tam, że gen. Sikorski nie mógł w Rosji zlikwidować kilku tysięcy polskich oficerów, kiedy organizował w Związku armię polską. Kiedy przeczytał ten artykuł, zaczął na ten temat rozmawiać z tłumaczem niemieckim i m. in. powiedział: "Ciszę i zamknięcie tych oficerów w Rosji, które się leżało to rozstrzelani w lesie na Kosich Gorach". Tłumacz ten, który pracował w Głównym Biu Politycznym nie nie na nie odpowiedział, że za kilka dni jego kresowy, który pracował przy koniach w Głównym Biu Politycznym, nie, na drugi dzień sam gdzieś pojedzie z podoficerami z Głównego Biu. Na drugi dzień, kiedy zgłosił nie w Głównym Biu Politycznym, że ja i jeszcze dwóch młodzieńców z kierunkiem Kosich Gór. Z nami na motocyklach pojedzie dwaj feldfeblie z Głównego Biu. Jeden z nich nazwiskiem Arhelski, drugi Kihlhelmski miał być rzymski. Jestem prawie pewny, że spotykam go w marcu lub kwietniu tego roku 1946, jako jeden z niemieckich w obiekcie w Fallingb. Tenże Arhelski, drugi Kihlhelmski mogliśmy sobie udzielić informacji z leżących tamże Kamilionowa Andrejowa z N. Katak, który razem z sobą ewakuował nie z Kihlhelmskim do Niemiec, gdzie urodziła się m. in. córka. Co nie a nim dalej stała nie wie.

Kiedyś przyjechali na dach N.K.W.D., od dwaj podoficerowie
nagayali mnie gdzieś szukają się groby paleńców oficerów. Odpowiedziałem, że
nie wiem ale pójdę do Kiszalowa, który bliżej miejsca i który z pomocą
bolsza coś wiadział. Kiszalow był w domu i leżał na pięciu, a kiedy na powie-
działem że co chodził strażak, że już sześćdziesiąt roku żyłli się o tamto pałacy
reutynę, jak już o tym wspominałem poprzednio. Na to mi odpowiedziałem,
se teraz się badający groby rosyjskich. Kiszalow uśmieł się, wyszedł se znow i
zawołał mnie do grobow.

Wtedy nagle na kilofach rozbiliśmy sznurki szkieletu, a potem zaczęliśmy go sznurem bezpośrodkowo. Kiedyś dążył głębiej, więc wykopaliśmy poszukiwany sznur trup. Pożyciemś nad kufy kładą nie mogli tego sznura wytrącić i szkieletu się nie na wystrzeli, a ja mniejszy tego sznura szkielet, na samym końcu kufy. Przeszłyśmy całą kapielią przez szkielet a na dnie była ciemna warstwa osadzin, szkielet pod którą leżał trup. Zobaczyłem płaszczyznę wyjątkowy i drgnął od płaszczyzn, że trup leżał tuż w doł. Wtedy odwróciłem głowę od drągać oczyszczenia i zobaczyłem że jest to guzik z czerwiekiem. Podajemy guzik Niemcom, który go odwrócił, poczem szkieletu go w papier, przesłaliśmy robotę i zobaczyliśmy z powrotem.

Kiedyś przyjechali do Gnieznowa, przyjechali tam lejtnant Voss sekretarz (Sch.Feld Pol. Półkownik) Vossent, guzik, opowiadał mi ten wykojał i ja, wspaniały, że i ja wykojał nie silny mawed trupa, wobec osaga Voss wziął z sobą butelkę szarytusu na wypadek gdyby nie komu zbierało na upiśty, potem wyciągił ci szaki co przetrwał i Voss przyjechali z powrotem na Kasie Gery smaczkach i motocyklami. Kiedyś przyjechali na mój jeaz, Voss kazał rozmawiać ja, odjął głowę od trupa i wykojał ja i ja. Voss obaj-rwał głowę, kazał ja z powrotem wleźć do jasy i przysypać trochę siłami. Potem Voss pochodził po lecie, poszedł na drugą stronę dolinki na błoto, potem wrociliśmy do Gnieznowa.

(Gus-taw)

(Gustav)

Tego samego dnia utwierdził, Austriak Perka, przez Tymosza Arhela czy Riecholtza odebrać ode mnie ziemię, pytając co wiem o rostraczeniu pałach oficerów. Razem ze mną prześluchiwałem także Andrzeja Tułosa z R. Rutek przesłuchiwać Rumba. Zaszczepiłem, że podczas chrzanięcia siewan tyłku pytałem wiecie co wiem i nikt nie miał niczego nie grzeli, ani nie wiecie nie krzywek. Tek samo odnośnie się do Andrzeja, który przy mnie siewan. Przy siewanich innych mieszkańców nie było, ale tylko Kłomę przy siewanich tegoż Hili czy grzeli, byłym, co tym z powołania siewan. Zresztą najlepiej i zachęcała się prześluchiwać siewan, że Kłomę powiem był bardzo stary nie wywodzi do Górszowa, ale Perka razem z Tymoszem pojedali do niego do domu i tam odebrali od niego ziemię. Kłomę wywodził dawał często potem i był zupnie zdrowy chociaż stary, a w ostatni dzień kiedy ewakuowałem

Phenyl - M. Henry

Strona IV/protokół do przesłuchania pp. Friedrichow Tuma.

- 4 -

Wiem co się myśli i wyjechał smutkiem z Niemcami niemieckimi
Teodorem, którego nazwiska nie znam. Ja chciałem się też z nimi zobaczyć,
ale mnie nie pozwolili. Ja dopiero później za datem albo za dni wyszedłem
na stronę i przeszedłem niemieckiego smutkiem który regulował ruch na stronie,
aby mi umożliwić przekroczenie. On zatrzymał jeden smutek, który jednak
do Gracy i w ten sposób wyjechałem.

Słyszałem nazwisko Kinnasgins, który był rzeczniczką szanta
w Siedlisku na niemieckich smutkach, ale nie wiem co się z nim stało.
Przypuszczam, że ostatecznie się z Niemcami.

Podatkiem podaje, że kiedy po raz pierwszy przyjechałem z szantem
przed Niemcami, był tam niemiecki Władysław, który jako trzeci jed-
ził z nami na pierwszej stronie. Władysław, który był kolejno,
kiedy on przyjechał do szanta, ostatecznie, że nie nie wie, wtedy
mógł mu ostatecznie i jak nie nie wie i nie mógł podać, to
domu.

Na stronie II/protokółu w wierszu 12 od dołu, napisano
"Gustaw", na stronie III/ w wierszu 2 od góry "Gustaw",
w wierszu 2 od dołu napisano "E 3", a w wierszu 23.

Początek:

Kinnasgins (Kinnasgins)
Kinnasgins, p.c.

Chinnasgins *M. Kinnasgins*

[Translation Copy of Exhibit 39A]

In the beginning of March 1940 rumours circulated that the N. K. V. D. was going to build some houses in the KOZIE GORY wood because diggings of the foundations had already been started. The pits were dug out by civilian prisoners brought over under N. K. V. D. guard in three to four cars from the Smoleńsk prison. I saw the arrivals of these convicts with my own eyes. The works were started in the first days of March. I reckon they must have been convicts from Smoleńsk because the cars were coming from that direction.

When these works were completed transports of officers began to arrive to Gniezdowo. I remember that they began to arrive at the time of the armistice with Finland and even because of that people initially said that the N. K. V. D. transported Finish officers. But already on the second day some of the local inhabitants recognised Polish uniforms and it became known that those were transports of Polish prisoners of war—of officers.

The transports were brought by special trains composed of an engine and 3 to 4 prison coaches /stotypinki/: Sometimes the coaches were of the smaller two-axle type at other times they were the large four-axle ones.

The whole train was moved to the side track near the storage building opposite the little square. There the "black-raven" /"czornyj-woron"/ prison cars moved up with their backs towards the railway carriages and the officers were transferred into them. There were two "black-ravens" and a lorry on to which the belongings of the officers were loaded and also a passenger car. In the latter travelled the commander, an officer of the N. K. V. D. I could not see precisely his badges but I think he had one strap. After the officers had been loaded into the "ravens" the whole column drove off towards Kozie Góry and then returned for the next batch.

People said that the N. K. V. D. was taking them to Kozie Góry for the purpose of shooting them there. Although nobody witnessed the executions it was known that there was no camp in the Kozie Góry forest and moreover the place was known to have been an execution place for many years.

The escort was composed of an N. K. V. D. team from Smolensk, and I even knew the driver of one of the "black-ravens"; his name was JAKIM ROZUWA-JEW known by the nick-name of KIM. Further to that I know that PIETKA—I forget his surname—the driver of the lorry, on which the officers' luggage was transported to Kozie Góry and who, later on, was thrown out of employment with the N. K. V. D. and worked in the Sojuztrans in Smolensk, told people even before the Germans had arrived that the N. K. V. D. had executed these officers.

A relative of mine told me that one day while the train was being shuttled on the station he recognised among the N. K. V. D. escort a man he knew personally. He began to talk to him and asked him whether these men were taken to a camp. To which he got the answer: "Where did you see any camps over here? Why do you ask stupid questions as if you did not know where they are taken to?"

The personnel of the N. K. V. D. "datcha" /villa/ numbered not more than 3 to 4 persons because the members of the N. K. V. D. used to come there only for a very short time and they did not live there. Not far from the N. K. V. D. villa, in the village of BOREK there was a large N. K. V. D. Sanatorium. After the Germans had taken over, the N. K. V. D. villa was occupied by a high ranking German officer, allegedly a general who lived there with his A. D. C. but no military unit was stationed there. Including the general not more than 10 people lived there.

After the war of 1939 there were no prisoner of war camps in the neighborhood of Katyn and Gniezdowo nor were there any further westward. Neither were there any road repairs undertaken in that district apart from the normal work done by the local road guards.

The German troops occupied the Gniezdowo district on the 27th July 1941 while Smolensk /the upper part of the town/ was taken already on the 16-th of July. During 13 days the district was a no-mans-land and everyone could do what he wanted. True enough there were some disorganised units of the Red Army which remained in the district till the 26-th and then withdrew after blowing up the railway and the road bridges but there was no order at the time.

In the spring of 1942, Polish workers who worked there as members of the TODT organisation and were employed in collecting steel scraps, learned from the local inhabitants about the existence of the graves of Polish officers shot in the Kozie Góry forest.

I myself witnessed such a conversation. I know from KISIELEW that the Polish workers had visited him and had asked him to show them the graves.

Kisielew took them to the site on which they raised a small wooden cross. I saw that cross myself.

In 1943 an article appeared in the "NOWYJ PUT" a Smoleńsk newspaper printed in Russian by the Germans—about the crimes committed by the Bolsheviks on territories they had occupied in 1939. The article described the mass arrests, the deportations of hundreds of thousands of people to Siberia, of which the majority had perished there, and it also mentioned that Gen. Sikorski was unable to trace in Russia a few thousand of Polish officers at the time when he was organising a Polish Army on Russian territory. After having read this article I raised the subject when talking to the German interpreter and I said among others: "Why are they searching for these officers in Russia when they had been shot and buried here in Kozie Góry". The interpreter who was employed by the "Geheime Feld Polizei" made no comment at the time but a few days later a relation of mine who looked after the horses of the Geheime F. P. told me that I was to be sent somewhere the next day with n.c. officers of the Geh. F.P. I was loaded on to a cart together with two local inhabitants and we were driven in the direction of Kozie Góry. We were accompanied by two corporals of the Geh. F.P. on motorcycles. One of them called Arholtz or Eichholtz spoke Russian. I am nearly certain that I had seen him since either in March or in April 1946. He was then a prisoner of war in the Fallingsbasted camp in Germany. The same Arholtz or Eichholtz could probably give some information about the fate of IWAN WASILIEWICZ ANDREJEW from NOWE BATOKI who was evacuated together with his wife and Eichholtz to Mińsk, where his wife gave birth to a daughter. I do not know what happened to them after that.

When we arrived to the N. K. V. D. villa the two German N. C. O.'s asked me where were the graves of the Polish officers. I said I did not know but that I would go and ask Kisielew who lived close by and who was sure to know something. Kisielew was at home lying on the stove and when I told him what it was about he said that last year already Polish workers had asked him the same question. I told him that now we were going to dig up the graves. He dressed and followed me and then showed us where the graves were.

We broke up the frozen earth with pick-axes and took turns in digging up the mound. When we had already dug a fairly deep hole a cadaverous smell spread around. As my two comrades could not stand the stench and began to feel sick while I somehow proved more resistant I was the one to dig the last shift. Up till now we had dug through sand but at the bottom of the hole I struck now on a thin layer of black soil under which I finally uncovered a corpse. I first saw the military overcoat or rather its back belt since the body was lying face downwards. I wrenched off a button from the back belt and cleaning it I could see that it had an eagle on it. I handed over the button to the Germans and after they had inspected it I wrapped it up in a piece of paper. After which we interrupted the digging and returned to the village.

When we were back in Gniezdowo Lieut. Voss, the secretary of the Gen. F. P. arrived. I showed him the button and told him how we had dug out a hole and about the cadaverous stench which exhaled from it. On hearing which Voss took a bottle of spirit in case anyone felt sick again and took us all back to Kozie Góry. This time we went by car accompanied by the motorcycles. When we arrived on the spot Voss ordered us to widen the hole and to remove the head from the body and take it out of the pit. He took a good look at it, ordered us to replace it and to cover up the body with a thin layer of earth. He then strolled around the wood, crossed the little swamp at the bottom of the hollow between the mounds and then took us all back to Gniezdowo.

Later the same day the Austrian N. C. O./Unteroffizier/GUSTAW PONKA, with the help of the interpreter Arholtz or Eichholtz, took down in writing a statement which I made answering questions about what I knew of the shootings of the Polish officers. Together with me they also questioned IWAN ANDREJEW knick-named "RUMBA" from Nowe Batoki. I wish to stress that during the hearing I was asked to tell only what I knew and nobody threatened me about anything, neither was I shouted at. Andrejew who was questioned in my presence was treated in the same way. I was not present during the hearings of the other inhabitants of the neighbourhood but if the Germans had beaten up or even threatened anyone I would have undoubtedly heard of it. The best proof of the behaviour of those questioning us was that knowing that Kisielew was an old man they did not summon him to Gniezdowo but Ponka with the interpreter went to his house to take down his statement in writing. I saw Kisielew many a time after that and he was in excellent health although he was very old. On the day of my evacuation to the West, that is on the 24-th of Sept. 1943 I saw Kisielew

walking together with his wife, and he was even pushing a wheelbarrow before him. Anyhow there was no reason for beating up or threatening anyone of those who made statements because all of them including Kisielew gave evidence of their own free will.

A few days later a Red Cross Commission arrived and set up a Red Cross flag on the site. The interpreter told us that from then on the whole place was under the control of the Red Cross. The members of the Red Cross Commission interviewed us and questioned us about everything we knew of the execution of the officers and only the interpreter was present during these hearings. We talked quite freely and nobody shouted at us.

I also talked to the delegation of the Polish prisoners of war. Initially we spoke through the intermediary of the interpreter but one of the Polish prisoners of war—an officer with two or three stars—told the interpreter that he spoke bad Russian and began to speak to us in Russian himself without the help of the interpreter. Among the members of that delegation was a Polish Lieut. Colonel but he did not speak Russian.

I also talked to the delegation of English prisoners of war. The Englishmen first inspected the graves and then came towards us accompanied by the German Propaganda Chief. The Germans began to shout for the "Dolmetcher" / interpreter /. At this moment one of the British delegates, a tall officer with spectacles, broke away from the group, and came up to us and in rather broken Russian asked us: "Półkownik chcesz znat' skolkó platit nam dzienieg Germancy?" / "The Colonel wants to know how much the Germans pay you" /. Kisielew answered that nobody pays him anything. Later on the British questioned us through the intermediary of that English officer and asked us about how the Bolsheviks had transported the officers. After which they went off to inspect the graves of the executed Russians.

I also spoke to the members of the Polish Red Cross team. I recollect that one day after a certain body had been unearthed, the Poles after inspecting his documents began to talk excitedly among themselves and I overheard the name "Piłsudski" repeated once or twice. Interested, I moved up and asked them what had happened. To which they showed me the documents they held and told me that they had found the body of KALICINSKI—Piłsudski's personal physician.

Towards the end of May the Germans had finished the exhumation of the seven graves at this side of the swamp. At that time all the bodies from these seven graves had been taken out. Out of the eighth small grave on the other side of the swamp the Germans took out only a few bodies which they put back into the grave and ordered all exhumation works to be stopped.

Among those who gave evidence before the Germans was IWAN ANDREJEW from the village ZYTKI, nick-named "SZŁOPECZKA", over forty years old, not to be mixed up with the other IWAN ANDREJEW nick-named "RUMBA" / because of his crooked legs / who joined the evacuation to the West. In the summer of 1943 when rumours began to circulate that the Red Army was approaching the wife of SZŁOPECZKA threw him out of the house and declared she did not wish to live with him any longer. I understood then that she was afraid that when the Reds would come back all those who had testified before the Germans would be made responsible for it.

Throughout the years 1941 and 1942, after the Germans had taken over, no troops were ever stationed in the N. K. V. D. villa except for the high ranking German officer who, as I have already mentioned, lived there. Neither was the territory of the wood out of bounds and there were no guards around it, not even a fence the latter having been broken up for fuel. Anybody could stroll over the wood—I myself walked about it in search of mushrooms. The Germans never forbade us to walk in the neighbourhood of the villa. Neither did I ever see any cars arriving there except for the passenger car which belonged to the officer who lived there.

The people in the neighbourhood did not pay much attention to the whole matter because it was known to all that the N. K. V. D. had used Kozie Góry as an execution place for years and everyone knew how it was done.

SIEMION ANDREJEW from NÓWE BATOKI who worked in the workshop at the 95 Depot in KRASNY BOR to where he travelled daily by train, heard from the railway workers that the Polish officers were brought over by the N. K. V. D. from Koziełsk. I never heard anyone say about officers being brought also from Starobielsk or Ostaszków. ANDREJEW had moved further East to Russia before the Germans had arrived.

When the Red Army came up closer I decided to evacuate together with the Germans. IVAN ANDREJEW / "RUMBA" / who was an acquaintance of mine hesitated whether to go or to stay but I advised him to go West unless he wished to be shot by the N. K. V. D.

So he finally made up his mind and went Westward by car with the German interpreter THEODOR whose surname I forget. I wanted to go with them but they left me behind. It was therefore only a day or two later that I went out onto the highway and begged a German military policeman who regulated the traffic to help me to be taken West. He stopped a passing car which was going to ORSZA and that was how I left.

I have heard the name of MIENSZAGIN, who was the commandant of the city of Smoleńsk during the German occupation, but I know nothing of what had happened to him.

I wish to state additionally that when I first gave evidence before the Germans, the first one to be questioned was WASYLKOW, who was the third from among those who went to Kozie Góry for the first digging up of the graves. Wasyolkow, who was rather cowardly, when asked what he had seen answered that he had seen nothing and knows nothing to which the interpreter said: "Well, if you know nothing and you do not want to say anything you'd better go home".

On page 2 of this record in the 12-th line from the bottom the word "GUSTAW" has been written in; on page 3 in the 6-th line from the top the word "interpreter" has been added while in the 7-th line from the bottom "E 5" has been deleted and "95" inserted instead.

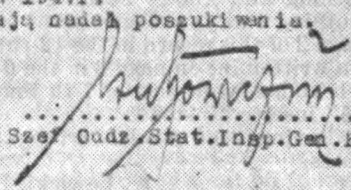
After having been read over, signed
/signatures/

S. Hubert.

KRIW /KRIWOŻERZOW/, /in Russian/
K. Lewicki, Lieut.

H. Heitzman.

EXHIBIT 39B

Tel: KEN. 34-41 ext. 320. 8200/Stat./II/48. Do: Komisja Likwid. M.O.N. Pan Płk. Dypl. Lunkiewicz.	INSPEKTORAT GENERALNY PKPR: Oddział Statystyczny 15, Egerton Gardens, London, S.W.3. 29. październ. 1948. POUFNE Sprawa: <u>Michał Łoboda/Kriwożerców/ 1</u> <u>Jan Chomiak - poszukiwanie.</u> Śladem pisma L. 8200/Stat./II. z dnia 12.X.48. melduję Panu Pułkownikowi: Władze brytyjskie powiadomiły mię, że Michał Łoboda vel Kriwożerców zmarł w 1947r. Za Janem Chomiakiem trwają nadal poszukiwania. <div style="text-align: right;">  major Szef Oddz. Stat. Insp. Gen. Park. </div>
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[Translation copy Exhibit 39B]

Tel. KEN. 34-41.
 Ext. 320.

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE P.R.C.
 Statistical Department,
 15, Egerton Gardens
 London S. W. 3.

8200/Stat./II/48.

To:
 The Liquidation Committee, M.O.N.
 P.S.C. Col. LUNKIEWICZ JERZY,

29-th October, 1948.

/ stamped with the word SECRET /.

In the matter of: MICHAŁ ŁOBODA/KRIWOŻERCÓW/ and JAN CHOMIAK—
S E A R C H.

Further to my letter Ref. 8200/Stat./II dated the 12-th Oct. 1948 I report the following:

British Authorities have notified me that Michał ŁOBODA vel KRIWOŻERCÓW died in 1947.

The search as to the whereabouts of Jan CHOMIAK is still in progress.

/ Illegible signature / Major,
 Chief of the Stat. Dept. of the Gen. Insp.
 P.R.C.

Mr. FLOOD. For the benefit of the record, and to orient these exhibits which are being considered later by the committee, will you just state briefly the elements of this Kriwoserzew case, and its significance to the Katyn matter?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Kriwoserzew——

Mr. FLOOD. I want to know who he was, how he came to the attention of the Polish London Government, and what connection he has (or his case has) with Katyn. Just give me in one paragraph Colonel, for the purpose of the documentary record, the significance of this man to this case.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Kriwoserzew was an inhabitant of a village near Gnizdowa. There he has many friends, and from them he learned about the fate of the Polish officers in Katyn Forest. Later, when the Russians started the offensive, he fled to Germany and worked in Berlin. Later he went to the western zone of Germany where he went to the Polish authorities declaring that he is a witness of the Katyn massacre.

Mr. FLOOD. Did this man come to London?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. He was in communication with you here in London?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And he was subsequently found dead in London?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Not in London, in the provinces.

Mr. FLOOD. In England?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. In England, yes.

Mr. FLOOD. At this time I will ask this witness to step aside while we place on the stand the investigator for the committee, Mr. Pucinski.

TESTIMONY OF ROMAN PUCINSKI, [INVESTIGATOR FOR THE COMMITTEE

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Pucinski, you have already been sworn in this matter. I am advised that you have to present to the committee a document having to do with the Kriwoserzew case, is that correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct, Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you present that to me at this time?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. [Document handed to Mr. Flood.]

Mr. FLOOD. I now ask the stenographer to mark as exhibit No. 40 the document just handed to me by the investigator.

(The document referred to was marked as "Exhibit No. 40" and follows:)

EXHIBIT 40

Y KRIWOSERZEW Ivan
born on ^{in Gnieznowo, Russia, Russian Army} 20.7.1915 reported
to the first Polish officer
I met to ~~ref~~ tell the
whole story of the
massacre of the Polish
officers at Katyn in 1940.
My village was situated
about 3 kilometers from
the wood where the shooting
took place.
When the place ~~was~~ ^{was}
occupied by the
Germans ~~that~~ I stayed

there (in my home village, Gniardow)
 In 1943 I learned from the
 Germans that they are
 interested in the massacre ^{in Katyn} of Polish Officers, and
 that the matter is of
 international importance.
 I reported to them and told
 them all I knew. ^{and to do further investigation} I worked for
 three months on opening the
 mass graves of Polish Officers
 when Russians moved forward.
 I was sent by the Germans
 into Germany and worked as
 a railway worker in Berlin.
 Before Russians occupied Berlin
 I fled on foot here.
 I state the above solemnly in
 place of oath. (Signed) [Signature]
 Veriden 31.5.45

[Translation of Exhibit 40]

I KRIWOSERZEW Ivan born at Gniezdowo, Russia, Russian Citizen, on 20.7.1915 reported to the first Polish officer I met to tell the whole story of the massacre of the Polish officers at Katyn in 1940.

My village was situated about 3 kilometers from the wood where the shooting took place.

When the place was occupied by the Germans I stayed there (in my Home village, Gniezdowo). I learned from the Germans that they are interested in finding the missing Polish officers, interested in the massacre of Polish officers, and that the matter is of international importance. I reported to them and told them all I knew and to different International inquiring committees. I was the first to show them the graves. I worked for three months in opening the mass graves of Polish officers.

When Russians moved forward I was sent by the Germans into Germany and worked as a railway-worker in Berlin. Before Russian occupied Berlin I fled on foot here.

I state the above solemnly in place of oath.

Verden, 31.5.45.

(Signed) (Kriw)
Kriwozerzew
(in Russian)

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Pucinski, I now show you exhibit No. 40, and ask you to identify what that exhibit is.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Flood, this is an original statement reportedly in the handwriting of Kriwozerzew, made to a Polish officer, and signed in his own handwriting——

Mr. FLOOD. Whose own handwriting?

Mr. PUCINSKI. In Kriwozerzew's handwriting, his own signature, on May 31, 1945, in a displaced persons camp at Verden in Germany. This statement was taken by a Major Gruber, who had been referred to by our undisclosed witness in Chicago, and subsequently turned over——

Mr. FLOOD. By "undisclosed witness", you mean a witness that we had called and sworn in Chicago, whose identity was known to the committee, but for the reason of his having relatives behind the iron curtain, the committee did not disclose his name?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct; and this statement subsequently was turned over to the Polish Government in exile, and it was given to me the other day by Mr. Jankowski——

Mr. FLOOD. By whom?

Mr. PUCINSKI. By Mr. Jankowski, on instructions of the President of the Polish Government in exile, Mr. Zaleski.

Mr. FLOOD. And the document has been in your possession ever since until such time as you present it to the committee now?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. We will offer that in evidence.

Now, Colonel Lunkiewicz, will you return to the stand?

TESTIMONY OF COL. JERZY LUNKIEWICZ—Resumed

Mr. FLOOD. Will you let me have in one folder all of the communications, telegrams, memoranda and so forth, which you referred to as dealing with the matter of Katyn?

Will you describe briefly what those documents are?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. These are statements of the visiting Polish journalist, Mr. Goetel, in Katyn. They were made in 1946 so you can see he didn't think those things up just recently.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Goetel was a witness who testified before this committee on yesterday's hearing?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes. This is the testimony of Mrs. Ostromecka about the body of her sister which was found in the Katyn grave.

Mr. FLOOD. As I understand it, Colonel, the lady to whom you now refer with reference to this particular document is the sister of the only female whose body was found with those of the Polish officers at Katyn, and that female was a Polish aviatrix?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. And this is a document of her sister?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Anything else?

Mr. LUNKIEWICZ. No, that is all, in this matter.

I now ask the stenographer to mark for identification exhibits No. 41 and No. 42.

(Documents referred to marked "Exhibit No. 41" for identification, and "Exhibit No. 42" for identification.)

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you, Colonel, exhibit No. 41 and ask you whether or not that is the exhibit containing the document to which you have just referred in your testimony, namely, statements with reference to Katyn from Mr. Goetel?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you exhibit No. 42 and ask you whether or not it is an exact copy of statements made by Mrs. Musnika.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. It is, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. In that case we offer in evidence translations of exhibit No. 41 and exhibit No. 42. Photostatic copies of the original statements will remain as part of this committee's permanent file.

[Translation copy of Exhibit 41]

REPORT BY FERDYNAND GOETEL ON HIS VISIT TO KATYN

In the first days of April 1943, I received a telephone call from Wladyslaw Zyglarski, the Secretary of the Society of Authors and Journalists and during the Occupation, one of the members of the so called Literary Committee of the R.G.O. /Central Council of Welfare/. He informed me that I was being sought in some urgent matter by Dr. Grundman from the "Abteilung Propaganda" of the "General Gouvernement". Thinking that I was wanted about something which had to do with the canteen kitchen in the building of the Literary Society I went to town to find out whether something had occurred in the canteen. In the meantime, Grundman had found out from Zyglarski that I lived in Zoliborz, 56, Mickiewicz Street and had come to my house by car. Not having found me at home he repeated to my wife that he had a very urgent matter to see me about and he made a note of the telephone number in the nearest little shop. I usually made use of the telephone belonging to the photographer who lived in the basement of our house. Zyglarski and one or two others knew of its existence.

Having decided that something new must have happened I went to see Grundman even before noon on the same day. He told me that in the vicinity of Smolensk in a place called Kozie Góry the Intelligence Service of the German Army had discovered enormous mass graves in which were buried murdered Polish officers. The exhumation works had already begun and the results were most startling. There were to be several thousand victims. The German Authorities greatly stirred by this discovery had decided to send to the place a Polish delegation to which all help would be given without asking in return for any public statements including such which could be used by German propaganda.

I was taken aback by this news which immediately brought to my mind the idea that this might well be a clue to the mystery of the missing Polish prisoners of war who had vanished from the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostaszków.

After some quick thinking I asked Grundman why did not he approach the Polish Red Cross in this matter, it being the most suitable institution to deal with such a case, both because of its statutory aims and because of the importance the Polish public would attach to its opinion. Grundman replied that although in his opinion the P.R.C. should in fact be asked to take this matter in hand there were reasons which made the relations between the German Authorities and this Institution difficult. He hinted that probably I knew what these reasons were.

Which in fact I did. The P. R. C. was the only institution in the General Government which persisted as a remnant and vestige of the sovereign Polish State. Shielded by International Law the P. R. C. successfully resisted the several attempts to liquidate it undertaken by the Germans. As a result its existence was little more than a formality and its activities were reduced to the narrowest frames of taking care of the invalides of the 1939 campaign.

Realizing that, if the news about Kozie Góry would turn out to be true, the position of the P. R. C. might all of a sudden greatly gain in strength, I stipulated that in the event of my going to Katyn I was going to send a report about my observations made there to the P. R. C. In the first place, however, I would like to be told who was supposed to participate in the delegation. Grundman stated that invitations to join the delegation had been sent out to representatives of the Central Board of the R. G. O., and of the Warsaw branch of the R. G. O., to the clergy, to the Warsaw Municipal Council and to the Judicature. I was going to meet the representatives of all these institutions at an informative conference in the "Propagandaamt" which was to take place tomorrow morning. The departure by air would take place in the morning of the third day. I declared then that in given circumstances I was willing to take part in the delegation subject however to my opinion about what I was going to see not being hampered in any way since I would be going there in the capacity of a counsel to Poland. I warned that I had no intention of concealing whatever I was about to see in Kozie Góry and that I would do my utmost to acquaint Polish public opinion with my observations. Grundman agreed to my conditions.

Having left Grundman I immediately tried to establish contact with the "Underground" and with the institutions Grundman had mentioned to me. I was a member of the O. P. W. "Fighting Poland" and at the time I was editor of the "Nurt" /"Undercurrent"/. I had no direct contact with Julian Piasecki who was my superior. My liason "Karol" would be contacting me only in a few days time. I therefore made use of another channel and through the intermediary of a neighbour of mine Marjan Buczkowski and his liason "Marta" I passed the information about my interview with Grundman to Hubert who was then Chief of Propaganda of the Underground Army for the Warsaw district.

According to Buczkowski Hubert did not take my news very seriously and was supposed to have said that: "The Germans are trying to put a fast one on Goetel". However, he gave his consent to my going to Smoleńsk requesting that I give him a full report upon my return.

Next I got in touch by telephone with President Kulski and Machnicki from the R. G. O. Neither of them denied that they had been invited to undertake the journey but they also seemed to take the whole matter rather lightly and were somewhat scared of it. The attitude of Hubert as that of the others rather annoyed me. The element of aversion for any initiative on the part of the Germans did not seem to me to be a sufficient excuse in this particular case. I was aware that the Katyn case was going to be a painful and dangerous venture to whoever was going to be mixed up with it. Because whatever we were going to discover there we were liable to becoming targets of an attack—either from the Germans or from the Bolsheviks. A foretaste of the latter already began to let itself be felt in Warsaw.

At the meeting which took place the next day in the "Propagandaamt" I met representatives of the City of Warsaw in the persons of Dr. Kipa and Dr. Zawistowski, President Kulski having excused himself because of pressure of work. The Warsaw R. G. O. was represented by director Machnicki and Wachowiak, the Clergy by the Rev. Prelate Father Kozubski, the judicature by someone I did not know. There were a few other persons present whose names I do not recollect and also Emil Skiwski, the writer, whose name was not mentioned to me by Grundman the day before. Grundman repeated to us the story about the Kozie Góry adding to it fresh details and then read to us the list of institutions and individuals who had been invited to participate asking us one by one whether we were willing to go. Father Kozubski declined giving as excuse the illness of Mgr. Szelagowski the Bishop of Warsaw and also his own awe of a journey by

aeroplane. Machnicki and Wachowiak also refused, however, they named someone else who would be going as a representative of the R. G. O. Dr. Kipa also gave a name of a doctor who would be sent as a delegate of the City of Warsaw while the man representing the judicature said that the President of the Court of Justice was seriously ill but that a delegate would be nominated and that he would report at the airport. If I remember rightly Father Kozubski gave finally a similar promise in the name of the Clergy. /Neither the representative of the Clergy nor of the judicature ever turned up the next day at the airport.

The following day at the airport I met two doctors, one from the City Council and one from the R. G. O. There was also Emil Skiwski and a few photographers. No representatives of the official press were present. There was however, a gentleman who introduced himself as the editor of a Lublin newspaper. From Cracow, by air, came Edward Seydrid, Director of the Central Board of the R. G. O. and Olenbusch, Chief of the German Propaganda for the whole of the General Gouvernement accompanied by a German cameraman in uniform. Finally there arrived a Pole allegedly from the Cracow Broadcasting Service who introduced himself by the name of Wasowicz.

We reached the Smoleńsk airport at noon. During the afternoon the Germans took us for a tour round the town and in the evening in the officers' mess they introduced to us three officers from the Propaganda Unit attached to the Smoleńsk Army. Two of them were lieutenants, one was a captain. The Katyn case was explained to us by Lieut. Slovencik, an officer of the reserve, allegedly a journalist by profession from Vienna. Of the other two one introduced himself as a sculptor from Insbruck. A lieutenant with the badges of the "Geheimpolizei" listened to our conversation from time to time. I guess that this must have been Voss of whose existence I learned only later.

Slovencik acquainted us with a more exact version about Katyn and showed us photographs of the forest, of the bodies and of the documents found on the bodies. He also showed us a few original documents which had already been disinfected.

One or two details of his story are worth mentioning. In the first place, the details about how the graves had been discovered. First traces of these had been found by the "Feldpolizei" [Field Police] which, at the time, was carrying out intelligence investigations among the local inhabitants. Apparently, those living in the neighborhood of the Kozie Góry forest—a part of the larger Katyn wood which stretches along the Dnieper river and the Smoleńsk-Witebsk highway—maintained that in the Kozie Góry forest, which for years had been a place of execution guarded by the NKVD, several thousand Polish officers had been shot and buried in mass graves. Allegedly, these mass graves had been discovered later on by Polish workers enrolled in the "Todt" organization who, having dug up one small place and having made certain that it was really Poles buried there, had raised a wooden cross on the spot of which there even existed a photograph. The cross itself must have been destroyed during the first major exhumation works. Anyhow it had served to indicate from where to start the digging. To our question of whether any of those Polish workers had been traced Slovencik answered in the negative.

Another even more interesting detail of our conversation with Slovencik was that although he was inclined to describe the whole case as a most dramatic incident from the Polish point of view—he had no idea where could have come from all these bodies of Polish officers. All he knew was what the local inhabitants had told him that they had been brought in transports arriving from the direction of Smoleńsk. As he already had in hand photographs and, I think, even originals of some of the letters and postcards found on the bodies he asked us whether we could explain why the address of Kozielsk repeated itself so often on many of the cards. I told him in short what I knew about the camps of Kozielsk, Ostaszków, and Starobielsk and I closely watched his reaction to this piece of news. It was most lively and convinced me beyond all doubt that Slovencik had learned about Kozielsk only from us. It was the only detail of our conversation of which he made a note. A moment later, after we had finished our talk, I heard him repeating the news about Kozielsk to Olenbusch and to the other Germans. I think that Voss was no longer in the room at that time.

Early next morning we were driven in cars to Kozie Góry. Turning into the wood we drew up not far from a large dug up site. It had the shape of a long ditch dug out probably along the whole length of the grave and right to its bottom but not to its full width which was made evident /x del. P.9./ by the feet and the heads of the corpses visible to both its sides. The sectional view of the grave showed that the bodies were lying in good order ranged in a few layers one on top of the

other. The grave excavated in the hilly site of Kozie Góry had in its upper part a dry soil composed of a mixture of sand and clay but in its lower part showed signs of subterranean water seeping through the soil. Not far away we were shown preliminary works for the unearthing of a second grave in which only the top layers of bodies had been uncovered. In both the graves local Russians were employed for digging out the bodies.

On the very spot and very close to the graves stood a small provisional hut in which worked the exhumation team under the supervision of Dr. Butz, professor of forensic medicine of the Wrocław University. Prof. Butz was in uniform in the rank of a colonel.

The works were only barely started. Nor far from the graves, on a clearing in the wood, about 200 bodies already unearthed were lying awaiting dissection. The bodies were numbered and ranged in a few rows. Near Dr. Butz's hut a number of other bodies were lying about probably those already examined by the professor. Parts of the uniforms taken of the bodies were hanging about on neighboring trees and branches. The whole gave the impression of a job only just started and not quite organized as yet. Dr. Butz asked us to choose any of the bodies we wished and that he would order them to be exhumed and examined in our presence. We pointed to a body in the middle of the grave. The dissection showed a skull pierced through by a bullet with both the entry and the exit holes visible. From a pocket cut open with a dissecting knife Dr. Butz pulled out a postcard addressed to a cavalry captain whose name I no longer remember. The card was written by his wife from the county of Grodzisk and was addressed to Kozielsk.

Among the bodies already identified which were lying around the hut were the bodies of General Smorawiński and General Bohatyrewicz. Answering my request Dr. Butz cut off one of the shoulderstraps from the uniform of General Smorawiński and tore off the ribbon of the Virtuti-Militari Cross from Gen. Bohatyrewicz's overcoat. I took these back with me to Warsaw together with a few buttons and a pinch of earth from the grave. I had these relics in my care till the Warsaw rising during which they were burned together with the whole flat and house in which I lived.

We then walked round over the whole of the area of the graves and we soon learned how to discern the graves as yet untouched. Their sides were slightly hollow, their surface uneven and they were covered up by young pine trees undoubtedly planted upon them in order to conceal them. Those small trees were all of an equal size and were clearly discernable against the background of the fairly young but wild and unkept pine wood surrounding them. The little pines planted over the graves were healthy and must have been growing upon the graves for more than one year.

From Dr. Butz I also received a list of names of those bodies which he was able to identify. There were about 30 of them. I added supplementary names to this list and checked it again in Gruszczanka on our way back.

During our stay in Kozie Góry German propaganda operators transmitted their observations about our visit there and several times they coaxed us to speak to the microphone and declare that the crime had been perpetrated by the Bolsheviks. We evaded these suggestions every time, finally however, urged and bored by the incessant coaxing I did say one sentence into the microphone in which I stated that in my opinion the bodies lying in these graves were those of the prisoners of war from Kozielsk of whom nothing had been heard since April 1940.

The man who had introduced himself to us as Wąsowicz made a long and pompous speech to the microphone.

Before leaving Kozie Góry I asked the Germans to leave us alone for a while at the graves because we wanted to honour the memory of the fallen victims. I had agreed the day before with Dir. Seyfried to make this move. The Germans withdrew and, as we stood over the graves, Dir. Seyfried uttered the following sentence: "I call upon the Polish Delegation to honour by a short silence the memory of our countrymen fallen here who had given their lives so that Poland could live". I wrote down these words and later on I included them into the statement sent to the Polish Red Cross with a request that a copy be sent to the Office of Propaganda.

Apart / x - del. P. 9. / from the episode with the radio propaganda we were unmolested by the Germans. /xx/del. P. 9./. We were given complete freedom of our movements and our talks with the local inhabitants were conducted in absolute freedom.

On our way back to Smoleńsk we stopped in the village of Gruszczanka where, in a house by the road, we were shown various objects and documents from Kozie Góry already classified. Some of them were displayed in glass cases.

I would also like to mention that during our visit to Kozie Góry certain members of our group talked to representatives of the local inhabitants. I listened to these without taking active part in them myself. These people confirmed in full the German version both as to the Kozie Góry site being an old place of execution and about the Bolsheviks having shot the Polish officers. I did not participate in these talks myself, because the circumstances in which they took place i. e. the hurry and the nervousness, made difficult both a methodical questioning and coherent answering.

We returned to Warsaw on the same evening. Upon my return I wrote a report to the Polish Red Cross. Through Buczkowski I sent a copy of this report together with further comments and the list of the first identified bodies to Hubert and another one through "Koral" to Julian Piasecki. When delivering my letter to the Polish Red Cross I asked that a copy of it be sent to Dr. Grundman of the "Propagandaamt". The reason for doing so had nothing to do with any sort of "co-operation" with the Propagandaamt in the matter of Katyn. By means of sending a copy of my report to Grundman I wanted on the one hand to force the German authorities into entrusting the investigating of the Katyn case to the Polish Red Cross while at the same time I hoped that by doing so I would succeed in breaking the reluctance shown in the matter of Katyn by the Polish Red Cross and other institutions.

In order to bring home my point even more drastically I made a few extra copies which I distributed to trustworthy persons. It is difficult for me to say today who had read and who remembers this report of mine. However, I know for sure that from among those who have remained in Poland it was read by the following personalities of the literary world: Jerzy Zagórski, Marian Buczkowski, Wilam Horzycza; of those residing in other countries, Józef Targowski and Alfred Wysocki must have read it as also did Mr. Wiesław Wóchnout and Lieut. Witold Tróscianko who are at present in England.

This report contained a description of our trip to Katyn and my impressions of what I saw there. In its conclusion the report stated that in all probability in the graves were buried all officers from Kozielec and maybe other victims as well. Further to that I stated that "I had made no other statements in this matter neither do I intend to do so", and finally I appealed that the carrying out of a thorough investigation of the Kozie Góry graves should be entrusted to the International Red Cross Commission.

I give these details about my report because when a warrant for my arrest was issued in 1945 I told my daughter to ask the Polish Red Cross for a copy of it. I had not a single one left because it was burnt together with all my documents in Warsaw. The Red Cross answered that it had no such letter. If that was really true it would be rather interesting to find out what had happened to it.

A few days after my return from Katyn I was informed through Hubert that my report was instantly passed on to General Rowecki who requested that I be told that "I had rendered service to the Polish cause by the attitude I had taken in the Katyn case". The report was to have been radioed to London. These informations had been passed on to me by Marian Buczkowski who was my Liaison with Hubert. Buczkowski cooperated with the propaganda unit of the Warsaw Underground Army in which he acted as the commander of section "R".

After the entry of the Bolsheviks into Poland and after a warrant for my arrest had been issued I still remained in Poland for a while. The prospect of my eventual trial rather interested me because I believed that I could drag out to light the Katyn case during the proceedings. Seeing however that such a possibility was becoming more and more remote and that the search after my whereabouts considerably slackened;—that, on the other hand, the Polish Red Cross had lost trace of my report and that the majority of those Poles who had visited Katyn had signed a declaration which the Public Prosecutor's Office had given them to sign and which contained the statement that they had been taken to Katyn by the Germans under duress and, when there, they had come to the conclusion that the Katyn massacre had been perpetrated by the Germans—I realised that under no account would I be given an opportunity to let myself be heard. I therefore left Poland in December 1945 to arrive to Italy in January 1946 and finally land in England in October 1946.

/—/ Ferdynand Goetel.

London, 19-th December 1946.

[Translation copy of exhibit 42]

REPORT OF MRS. JANINA DOWBÓR-MUŚNICKA

Mrs. Janina Dowbór-Muśnicka, born in 1910, daughter of General Joseph Dowbór-Muśnicki, was a member of the Poznań Aeroclub. She married Col. Lewandowski in the summer of 1939. In January 1941, Mr. Rafał Bniński, from Samostrzel in the district of Poznań who had escaped from Soviet imprisonment to territories incorporated into the Reich and later on had found his way through to Warsaw and who was a good friend of the family Dowbór-Muśnicki, related to me in Warsaw that Mrs. Janina born Dowbór-Muśnicka was imprisoned by the Soviets in Kozielsk. She had been taken prisoner by the Russians because after the outbreak of war on September 1-st 1939 she took an active part in it and while on duty on a reconnaissance flight over Eastern Poland was shot down by the Red Army and taken prisoner as a Lieutenant of the Polish Airforce and deported eastward. As to the conditions and her mode of life in the Kozielsk camp Mr. Bniński informed me that she was kept in separate premises and that she was taking active part in the secret religious activities of the camp taking part in clandestine services and baking out wafer altar Bread for which reason she was persecuted by the camp authorities who carried out several searches of her premises.

Mr. Rafał Bniński lost his life later on having been shot by the Germans during the occupation.

/Signed/ Mrs. ALEXANDRA ZOFIA OSTROMĘCKA,
born Dowbór-Muśnicka, daughter of General Konstantine Dowbór-Muśnicki, brother of General Joseph Dowbór-Muśnicki.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What are they?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. I have here a document which gives instructions by the NKVD about Baltic prisoners——

Mr. DONDERO. Let me ask this: Do those instructions follow the line of the type to which Father Braun testified in the United States?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. As to the disposition of Baltic and Polish prisoners?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. They were to be disposed of, or liquidated or killed, or whatever word you want to use?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. Then mark it for identification as exhibit No. 43.

(Instructions referred to marked "Exhibit No. 43 for identification.")

(Exhibit No. 43 is as follows:)

EXHIBIT 43

MINISTERSTWO OBRONY NARODOWEJ
WYDZIAŁ WYWIADU OBRONNEGO

TAJNE 1839/W.P.R./43
Szef Wydziału Politycznego MON.

L. 18. 6086 /P.W./43.
Londyn, dnia 21. XII. 1943 r.
Sowiecka Instrukcja o wysiedle-
niu ludności z okupowanych
Krajów Bałtyckich- inf.

Przesyłam w załączeniu do wiadomości odbitkę fotograficz-
ną sowieckiej "Instrukcji o przeprowadzeniu wysiedlenia
ludności z terenów okupowanych Litwy, Łotwy i Estonii, wro-
go ustosunkowanej do władzy sowieckiej".

Wymieniona instrukcja została zamieszczona w wydawnictwie
litewskim, wydanym przez Komitet badania skutków okupacji
sowieckiej na Litwie pod nazwą "Archiwum litewskie Tom I."
wydany w Kownie w 1942 r..

Załącznik 1. SZEF WYDZIAŁU WYWIADU OBRONNEGO MON.

Otrzymuje :
Szef Oddziału Specjalnego Sztabu N.W.

*P.T.
Pomocnik
Szef*

*Instrukcja powyższa była ściśle wykonana
na terenie na terenach okupowanych
Polski i Łotwy.*

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Maskvos instrukcija trijų tautų sunaikinimo reikšmė

Maskva, norėdama likviduoti Pabaltijo tautas ir nušalinti jas nuo žemės paviršiaus, parengė šturpą šių trijų tautų sunaikinimo instrukciją. Tai nepaprastai svarbus ir reikšmingas istorinis dokumentas. Jis dedamas čia ištiesai foto nuotraukų pavidale.

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО.

ИНСТРУКЦИЯ

о порядке проведения операции по выселению антисоветского элемента из Литвы, Латвии и Эстонии.

1. Общие положения.

Выселение антисоветского элемента из Прибалтийских республик представляет собой задачу большой политической важности. Успешное разрешение ее зависит от того, насколько умелые оперативные группы и оперативные штабы сумеют тщательно разработать план проведения операции и предусмотреть заранее все необходимое. При этом надо исходить из того, чтобы операция прошла без шума и паники, так, чтобы не допустить никаких выступлений и других эксцессов не только со стороны выселяемых, но и со стороны известной части окружающего населения — враждебно настроенного по отношению к Советской власти.

Ниже изложены указания о порядке проведения операции. Их следует придерживаться, однако в отдельных случаях сотрудники, проводящие операцию, исходят из особенностей конкретных условий операции и чтобы правильно оценить обстановку, могут и должны принимать иные решения, направленные к той же цели — без шума и паники выполнить данное им задание.

2. Порядок инструктирования.

Инструктаж оперативных групп умелыми тройками проводится накануне, за максимально короткий срок до начала операции, с учетом необходимого времени на переезд к месту операции.

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VL. KALININ

Уездные тройки заранее готовят необходимый транспорт для переброски оперативных групп и села к месту операции.

По вопросу выданных необходимого количества автотранспорта и грузового, уездные тройки договариваются на местах с руководителями советско-партийных организаций.

Выяснение для инструктажа должно быть тщательно заранее подготовлено, учтена вместимость, выхода и входа и возможность проникновения в него посторонних лиц.

Во время инструктажа здание должно быть обеспечено охраной из числа оперативных работников.

В случае, если на инструктаже кто-либо не явился из состава участников операции, уездная тройка немедленно принимает меры к замене неявившегося из резерва, который заранее должен быть предусмотрен.

Через участковые тройки сообщают собраниям о решении правительства, о выселении с территории данной республики для района учетного антисоветского контингента. При этом коротко рассказывают, что выселяемые из села представляют.

Обратить особое внимание присутствующих на инструктаже советско-партийных работников /из местных/, что выселяемые являются врагами Советского народа, а поэтому не исключена возможность оказания вооруженного нападения со стороны выселяемых.

3. Порядок получения документов.

После общего инструктажа оперативных групп, последним необходимо выдать документы на выселяемых. Личные дела на выселяемых должны быть заранее подобраны и разложены по оперативным группам, волостям и селам, чтобы при выдаче не было никаких задержек.

После получения личных дел старшей опергруппы знакомится с личными делами семей, которые ему предстоит выселять. При этом устанавливает состав семьи, наличие необходимых бланков для заполнения на выселяемого, наличие транспорта для перевозки выселяемого и получает исчерпывающие ответы на всевозможные ему вопросы.

Одновременно с выдачей документов уездная тройка разъясняет каждому старшему опергруппы, где расположены выселяемые семьи и рассказывает маршрут движения к месту высылки. Указываются также пути следования оперативного состава с выселяемыми семьями к железнодорожной станции для погрузки. Необходимо также указать место резерва воиновской группы в случае необходимости вызова во время каких-либо эксцессов.

У всего оперативного состава проверяется наличие и состояние оружия и боеприпасов. Оружие должно быть в полной боевой готовности, заряжено, но патрон в патронник не вставляется. Оружие применяется в крайнем случае, когда на опергруппу произведено нападение или оказано вооруженное нападение, или сопротивление.

4. Порядок проведения высылки.

В том случае, если в населенном пункте проводится выселение нескольких семей, тогда назначается один из оперработников старшим по выселению в этом селе, под руководством которого и следует оперативный состав в данное село.

Прибыв в село, оперативные группы связываются /при соблюдении необходимой конспирации/ с местными представителями власти: председателем, секретарем или членом сельских советов /и выясняют у них точное местонахождение выселяемых семей. После этого оперативные группы, вместе с представителями власти, которые выделены на производство описи имущества,

направляются в выселяемые семьи.

Операция будет начата с наступлением рассвета. Войдя в дом выселяемого, старший оперативной группы собирает все семьи выселяемого в одну комнату, принимая при этом необходимые меры предосторожности против возможных каких-либо эксцессов.

Проверяя состав семьи по списку, выясняет местонахождение отсутствующих и наличие больных, после чего предлагает сдать имеющееся у них оружие. В независимости от того, будет сдано оружие или нет, проводится личный обыск выселяемых, а затем и обыск всего помещения, с целью обнаружения оружия.

Во время обыска помещения для наблюдения за поведением выселяемых назначается один из членов оперативной группы.

Если при обыске обнаружено оружие в небольшом количестве, то его забирает опергруппа, распределив между собой. Если оружия найдено много, то оно, с вынутыми затворами, складывается на повозку или автомашину прибывшей опергруппы. Боеприпасы упаковываются и грузятся вместе с винтовками.

При необходимости, для перевозки оружия мобилизуется подвода с соответствующей охраной.

В случае обнаружения оружия, контрреволюционных листовок, литературы, иностранной валюты, большого количества ценностей и т.д., об этом составляется на месте краткий протокол обыска, в котором указывается об обнаруженном оружии или контрреволюционной литературе. При оказании вооруженного сопротивления, о лицах оказавших вооруженное сопротивление решается вопрос уездными трюками о необходимости их ареста и доставки в уездный отдел НКВД.

На лиц, из числа выселяемых скрывшихся до выселения или больных, составляется акт с подписью представителя

совпартизма.

После производства обыска выселяемым объявляется, что они по решению Препитательства будут выселены в другие области Советов.

Выселяемым разрешается взять с собой вещи домашнего обихода, весом не более 100 кг.

1. Одежду,
2. Обувь,
3. Белье,
4. Постельные принадлежности,
5. Посуду столовую,
6. Посуду чайную,
7. Посуду кухонную,
8. Продовольствие — из расчета месячного запаса на семью,
9. Имевшиеся у них деньги,
10. Сундук или ящик для упаковки вещей.

Громоздкие вещи брать не рекомендуется.

При выселении контингента в сельских местностях, разрешается брать с собой мелкий сельско-хозяйственный инвентарь: топоры, пилы и другие вещи, которые связываются вместе и упаковываются отдельно от общих вещей с тем, чтобы при посадке в эшелон они были бы погружены в отдельные специально выделенные товарные вагоны.

Чтобы не смешать с чужими вещами, на упакованном имуществе надлежит сделать надпись — имя, отчество, фамилию выселяемого и деревня.

При погрузке этих вещей на подводу, принимаются меры к тому, чтобы выселяемый не мог ими воспользоваться для оказания сопротивления во время движения колонии по шоссе.

Одновременно с работой по погрузке оперативными группами, присутствующее при этом представители советско-партийных организаций производят осмотр имущества и организацию его

крепления в соответствии с полученными ими указаниями.

Если выселяемый располагает собственными средствами передвижения, то его имущество грузится на подводу и вместе с семьей направляется на намеченный пункт погрузки.

Если у выселяемых средств передвижения нет, то приближаются в село подводы через местную власть по указанию старшего опергруппы.

Все лица, которые во время производства операции зайдут в дом выселяемых или не будут находиться там к моменту проведения операции, должны быть задержаны до окончания операции, при этом выясняют их отношение к выселяемым. Это делается с той целью, чтобы изъять скрывающихся от розыска полицейских, карателей и других лиц.

После проверки задержанных и установления, что они являются лицами не интересующего нас контингента, таковых освободить.

Если у дома выселяемого во время производства операции начнут собираться жители села, то надо им предложить разойтись по домам, не допуская при этом образования толпы.

Если выселяемый откажется открыть дверь своего дома несмотря на то что ему будет известно, что прибыли сотрудники НКВД, дверь необходимо взломать. В отдельных случаях привлекаются на помощь соседние оперативные группы, проводящие в данной местности операцию.

Доставка выселяемых из села на сборный пункт железнодорожной станции производится обязательно в течение светлого времени дня, следует стараться при этом, чтобы сбор каждой семьи продолжался не более двух часов.

Действовать во время операции во всех случаях необходимо твердо и решительно, без малейшей суеты, шума и паники.

Отбирать какие-либо вещи выселяемых, за исключением оружия, контрреволюционной литературы и валюты, а также пользоваться продуктами питания выселяемых — категорически воспрещается.

Предупредить всех участников операции о строжайшей судебной ответственности за попытку присвоения отдельных вещей выселяемых.

5. Порядок разделения семьи выселяемого от главы.

Ввиду того, что большое количество выселяемых должно быть арестовано и размещено в специальных лагеря, а их семьи следуют в места специальных поселений в отдаленных областях, поэтому необходимо операцию по настиг, как выселяемых членов семьи, так и главы их, проводить одновременно не обставляя им о предстоящем их разделении. После того, когда проведен обыск и оформлены соответствующие документы для личного дела, в квартире выселяемого, оперативный работник заполняет документы на главу семьи, вкладывает их в личное дело на него, а документы, оформленные на членов семьи, вкладываются в личное дело выселяемой семьи.

Сопровождение не всей семьи до станции погрузки производится на одной подводе и лишь на станции погрузки главу семьи помещают отдельно от семьи, в специально предназначенный для глав семей вагон.

Во время сбора в квартире выселяемых предупредить главу семьи о том, что личные мужские вещи складывать в отдельный чемодан, так как будет проходить самостоятельная обработка выселяемых мужчинам отдельно от женщин и детей.

На станциях погрузки глав семей, подлежащих аресту, грузить в особые отведенные для них вагоны, которые будут указывать выделенный для этой цели оперработчик.

6. Порядок конвоирования выселяемых.

Сотрудники, конвоирующие колонну выселяемых движущуюся на подводах, садиться на подводы выселяемых воспрещается. Сотрудники должны следовать сбоку и сзади колонны выселяемых. Старший конвой периодически обходит все колонны, проверяя правильность движения.

При проходе колонны выселяемых через пункты, в том числе встречных, конвой должен быть производиться особенно тщательно, должным следить за тем, чтобы не было побегов, не допускал также каких-либо разговоров переселяемых со встречными их людьми.

7. Порядок погрузки в вагоны.

На каждой станции погрузки ответственным за погрузку назначается один оперативный работник и специально выделенное для этой цели лицо.

В день операции начальник пункта погрузки, вместе с начальником эшелона и конвойных войск НКВД, осматривают железнодорожную станцию, с точки зрения обеспечения и снабжения их всем необходимым (еда, унты, фуражи, раскаты и др.) и уладиться с начальником эшелона о порядке приема последних выселяемых.

Стационарная погрузка осуществляется красноармейцами конвойных войск НКВД.

Старшие опергрупп передают начальнику эшелона один экземпляр первоначального списка выселяемых. Начальник эшелона

по этому списку вызывает выселяемых, каждую фамилию тщательно проверяет и указывает место в вагоне.

Вези грузятся вместе с выселяемыми в вагон за исключением небольшого сельскохозяйственного инвентаря, который грузится в отдельный вагон.

Выселяемым грузятся в вагоны по семьям, дробить семьи не разрешается /за исключением глав семей подлежащих аресту/. Надо рассчитать таким образом, чтобы было до 25 человек на вагон.

После того, как вагон заполнен, необходимым количеством семей, он закрывается.

После приезда и посадки людей в вагон, начальником эшелона несет ответственность за всех переданных ему людей и доставку их к месту назначения.

Старшая опергруппы после выезда выселяемых заполняет рапорт о проведенной як операции на имя начальника уездной оперативной тройки, в котором кратко указывается фамилия выселяемого, обнаружено ли оружие и контрреволюционная литература, а также как происходила операция.

После посадки в эшелон выселяемых в одних рапортах о результатах проведенной операции, участники опергруппы считаются свободными и действуют по указанию начальника уездного отдела НКГБ.

ЗАМЕСТИТЕЛЬ НАРОДНОГО КОМИССАРА ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ
БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ СОВ. С. С. Р.
КОМИССАР ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В РАЙОНЕ

/ СЕРОВ /

Верно: *И. А. Серов*

[Translation Copy of Exhibit 43]

[Large red stamp:
SECRET]

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

COUNTER-ESPIONAGE DEPT.

Ref. No. 6076/W/43.

London, the 12th December 1943.

Soviet instruction about the Deportation of the population from the occupied Baltic States.

To the Chief of the Political Dept. of the Min. of Nat. Def.

For your information I send enclosed a photo-copy of the Soviet "Instructions regarding the manner of carrying out the deportation of the anti - Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia".

This instruction has been published in a Lithuanian publication issued by the Committee for the investigating of the results of Soviet occupation of Lithuania, which appeared in Kowno in 1942, under the title of "LITHUANIAN ARCHIVES, Vol. I."

Chief of the Counter-Espionage Dept. of the Min. of Nat. Def.

Signature ORŁOWSKI,
P. S. C. Lieut. Col.

Encl. 1.

Send to: Chief of Special Dept. of the General Staff of the C-in-C.

(The above instructions were strictly carried out also in occupied Poland.)

[Translation copy]

MOSCOW'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF THE BALTIC STATES

Aiming at the liquidation of the Baltic States and their wiping out of the earth's surface—Moscow has prepared an atrocious instruction in the matter of carrying out the destruction of these three nations. This is a most important and revealing Document. We give below photocopies of the full text of this instruction.

[Translation copy]

Plan of extermination of the Baltic States.

[STRICTLY SECRET]

INSTRUCTIONS

REGARDING THE MANNER OF CONDUCTING THE DEPORTATION OF THE ANTI-SOVIET ELEMENTS FROM LITHUANIA, LATVIA AND ESTONIA

1. General situation

The deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic States is a task of great political importance. Its successful execution depends upon the extent to which the county operative triumvirates and operative staffs are capable of working out a meticulous plan for putting the operations into effect and of foreseeing in advance all the indispensable factors. Moreover, the principle should be applied that the operations must be conducted without noise and panic, so as not to permit any demonstrations and other excesses to be raised not only by the deportees, but also by a certain part of the surrounding population known to be hostile to the Soviet administration.

Instructions regarding the manner of conducting the operations are described below. They should be adhered to, but in individual cases those conducting the operations may and should, depending upon the particularity of given circumstances of the operation and provided they evaluate correctly the situation, make such different decisions which would better suit the same purpose, viz., to execute the entrusted task without noise and panic.

2. Manner of issuing instructions

The instructing of operative groups should be done by the county triumvirates on the eve and within as short a time as possible before the beginning of the operations, taking into consideration the time necessary for traveling to the place of operations.

The county triumvirates will previously make ready the necessary transport for transferring the operative groups to the villages where the operations are to be carried out.

In regard to the question of allotting the necessary number of motor-lorries and carts for conveyance, the county triumvirates will consult the leaders of the Soviet party organizations on the spot.

Premises on which the instructions will be issued must be carefully prepared in advance, and their capacity, exits, entrances and the possibility of strangers entering them must be taken into consideration.

During the time of the issuing of the instructions the building must be securely guarded by administrative workers.

In case anyone from among those participating in the operations should fail to report for instructions, the county triumvirate should immediately take measures to substitute the absentee from a reserve force, which should be provided in advance.

The triumvirate through its representative should notify those assembled of the decision of the government to deport a listed contingent of anti-Soviet elements from the territory of the respective republic or region. Moreover, a brief explanation should be given as to what the deportees represent.

Special attention of the /local/ Soviet-party workers, assembled for instructions, should be drawn to the fact that the deportees are enemies of the Soviet people and that, therefore, the possibility of an armed attack on the part of the deportees should be reckoned with.

3. Manner of obtaining documents

After the issuing of general instructions to the operative groups, they should be supplied with documents regarding the deportees. Personal files of the deportees should be previously collected and grouped according to the operative groups of townships and villages, so as to avoid delays in issuing them.

After receiving the personal files, the senior member of the operative group acquaints himself with the personal files of the family which he will have to deport. He must check the number of persons in the family, the supply of necessary forms to be filled in by each deportee, and the existence of transport means for moving the deportee, and he should be given exhaustive answers to any questions in matters which are not clear to him.

At the time of issuing of the files the county triumvirate must explain to each senior member of the operative group where the deported family is to be re-settled and describe the route to be taken to the place of deportation. Routes to be taken by the administrative personnel with the deported families to the railway station for embarkation must also be fixed. It is also necessary to point out the places where reserve military groups will be held in case it should become necessary to call them out during possible excesses.

Possession and the state of arms and ammunition of the whole operative personnel must be checked. Weapons must be completely ready for use, loaded, but the cartridge should not be kept in the chamber. Weapons should be used only as a last resort, in case of the operative group being attacked or threatened with an attack, or when resistance is shown.

4. Manner in which deportation should be carried out.

Should a number of families be deported from one spot, one of the operative workers is appointed senior in regard to deportation from the village, and his orders are to be obeyed by the operative personnel in that village.

Having arrived to the village, the operative groups must get in touch /observing the necessary secrecy/ with the local authorities: Chairman, secretary or members of the village soviets, and should ascertain from them the exact dwelling places of the families to be deported. After that the operative groups together with the local authorities go to the families which are to be deported.

The operation should be started at daybreak. Upon entering the home of the person to be deported, the senior member of the operative group should gather the entire family of the deportee into one room, taking all necessary precautionary measures against any possible excesses.

After having checked the members of the family against the list, the whereabouts of those absent and the number of persons sick should be ascertained, after which they should be called upon to give up their weapons. Regardless of whether weapons are surrendered or not, the deportee should be personally searched and then the entire premises should be searched in order to uncover weapons.

During the search of the premises one of the members of the operative group should be left on guard over the deportees.

Should the search disclose a small quantity of hidden weapons, they should be collected and distributed among the operative group. Should a large number of

weapons be discovered, after having removed the locks, they should be piled into the wagon or motor-lorry which brought the operating group. Ammunition should be packed and loaded together with the rifles.

If necessary, a convoy for transporting the weapons should be mobilized with an adequate guard.

Should weapons, counter-revolutionary pamphlets, literature, foreign currency, large quantities of valuables, etc., be disclosed, a short record of the search should be drawn up on the spot, which should describe the hidden weapons or counter-revolutionary literature. Should there be any armed resistance, the question of arresting the persons showing armed resistance and of sending them to the county branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security should be decided by the county triumvirates.

A record should be drawn up regarding those hiding themselves before the deportation and of the sick, and this record should be signed by the chairman of the Soviet-party organization.

After the search the deportees should be notified that by a decision of the Government they are being deported to other regions of the Union.

The deportees are permitted to take with them the following personal and household belongings of not more than 100 kilograms in weight:

- 1/. Clothing,
- 2/. Footwear,
- 3/. Underwear,
- 4/. Bed linen,
- 5/. Dishes,
- 6/. Glasses,
- 7/. Kitchen utensils,
- 8/. Food—an estimated month's supply for a family,
- 9/. The money in their possession,
- 10/. Haversack or box in which to pack the articles.

It is recommended that large articles should not be taken.

Should the contingent be deported to rural districts, they are permitted to take with them small agricultural implements: axes, saws, and other articles, which should be tied together and packed separately from other articles, so as to load them into special freight cars, when embarking on the deportation train.

In order not to mix them with articles belonging to others the name, father's name and village of the deportee should be written on his packed property.

When loading these articles into the carts measures should be taken to prevent the deportee from using them as means of resistance during the movement of the column along the highway.

At the time of loading the operative groups together with representatives of the Soviet-party organisations shall prepare a list of the property and the manner in which it is to be preserved in accordance with instructions they have received.

If the deportee has his own means of transportation, his property is loaded into his vehicle which, together with his family, is sent to the designated point of embarkation.

If the deportees do not have their own means of transportation, wagons are mobilized in the village by the local authorities upon directives of the senior member of the administrative group.

All persons entering the home of the deportees during the execution of the operations or found there at the start of these operations must be detained until the conclusion of the operations, and their relationship to the deportee should be ascertained. This is done in order to disclose policemen, military police and other persons hiding from investigation.

Having checked the detained persons and ascertained that they are persons in whom the contingent is not interested, they are liberated.

Should the inhabitants of the village begin to gather around the home of the deportee during the operations, they should be called upon to disperse to their homes, and crowds should not be permitted to be formed.

Should the deportee refuse to open the door of his home in spite of the fact that he is aware that members of the People's Commissariat of Public Security are there, the door should be forced. In individual cases neighbouring operative groups performing operations in that vicinity should be called upon to assist.

The conveyance of the deportees from the villages to the gathering place at the railway station must in all event be done during daylight; moreover, efforts should be made that the gathering of each family should take not more than two hours.

Throughout the operations, in all cases which might arise, firm and decisive action should be taken without the slightest confusion, noise and panic.

It is categorically forbidden to take any articles away from the deportees—except weapons, counter-revolutionary literature and foreign currency—or to use the food of the deportees.

All members of the operation must be warned that they will be held strictly responsible for attempts to appropriate individual articles belonging to the deportees.

5. Manner of separating deportee from his family.

In view of the fact that a large number of deportees must be arrested and placed in special camps while their families will be re-settled at special points in distant regions, it is necessary to execute the operation of deporting both the members of his family as well as the deportee simultaneously, without informing them of the separation confronting them. After having made the search and filled in the necessary documents of identification in the home of the deportee, the administrative worker shall draw up documents for the head of the family and place them in his personal file, but the documents drawn up for the members of his family should be placed separately in the personal file of the deportee's family.

However, the moving of the entire family to the station should be done in one vehicle, and only at the station should the head of the family be placed separately from his family in a railway car specially intended for the heads of families.

While gathering together the family in the home of the deportee, the head of the family should be warned that personal belongings of the men should be packed into a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection of the deported men will be made separately from the women and children.

At the stations the possessions of the heads of the families subject to arrest should be loaded into railway cars assigned to them, which will be designated by special operative workers appointed for that purpose.

6. Manner of conveying the deportees.

It is strictly prohibited for the operatives conveying the vehicle-drawn column of deportees to sit in the wagons of the deportees. The operatives must follow along-side and at the rear of the column of deportees. The senior operator of the convoy should periodically go up and down the entire column to check the correctness of movement.

The convoy must act particularly carefully in conducting the column of deportees through inhabited spots as well as at the encounter of passers-by; they should see to it that there are no attempts made to escape, and no exchange of words should be permitted between the deportees and passers-by.

7. Manner of embarking.

At each point of embarkation the members of the operative triumvirate and a person specially appointed for that purpose shall be responsible for the embarkation.

On the day of the operations the chief of the point of embarkation together with the chief of the echelon and of the conveying military forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shall examine the railway cars furnished to see whether they are supplied with all necessities—bunks, bed pans, lanterns, railings, etc./ and shall discuss with the commander of the echelon the manner in which the latter will take over the deportees. The embarkation station shall be encircled by the soldiers of the conveying troops of the Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

The senior member of the operative group shall deliver to the commander of the echelon one copy of the list of deportees in each railway car. The commander of the echelon will thereupon call out the deportees according to this roll and will carefully check each family and designate their place in the railway car.

The possessions of the deportees should be loaded into the car together with the deportees, with the exception of the small agricultural implements, which should be loaded into a separate car.

The deportees will be loaded into railway cars by families; it is not permitted to break up a family / with the exception of heads of families subject to arrest/. An estimate of 25 persons to a car should be observed.

After the railway car has been filled with the necessary number of families, it should be locked.

After the people have been taken over and loaded into the echelon train, the commander of the train will bear responsibility for all the persons turned over to him and for their reaching their destination.

After handing over the deportees the senior member of the operative group shall draw up a report to the effect that he has performed the operations entrusted

to him and address the report to the chief of the county operative triumvirate. The report should briefly contain the name of the deportee, whether any weapons and counter-revolutionary literature were discovered, and how the operations ran.

Having placed the deportees on the echelon of deportees and after submitting reports of the results of the operations performed, members of the operative group will be considered free and will act in accordance with the instructions of the chief of the county branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security.

DEPUTY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF STATE

SECURITY OF THE U. S. S. R.

Commissar of State Security of the Third Rank.

----- signed: / SEROV / .

Correct: / signed / MASHKIN.

Mr. FLOOD. Colonel, the Catholic priest, Father Braun, who testified before this committee in Washington, made reference in his testimony to certain instructions in writing given to the NKVD having to do with the disposition of Polish prisoners. I now show you exhibit No. 43, and ask you whether or not that is a copy of such instructions?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. We now offer in evidence exhibit No. 43.

There have been handed to me two additional exhibits in the form of notices signed by Timoshenko. I ask that the stenographer mark the original notice for identification "Exhibit No. 44," and the photostat thereof for identification as "Exhibit No. 45."

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 44 for identification" and "Exhibit No. 45 for identification." Exhibit No. 44, the original, was returned to the witness, exhibit No. 45 is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 45

ŻOŁNIERZE!

W ciągu ostatnich dni armja polska została ostatecznie rozgromiona. Żołnierze miast: **Tarnopol, Galicz, Równo, Dubno** w ilości przeszło 60.000 osób dobrowolnie przeszli na naszą stronę.

Żołnierze! Co pozostało wam? O co i z kim walczyć? Dla czego narażacie życie? Opór wasz jest bezskuteczny. Oficerowie pędzą was na bezsensowną rzeź. Oni nienawidzą was i wasze rodziny. To oni rozstrzelali waszych delegatów, których posłaliście z propozycją o poddaniu się. Nie wiercie swym oficerom. Oficerowie i generałowie są waszymi wrogami, chcą oni waszej śmierci.

Żołnierze! Błicie oficerów i generałów. Nie podporządkowujcie się rozkazom waszych oficerów. Pędźcie idźcie z waszej ziemi. Przechodźcie śmiało do nas, do waszych braci, do Armji Czerwonej. Tu znajdziecie uwagę i troskliwość.

Pamiętajcie, że tylko Armja Czerwona wyzwoli naród polski z nieszczęsnej wojny, i uzyskacie możność rozpocząć pokojowe życie.

Wiercie nam! Armja Czerwona—Związku Radzieckiego—to wasz jedyny przyjaciel.

Dowódca frontu Ukraińskiego S. TIMOSZENKO.

W E 570/45

[Translation copy of Exhibit 45]

PROCLAMATION TO POLISH SOLDIERS ISSUED IN SEPTEMBER 1939 BY MARSHAL TIMOSHENKO, SOVIET COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE "UKRAINIAN FRONT", AFTER THE CROSSING OF THE POLISH FRONTIER BY THE RED ARMY

SOLDIERS: In the last few days, the Polish Army has been finally destroyed. The soldiers from the towns of Tarnopol, Halicz, Równo, Dubno, numbering over sixty thousand, have crossed over to us of their own free will. Soldiers, what has been left to you? What are you fighting for? Why are you risking your lives? Your resistance is useless. Your officers are driving you to senseless slaughter. They hate you and your families. It was they who had shot the delegates whom you sent to us with a proposition of surrender. Do not believe your officers. It is the officers and generals who are your enemies and they wish your death!

Soldiers—strike against your officers and generals! Do not obey the orders of your officers. Drive them out of your land. Do not fear us, come over to us, to your brethren, to the Red Army. Here you shall find care and esteem.

Remember that only the Red Army will deliver the Polish Nation from this unfortunate war and you shall have an opportunity to restart your lives anew. Believe us—the Red Army is your only friend!

/Signed/ S. TIMOSHENKO.
C.-in-C. of the Ukrainian Front.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you exhibit No. 44, Colonel, and ask you whether or not that is the copy which you have had in your possession until you presented it to the committee today, of the Timoshenko order urging Poles to desert to the Russians discussed in his testimony by General Komorowski yesterday before the committee?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you exhibit No. 45, and ask you whether or not that is an exact photostatic reproduction of exhibit No. 44?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. We now return to you exhibit No. 44, and offer in evidence exhibit No. 45. Is that all?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. That's all, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. We appreciate very much, Colonel, the time that you have spent with this committee in assisting us all week long at these very long and very important hearings held here in London, and especially do we thank you for your patience and industry in assembling from the vast library of documents on this subject in the possession of the Polish Government in London these particular documents which you have presented to us for identification today, and for the time and trouble you have taken in the photostating of these important exhibits. Now I understand you have an additional statement you desire to make?

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. No, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. I am sure you appreciate the committee understands fully that you are acting as the so-called head of an organization operating under General Anders and the Polish Government, an extensive organization that has been accumulating these documents, analyzing them and preparing them for this presentation.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you express our compliments to your fellow workers as well.

Colonel LUNKIEWICZ. Thank you very much. It is my duty to do it; it is my duty toward my friends and comrades who are buried in Russia. It was my duty to help you in your very difficult task.

Mr. FLOOD. Thank you very much.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MAJ. JAN KACZKOWSKI

Mr. FLOOD. Major, yesterday you testified in connection with your duties as chief of the Aid or Assistance Bureau of the Polish Government in rendering aid and assistance to the friends, relatives, and families of Polish officers missing in Russia, and you now appear today for the purpose of identifying and presenting to the committee a list of names which was accumulated by your organization; is that correct?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Upon which was predicated one and perhaps the first source of information, that list of names of the Polish officers missing in Russia; is that correct?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I now show you two volumes of such list of names presented to the committee. Volume 1, which contains the names alphabetically arranged from A to L, and volume 2, containing the names alphabetically from L to Z.

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now will the stenographer mark for identification as exhibit 46, volume 1, and as exhibit 47, volume 2. (The documents were marked accordingly.) Major, I now show you exhibits Nos. 46 and 47 and ask you whether or not they are, in two volumes, the list of names just described as having been compiled by your organization of the names of the missing officers at Katyn?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. They will be offered in evidence.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Major, that is the first list that was made the basis of the list which was later identified by Adam Sawczynski?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DONDERO. Where did you get the names to make up these two volumes?

Major KACZKOWSKI. All soldiers who came to the Polish Army in Russia have been——

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I suggest it has been testified previously that all the various Polish soldiers and officers were instructed to assemble from their memories and from whatever records they had, the lists of all the officers whom they knew of in any of these three camps. Is that correct?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That information was all put together in one booklet and is contained in these two exhibits; am I right?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. That is the testimony which in part you gave to us yesterday?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Supported by your two colleagues who worked in the bureau with you?

Major KACZKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Who also testified yesterday and corroborated your testimony?

Major KACZKOWSKI. O. K.

Mr. FUCINSKI. I should like to point out that there are 9,989 names in these two volumes.

Mr. FLOOD. You have now pointed it out. Thank you very much, Major. Because the last two exhibits are so voluminous, they will not be published as part of this record but will remain as part of the archives of this committee's records when those eventually are turned over to the Library of Congress.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH MACKIEWICZ (THROUGH ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, INTERPRETER), 44 MARLBOROUGH PL. LONDON, NW. 8, ENGLAND

Mr. PUCINSKI. This witness tells me he will testify in Polish.

Chairman MADDEN. State your full name and address.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Joseph Mackiewicz, 44 Marlborough Place, London, N. W. 8.

Mr. FLOOD. Is this witness testifying under his own name?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you run the risk of actions in the courts by anyone who considers that he has suffered injury. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as the result of the testimony. Now the interpreter will repeat that admonition in Polish. (This was done.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates that he understands the instructions and admonition.

Chairman MADDEN. The witness will be sworn: Do you swear by God the Almighty that you will, according to the best of your knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Your name is Josef Mackiewicz; is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are a journalist and author?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you ever at Katyn?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; I was.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In what year?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was about May 20th; is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. It was subsequently to the 20th of May. I do not recall the exact date.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How did you happen to go there?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I was invited to go there by the Germans, and I contacted the commanding officer of the Polish Underground Army in Vilna—I cannot recall the name at this time—and inquired of them whether or not I should go to Katyn.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When I said that you were there in May, I do not remember whether I mentioned the year. Was it 1943?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you had an opportunity to see the graves and the bodies?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have made a record of your findings?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Since that time you have made a careful study of the entire Katyn incident; and, as a result of your investigations and the facts which you have assembled, you have written a book on it; is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now I would like to state also to you that I myself and several other members of the committee have had the opportunity to read your book, and we find the information there very valuable. At this time I would like to direct your testimony rather to the Russian report. Are you familiar with it?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; I am.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you made a careful study of it?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; I did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you made attempts to determine the authenticity of statements made in it?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; I have made such an analysis, and I have reported some of it in my books.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now would you care to give this committee the benefit of any observations that you wish to make regarding the official report made by the Russian authorities?

Mr. DONDERO. I do not know whether you have the Russian report, but may I suggest that if it is possible to put in the Russian report, it should be put in, and then from that let him begin to point out discrepancies.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I may say that we have it in our files in Washington. I do not know whether you brought it with you, Mr. Pucinski?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes; we did. It is part of exhibit 4 in part III.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Show it to the witness. [The Russian report was handed to the witness.]

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, Mr. Mackiewicz, would you care to give us the benefit of any observations which you wish to make regarding that report and point to the section of the report to which you have reference?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I would like, if it is agreeable, to avoid any comments on any portions of the Russian report which deal with the medical findings, because I myself am not a doctor—if that is agreeable.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is very good, Witness. Go ahead.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. First of all, I would like to make some general observations. The Russians accused the Germans of this crime in 1941.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I wonder if the interpreter got the answer correctly. Did the Russians make the accusation in 1941, or did the Russians accuse the Germans of having committed the crime in 1941?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness clarified his statement by saying that the Russians have accused the Germans; that they committed this crime in 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Witness, will you talk more loudly, because certain members of the committee understand Polish as well as the interpreter, and they would like to hear the original Polish.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. So, will you talk louder instead of just talking to the interpreter?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Yes; thank you.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. The Bolsheviks claim that the Germans committed this massacre in 1941. The Germans claim that the Bolsheviks did this in 1940. But why are they saying that the Russians did this in 1940? Because if they themselves, the Germans, had committed these massacres in 1941, it would have been more convenient and easier and simpler for them to claim that the Russians committed this massacre in June of 1941. Then there would be eliminated the entire difference in the medical examinations of these bodies and the medical findings, the dates of the documents. They would not have to subject themselves to the Russian accusation that they have fabricated many of the details as to the crimes committed at Katyn.

Mr. DONDERO. When he says "documents", does he mean the documents found on the bodies?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct. More so since when the Russians were retreating in 1941 it is known that they committed many murders and mass atrocities in their retreat, as, for example, the mass murders in Provieniska in Lithuania, in Berzewe; in Willejka; in Lwow. In neither one of these instances of mass atrocities committed by the Russians did the Germans accuse the Russians of committing these atrocities prior to the summer of 1941. And I stress that it was known at that time that the Russians in their retreat were murdering large numbers of people. Therefore, it would have been very simple for the Germans to claim that the Katyn massacre was committed in the summer of 1941 by the Russians. It is therefore difficult to imagine that the Germans, who themselves had committed many atrocities, would not have orientated themselves in this particular situation and recognized the convenience of placing the date in June of 1941.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness says he would like to know whether this particular point that he makes is understood by the committee.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You might state to the witness that I think it is very clear, and I believe the committee follows him thoroughly.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. The Germans, it is known, did not commit any mass atrocities against the soldiers, against entire camps. It is then reasonable to ask, why would they make an exception in this case and at a time when they were at war with the Russians to murder those who were being held prisoner by the Russians? In connection with this, I would like to stress or place emphasis on the camp at Ostashkov. In Ostashkov there were more or less 6,500 people, and there they kept primarily the police, who were for the most part dressed in uniforms which differed considerably from the Regular Army uniforms. When the Germans invaded Poland—particularly that part of Poland which they called Ostland—they retained part of the Polish police force which was there, and they continued to search for additional Polish soldiers and recruits from among the police that were in this Ostland district beyond 1941. I recall that in August of 1941 they gave considerable publicity to a recruiting campaign to

recruit former Polish policemen so that they could keep order and maintain order in that area as civilians. Why then would they want to kill off some 5,000 Polish policemen who were in the camp of Ostashkov and who were very definitely and bitterly opposed to bolshevism.

Mr. DONDERO. Before he goes on, ask him to state for the record whether or not it is not the fact that Ostland refers to east Poland; that is, Ostland is German for east land.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. No. I am speaking of that part which took in Lithuania, White Russia, a part of eastern Poland and Latvia. That has become known and popularly referred to as Ostland.

Mr. DONDERO. However, that is the east part of Poland, mostly?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. That is correct. Therefore, the Germans did not murder these policemen in Katyn because these policemen were not found in Katyn. Nobody had noticed them or observed them, and certainly they would have been observed, because they were in different uniforms. Neither the Germans nor the Russians claimed that at Katyn there were the bodies of policemen. In connection with this it is important to consider the number of bodies found at Katyn. The Russian communiqué claims that there were found at Katyn 11,000 bodies, but actually there were found only slightly more than 4,000, and these policemen were not there. The Bolsheviks, therefore, used the figure 11,000, because even if assuming that those 4,000 that were found in Katyn had been murdered by the Germans, the question arises: What happened to the rest? Furthermore, the latter of the correspondence becomes associated here. The Russians claimed that they had found correspondence on these bodies which indicated that these men had corresponded with their families in Poland up to 1941. If there were 11,000 bodies in Katyn, each one of them then most probably had some family in Poland ranging anywhere from 1 to 6 people.

The number of potential witnesses in Poland who could have been summoned to testify that they had corresponded with any members of their family in these camps up to and including 1941 would have reached the figure, roughly, of 20,000 to 30,000. The Germans, who had, of course, capitalized on a tremendous propaganda to their own advantage, would have taken into consideration the fact that, in a country where the people were generally adversely disposed toward the Germans, the news that the Germans had lied would have certainly spread very quickly through Poland, and the Germans would have never permitted to be compromised to that extent. These are the general observations that I wanted to give you. There is one more that I would like to raise: the question of the Jews. The Germans had conducted very active anti-Semitic action, and they tried to prove that the Jews and the Bolsheviks were one and the same. As proof of this, I can present to you a little brochure that was published by the Germans, in which they pointed out—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you tell the witness that that brochure is in the hands of the committee? The committee has already analyzed it.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. In this booklet there is frequent reference that the murderers at Katyn were the Jews. If, therefore, they had falsi-

fied the documents found on the bodies, it would have then been very simple for them to have destroyed those documents which in themselves indicate that among the victims at Katyn were many Jews, because that obviously would have hurt and curtailed the propaganda value; but the Germans did not want to jeopardize the truth of their allegations to that extent or to such an extent that they actually named and showed the Jews who were included among those killed at Katyn; for instance, Waltenberg, Mantel, Lippman, Glikman, and so forth, and there are others with first names which indicate clearly that they were Jewish, such as Abraham Engiel, David Godel, Samuel Rozen, Izaak Guttman, and so on. Now I would like to point out some specific points in the Russian report. The Russian Commission claims that these Poles had been brought to the rail station at Gniezdowo in the year 1940, that they were not murdered but instead placed into three camps, No. 1 ON, No. 2 ON and No. 3 ON, at a distance of from 25 to 45 kilometers to the west of Smolensk, and that during the time of the German offensive they fell captive into the hands of the Germans. This, of course, is a lie, because there were no such camps in that locality. The Russian Communiqué does not specify exactly where were those three camps. Naturally, if those three camps had actually existed, they could have notified Ambassador Kot, General Sikorski, General Anders and Mr. Czapski, who had conducted a long search for these men.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What you mean there is that they would have answered the many requests by those people whom you have just referred to by giving the exact location of the prisoners. Is that what you have reference to?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct. Furthermore, the Russian communique or report claims that the commanding officer of the Russian camp No. 1 ON was a major of the NKGB, Wietosznikow, and that when the Germans were approaching that area, the commanding officer had communicated with the commanding officer of the transport forces in Smolensk, Iwannov, with a request for rail cars in order to evacuate these Polish prisoners. Since he was unsuccessful in obtaining these railroad cars, consequently these Polish prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans, but Wietosznikow himself remained with the Russian forces and did not fall into captivity of the Germans. Therefore, if Wietosznikow, who was the commanding officer of the security forces, knew about the whereabouts of these soldiers, why did not Stalin and Molotov and Vishinky know about their presence virtually within the shadow of Moscow? and as a consequence, for 2 years they ostensibly searched to find an answer as to the whereabouts of these soldiers. Wietosznikow certainly must have reported to his superiors as to what happened to these prisoners, and when Czapski made his frequent inquiries to the NKVD, they would have immediately told him that these men fell captive to the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. And that is especially so when we have in mind certain evidence of telephone conversations that Stalin purported to have in the presence of the Polish negotiators with the Chief of the NKVD on just this very problem.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; and the NKVD ostensibly told him that they do not know where these men are. Assuming that Wietosznikow could not get the rail cars from Iwannov as he had requested, he could have evacuated the soldiers from these prison camps by foot, especially when you consider that the claim is that Wietosznikow appealed to Iwannov for these cars on the 12th of July; but the official Soviet communiqué of the 23d of July 1941, claimed that the Russians were still in control and possession of Smolensk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Witness, in that connection Wietosznikow claims he was unable to secure the necessary cars to evacuate these prisoners; am I right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; he claims that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Then he remained in Russia, as you have stated a few moments ago; is that not right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes. He himself ran away, but he claims that he left the camps there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would it not have been his duty to report to his superior officers then that he was unable to get the cars and unable to evacuate the officers?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Undoubtedly it would have been.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And, therefore, as a result thereof, the higher echelon of the Russian authorities would have known right then in July 1941 of the fate of these Polish officers; is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes. I mentioned that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Despite that, even after 1941, in response to the numerous requests by the Polish authorities, the Russians continued to state that they do not know the whereabouts of these officers; is that right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. It is also interesting to observe at that point on this detail and others of a like nature to keep in mind the peculiar genius the Germans had and have for keeping a complete record and documentation and list of all names and all possessions of any prisoners that came under their charge.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And the Germans, because of that very interesting psychological quirk, could not even resist keeping a list and even the details of the physical characteristics of people they executed?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And especially, despite their many other bad habits during warfare, they paid great attention to keeping a list of names of all prisoners of war of any category?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And regardless of what records the Germans kept of civilians, even though they were good, they made especially good records of all military prisoners?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And it is difficult to imagine that the Germans would have in their custody several thousand Polish military officers and that there be no record any place of such prisoners of war, contrary to all German practice?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Undoubtedly, they would have had such records.

Mr. FLOOD. And, so far, we have not been able to discover any Wehrmacht records of such Polish prisoners in that area during this period?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You may proceed now with your statement.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. The Russians admit, in their report, that they unloaded or detrained these Poles at the railroad station at Gniezdovo in the spring of 1940, but they do not explain in their report why they selected Gniezdovo to unload these men when they were planning to intern them in camps which were up to 45 kilometers away and there were many closer stations to those alleged camps that existed there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words what they claimed they did is that they took them off at Gniezdovo and drove them by trucks or automobiles 15 to 30 miles, when they could have taken them all that distance by train; is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. No; they do not claim in their report that they transported them by truck; they merely claim that they unloaded them at Gniezdovo. But the question of how they were taken to these alleged camps is moot.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But they do not explain in their report how they got 15 to 30 miles from Gniezdovo when they could have easily been taken there by train, is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct. Undoubtedly, they would have taken these men by train to these camps if they actually had not been loading them on trucks and taking them to the Katyn Forest.

Mr. DONDERO. Let me ask there: Were there similar buildings or camps at other places?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I believe, for the record, I might state that the witness has testified that there is no record of any of those camps.

Is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. There actually were no camps in the location that the Russians claim that they had taken these men to, and I had substantiated that to my satisfaction on the basis of my conversations with inhabitants of the general area and my conversations with Kriwozercow. All of them told me that there had never been any such camps in that area. Furthermore, I would like to call your attention to one more little detail.

The attitude in Poland and in Russia was so bitterly anti-German in 1943 that when they released the news of Katyn, that is, the Germans, in the spring of 1943, the announcement gave birth to a mess of various versions of what happened, which could have refuted the German version.

At that time, because communications, especially radio communications, had been severely curtailed, many people had not heard the German version. As a consequence, the Russian agents, who were very actively operating in all these parts, started rumors of their own version, merely to destroy and discredit the German version.

As an example, when I was in Katyn, there were with me two Portuguese correspondents. One of these men told me that he had

been taken to look at a little village, to which the Germans had taken him, and then he asked me repeatedly whether I felt certain that this was the work of the Russians. I asked him, "Why do you ask?" He said that he had talked to a young girl in this village, who told him that those murdered men "are really Jews who have been dressed in Polish uniforms."

Even such fantastic stories were circulated when if, in effect, and in actuality, there were those three camps in this area, they would have said that the Poles were in these camps and the Germans came by and captured these Poles and that they murdered them. Nobody at all has ever heard of any such camps in that area.

Mr. DONDERO. Do you mean by that that there were no German camps in that area, or any camps, since this was on Russian territory?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. There were no camps there at all.

Now, regarding the documents which the Russians claim that they had found on these bodies and which bore dates later than the spring of 1940, they have presented nine documents in all, from which the first and second number represent post cards which were mailed from Poland. So they could have very easily held these cards at the post office and they could have taken them whenever they needed them. They could have been authentic cards.

Next, there are receipts or scripts of notes, ostensibly written in these camps. These could have very easily been fabricated, and the last one is a letter belonging to one Stanislaw Kuczynski, written on the 20th of June 1941. This letter could have been actually written, but Kuczynski actually had been interned at Starobelsk and he had been evacuated from Starobielsk as early as December of 1939.

And I stress that he alone, Kuczynski, individually, had been removed from that camp on that date, and he disappeared and nobody every heard from him, and he conceivably could have been held captive in some other jail; he could have been executed without any definite knowledge now as to when or what year. He had never been to Kozielsk and his body had never been found in Katyn.

Now, the Russians claim in one phase or one portion of their communique that the Germans had very carefully examined these bodies. In another portion of their report, they claim that the examination was only superficial. But regardless of which is correct, it is known that the Germans had examined only 4,143 bodies. But the Russians insist on claiming that there were 11,000 bodies. So, what happened to the documents on the remaining 7,000 bodies which the Germans never examined?

If the Germans claim they found, on 4,143 bodies, a total of 3,940 documents, letters, and other writings, then it is reasonable to ask: Why could not the Russians find, on the bodies of 7,000 of these Poles who had not been inspected by the Germans, more than nine letters? It is perfectly clear, then, that if the Russians were retreating and the Germans were advancing, it is unquestionable then, it is reasonable, that if the Russians were retreating and the Germans were advancing, these 11,000 soldiers in those three camps certainly would not have sat by and done nothing.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, what you want us to understand is that after the Russians retreated and before the Germans took over, there would have been some period of time when there was no control over these camps?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And some of these prisoners would certainly have had a wonderful opportunity to escape?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They would not just wait for the Germans to pick them up.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes. I am personally convinced that during that time of the retreat and advance, there would not have remained one single soldier in those three prisons. They certainly would have all scattered, they would have fled.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I know that you made a very thorough investigation of these 11,000—some officers who were alleged by the Russians to have been in these camps. Have you heard of one who escaped?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. No, I have not heard of a single one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is it logical to assume that out of 11,000 officers, with a certain period of time elapsing with no one controlling; that at least one would have been able to escape and tell his story?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

I repeat and emphasize that if it were as they claimed, then all 11,000 would have fled and not one would have remained in those camps, and you would not only find one but you would find thousands of witnesses who could have told you exactly what happened and how it happened. On the other hand, we haven't found a single one.

You must take into consideration the tactics which I had an opportunity to personally observe, of the German method of advancing into various military areas. They had advanced in panzer points, leaving behind them vast territories completely unoccupied and unguarded. There were instances when, during their spearhead panzer advances, they left entire armies of the Russians behind and leaving them even armed.

I will give one example, near Wilno, of a forest or a woods called Rudnicki. The Germans had advanced almost up to the very border of Moscow, the city limits of Moscow, and still there were large Russian units in this forest. It is absurd to believe that the Germans would have selected these three camps in their advance and quickly placed a guard around these three camps to retain the prisoners in them, when they had left entire armies behind them armed.

Mr. DONDERO. Russian armies?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; Russian armies.

The country was virtually wide open for many, many long months, and you could easily move around and walk from wherever to wherever you wanted to. So these Polish prisoners could have escaped either to the Russian zone or they could have moved back to their families in their own homeland.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. To emphasize the absurdity of the Russian claim and the fact that not one officer was found who escaped, is not it a historic fact that not thousands but tens of thousands of Polish officers and soldiers have actually escaped from various Russian camps, even as far as Siberia, and have joined the Allied forces? Is not that true?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I do not know of any escapes by the Poles from Russian camps, but I do know that many many Poles escaped under much more difficult conditions. When there was not the hasty retreat present they escaped from German camps and rejoined the

Allied forces. To get a clear picture of the terrain and the conditions that existed around Smolensk at that time, I call your attention to an article that I had read in the Russian newspaper *Izvestia*, volume 224, the 22d September 1945, written by one Mr. Isakowski, titled "In the Smolensk Country," in which he describes how the Soviet Partisans had operated in that area and how they had roamed throughout the area destroying bridges and supply depots and various other underground activities. To consider that under these circumstances 11,000 officers could not have escaped, not 1 single officer to have been able to escape, is absurd.

Furthermore, the official Russian report claims that a few of these Polish officers did escape, but this was when the camps were under the control of the Germans, and that the Germans had captured these men and, according to the Soviet communiqué, they claimed that all of these men had been recaptured. This, of course, is not true, because under the conditions that existed at the time which I previously described they could not have captured all of them. I inquired about this particular point in the Soviet report in my discussions with Kriwozercow, and he said that there had never been any particular hunt or search except one big man hunt for a Soviet woman partisan. This is the only instance that he recalls. I would like to call your attention also to that portion of the Russian communiqué which quotes depositions from many witnesses. You must understand the value of such testimony by Soviets testifying before a Soviet commission. It is known that since 1939 in all the judicial and legal processes and hearings that have been held in Poland and in Hungary and in all these other occupied countries those who are accused almost always inevitably confess their guilt to the crime. These people, of course, are accused and are indicted; so what can you expect from witnesses who would not dare to testify to anything but what they have been told to testify? This is, of course, a fact notoriously known, and you must constantly keep that fact in mind as you proceed to evaluate this report.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In that connection, I wonder if you would care to comment for the record on the testimony of one particular witness that you refer to in your book, I believe; that is, Moskowskaja.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I mention her in my book, and I want to make it clear here that I personally had not talked to her. I do not even know if a person like that exists.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But you have read her statement; is not that right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes, I have read her statement.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What do you care to say about her statement?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I want to assert here that the testimony or the statement of this Moskowskaja is the most important point in the Russian report, because the Germans uncovered these graves, exhumed all these bodies, laid them out and then laid out all the documents and letters which they removed from these bodies. I was there and I saw this. When we were brought there we were told by the Germans that we are permitted a free hand to do whatever we want; we may examine these bodies, examine these documents, study these documents, take these documents for souvenirs, we may have anything that we see in that woods.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness corrects the interpretation to say "not all the documents." The witness points out that documents which were related to establishing the identity of a victim had all been compiled and placed in the one pile, but all other items, such as combs or cigarette holders, money, and various other personal belongings, we were permitted to examine freely. The Germans took all these personal belongings and just threw them into the woods, and it was laying all around the woods there. So, when I arrived there, one of the first things that I observed was the large number of newspapers. In some instances they were entire newspapers, and in some instances they were clippings from newspapers; in other instances just pieces of newspapers. In some cases, tobacco was wrapped in newspapers. I began examining these newspapers and I concluded that either on the basis of the text of these newspapers or the actual dates on these newspapers none of them were later than April or the spring of 1940.

Mr. DONDERO. Ask the witness what becomes of this woman.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He is getting to it now. That is introductory.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. The question is: In what possible or conceivable manner could 4,000 people who had all these documents and newspapers have ceased having these things as of April of 1940? The letters they, of course, could have kept for souvenirs, but it is incredible that such a large number of people could have been in the habit of saving old newspapers; and, as a matter of fact, they could not have kept them that long, because those newspapers were of a particular inferior type of newsprint and they probably would not have lasted a year and a half. They could not conceivably have had these newspapers on their persons from 1940. There was no sense to it, nor was there any purpose to it, to keep these papers, and, if they did have a reason for them, then these papers would have been so old and so badly worn that that would have been obvious and apparent.

Chairman MADDEN. Ask him how long he was there at the graves during the exhumation—a week, or month, or how long?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I was there 3 days.

Chairman MADDEN. Ask him if he knows how long this exhumation of the bodies proceeded. Was it a week, or a month?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Approximately 2 months.

Mr. DONDERO. Also ask him, just in a few words, describe the country where these graves were found, the nature of the soil and the color.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Could I first finish the testimony about this woman?

Mr. DONDERO. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Therefore, if the Russians claim that the Germans falsified the documents on these bodies, they not only would have had to remove from these bodies everything that carried a later date than the spring of 1940, but to believe that they would have gone so far that they would have thought of getting thousands of newspapers from that particular date and bring them and place them on the bodies of these dead men is virtually inconceivable. This would have required tremendous effort and tremendous preparation. As I was there and observed these corpses lying in the graves, they were lying there like sardines, completely pressed together. The pockets had to be slit open with a knife at the exhumation. The tops of the boots had to be cut with knives, and from there they removed

these various documents. To substantiate the Russian claim that these documents had been placed on these bodies by the Germans and then these bodies buried, and then to believe that a month later the Germans would have brought the people from the area in there and said, "Look, we found these bodies here," is absolutely absurd. That would have been a superhuman effort; and to all of the superhuman effort, this vast project which the Russians claim that the Germans staged and effected, they have only one witness, and that witness is Moskovskaja, who claims that one morning when she was going to the store and she left her home she had observed a Russian prisoner named Jegorow, and this Jegorow ostensibly or allegedly told her in complete detail how this plot was executed.

One of the fatal coincidences in this whole analysis of the Russians is that they had made a mistake, they had erred, and they claim that she had seen this Jegorow in March.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of what year?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. March of 1943, and that this Jegorow gave her the complete details, and then he proceeds to tell her what happened in April of 1943. Obviously a man could not be describing to her in March of 1943 what was happening in April of 1943.

Mr. DONDERO. What was the month in which the Germans overran the country?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. In July 1941.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you want to complete your story now?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I maintain that everything that the Russians claim in their official statement is a lie and that everybody who reads that statement realizes that it is a lie to such an extent that nobody has noticed this error in the official Russian communiqué and to the extent that the official Russian communiqué was published on the 5th March of this year with the mistake still included.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to state, Mr. Mackiewicz, that you have not explained yet, I think, what it was in March 1943 that Jegorow told Moskovskaja about what happened in April 1943.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. He told her that from camp 126, from the German prison camp where Russian prisoners were held, also without naming the exact location of this camp, 500 prisoners were removed which the Germans ostensibly brought to Katyn, and it was these 500 prisoners who were assigned the task of going through the vast process of exhuming these bodies and removing all the papers on the bodies, under, of course, the German command and jurisdiction.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. These 500, according to the Russian report, were Russians; is that right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes, they were Russians and, like these 500, were all executed, and that only this one, Jegorow, managed to survive, and for reasons which are unknown the official Russian communiqué does not state why these 500 were shot and where their graves are now, and this Jegorow subsequently was also captured by the Bolsheviks, and he only had time to tell all of this to Moskovskaja.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But in March 1943 he told Moskovskaja about work done by these prisoners in April 1943; is that right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Did this Russian witness have a reputation for clairvoyance that you have ever been able to discover?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I suspect personally that this man had never actually existed.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. With regard to these 500 Russians, then according to the Russian version they were compelled by the Germans to help exhume the bodies and to falsify the records; is that correct?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes, under German direction.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And according to the Russian version, after they completed this work, the Germans shot them—is that right?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Five hundred of them—that is the Russian version?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Have you ever heard anywhere in any Russian version any statement that the graves of these 500 Russians were found anywhere?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I have never heard of the whereabouts of these graves, and the official Russian communiqué makes no mention of them either.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that these 500 Russians who were supposed to have been compelled by the Germans to dig these graves, and were then shot by them, just vanished into the air so far as the record is concerned?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Yes, that is correct; and I want to stress here that not only does the Russian report fail to say where these graves are, but it also fails to say where this camp was from where these men were brought.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Camp No. 126?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. Camp No. 126.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you ever make an investigation as to the whereabouts of one so-called Menshagin alleged to have been burgomeister of Smolensk, appointed by the Germans and alleged to have been a lawyer, who was alleged by the Russians to have made certain statements with reference to the Germans killing the Poles?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. No. I personally have never seen Menshagin, and I have not had any contact with this man; but just recently I have read in a newspaper in Paris that a Russian who had fled from Russia issued a statement that Menshagin's statement and testimony was false.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know whether or not there ever was such a person at all as Menshagin?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. No, I do not know that.

There is one more point that I have not covered in my testimony. All of the Russian witnesses who are mentioned in the Russian communiqué, when they mention the date of the murders, say that these murders were committed in August and September of 1941. This is the witnesses' account. As an example, a witness named Fatkow testified that after September the mass executions had ceased. Witness Aleksiejewa testifies that the Germans had committed these executions toward the end of August——

Mr. FLOOD. 1941?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. 1941. The same statements are made by their friends Michajlowa and Kochanowskaja, also Menshagin, of whom Mr. Flood inquired, had ostensibly told Bazylewski that by the 15th

September all of the Poles had been executed. There is not a single witness who has said that these men were executed either in October or November. Meanwhile, in the official communiqué—in the statement of the Russian communiqué—the claim is made that these men were murdered between September and December 1941, and none of these witnesses even mentions August.

The question then arises, why should there be such a difference between the conclusion reached in the official Russian communiqué and the testimony of the witnesses? Why does not the Russian communiqué place faith and trust in the testimony of its own witnesses, and say that these soldiers were executed in August or September, but merely confines the period to that between September and all the way through December? The puzzle here is solved in this manner, that the correspondence was taken by the Russians to Katyn from Moscow. Observe that a considerable proportion or percentage of the dead soldiers were dressed in warm clothing. Unquestionably nobody would wear that sort of clothing in that area during August and September when it is very hot in that region.

This was a point so conclusive that the Russians at the very last moment had changed their official text to include the period from September to December to explain why some of these people were wearing winter clothing. If you tell them today that these Poles were found buried in winter clothing, they reply:

"Well, yes, it is cold in that area during November and December." There is no justification or any further explanation for the discrepancy between the testimony of the witnesses, and the official conclusion drawn in the Soviet report.

Mr. FLOOD. Now with reference to this newspaper produced by the witness, I might say that I have taken this up with members of the committee, and we feel that, in view of the fact that we have in evidence the entire Russian reply, there is not much use in putting in this newspaper other than to observe that we have before us presented by this witness the newspaper *Sztandar Młodych* published in Warsaw on March 5, 1952, and to observe that on page 2 thereof begins the printing of the Russian report on the Katyn matter, which finishes on page 6 thereof, and that it is printed in this Warsaw newspaper on that date without any comment whatsoever.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to add an observation there, that it is quite a coincidence that so many years after the original report was filed, on March 5, 1952, immediately after the commencement of the hearings by this very congressional committee, the Russian authorities evidently saw fit and necessary to republish their entire report not only in this newspaper but in every other newspaper in Poland.

Mr. DONDERO. I now ask the witness to describe to the committee in a few words the appearance of the area—the soil, the trees, and so on.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. The woods consisted mostly of small fir trees, small bushes, and small trees; not large. The soil was sandy and yellow in color. This was common where there were the seven graves. Further over, where there was the eighth grave, the soil was more clay.

Mr. DONDERO. Were the trees thick or thin? I mean were there many or only a few?

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. They were comparatively thin and sparse.

Mr. DONDERO. That's all.

Chairman MADDEN. Is that all? Are there any further questions? Ask the witness if anybody offered him any pay or emoluments or compensation to come here today to testify.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. No.

Chairman MADDEN. Tell the witness that he has made a very important contribution to the work of this committee, and the members of the committee are very thankful for his testimony.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Chairman, there is one question that we ordinarily ask every witness, which I think would seem rather superfluous in this case, but I think it proper for the record we should ask him, namely, whether he has come to any conclusion as to who was guilty of the Katyn massacre.

Mr. MACKIEWICZ. I am convinced that the crimes were committed by the Bolsheviks.

Mr. FLOOD. I might say we have had a great deal of testimony having to do with the autopsies and post mortems, and I think we should express our appreciation to this witness for the autopsy and post mortem which he has carried out upon the Russian commission's report.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the witness says that he is very grateful to the committee, and that he has dreamt about the day and hoped that some day he might be able to make his deposition and state his conclusions and his findings before a body such as this.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will now recess and will reconvene at 7:15.

EVENING SESSION

(The committee reconvened at 7:40 p. m.)

Chairman MADDEN. Give your name and address.

Mr. KOT. Kot, Stanislaw, 63 Rue de Richelieu, Paris.

Chairman MADDEN. Mr. Ambassador, in compliance with the rules here, I am going to repeat this statement to you. Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of the testimony. We have read that same statement to each witness who has testified.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates that he understands the statement and admonition.

Chairman MADDEN. Now you will be sworn, Ambassador. Do you swear by the God Almighty that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the whole truth, so help you God?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness indicates that he does.

TESTIMONY OF STANISLAW KOT, PARIS, FRANCE (THROUGH ROMAN PUCINSKI, INTERPRETER)

Chairman MADDEN. What is your name?

Mr. KOT. Kot, Stanislaw.

Chairman MADDEN. You are now a resident of Paris, France; is that so?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you formerly hold any office in the Polish Government?

Mr. KOT. When?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, start in 1939.

Mr. KOT. Yes, I was Minister in the Polish Government.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Minister of what?

Mr. KOT. I was taking the place of General Sikorski in Angiers, France, and I had to deal with all of the matters pertaining to the Polish Government both politically and nationally.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you subsequently appointed to any other office?

Mr. KOT. When the Polish Government was transferred to London, I was formally appointed Minister of the Interior.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you at any time the Ambassador of Poland to Moscow?

Mr. KOT. After the Soviet-Polish pact was signed on the 30th of July 1941, I was appointed the Ambassador of Poland to Moscow, but I retained my title of Minister of Interior here; I remained in my capacity as envoy of the Polish Government here in London. The decision to send me to Moscow was a very hasty one and I retained that position here also.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When did you go to Moscow?

Mr. KOT. I left here on the 3d of September 1941, through Archangel, and on September 4 I arrived in Moscow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And you remained in Moscow as the Ambassador of the Polish Government until when?

Mr. KOT. Until the Polish Embassy in Moscow was evacuated on the 17th of October 1941. The entire Polish Diplomatic Corps and the Russian Government, all of the diplomatic corps were transferred to Kuybishev, and I remained there until the middle of July 1942 in Kuybishev.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, after you arrived in Moscow as the Ambassador from the London Polish Government, there were many duties that you had to perform as Ambassador?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. But, because of the circumstances connected with that part of the protocol between the Soviets and the Poles dealing with the release of all Polish prisoners from Russia, one of your chief concerns personally as a Pole and officially as an ambassador was to do everything possible to get information and to obtain the release of all Poles?

Mr. KOT. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. From whom, if anybody, did you receive any particular instructions with reference to obtaining the release of Poles?

Mr. KOT. I had received those instructions from General Sikorski before I had left London. I must state here that the problem of the disappearance of these Polish soldiers concerned us very much already while we were here before my departure, and we had frequent conversations and conferences on that subject. These things may not be well known, but they should be called to your attention.

Mr. FLOOD. I think what you are indicating, Mr. Ambassador, is that as soon as the protocol, the rapprochement between the Soviets and the London Polish Government was brought about in the late

summer of 1941, the London Polish Council of Ministers immediately became interested in the missing Poles?

Mr. KOT. Even before the rapprochement we were concerned over these men and we held conferences as early as June of 1941 when Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in London from Moscow. When Sir Stafford Cripps returned to London from Moscow and it was evident that there was going to be a war between Germany and Russia, at that time General Sikorski already told me that he was concerned about the high ranking Polish officers who were interned in Russia.

Mr. FLOOD. In any event, at the time you got to Moscow as Ambassador, you were very much concerned personally and officially as to the whereabouts of missing Poles?

Mr. KOT. Considerably before that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The witness is emphasizing it.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that about "considerably before." I am concerned now only with your arrival at Moscow, and your answer is the same—Yes.

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. As ambassador, your concern was not only with soldiers but with all Poles, civilian and military?

Mr. KOT. There is no question about that. However, the point or the question of the officers was particularly important, because 6 weeks prior to that, then General Sikorski already was thinking and hoping to form Polish Armies in Russia, he had to find out what officers would be available to him for service and duty in that Army.

Mr. FLOOD. We understand that very clearly. Now, as soon as you arrived in Moscow, did you receive any communications from General Anders with reference to the investigation on your part to discover the whereabouts of the missing officers: Did General Anders caution you not to press too hard for the moment with the military?

Mr. KOT. That is correct. The first day after my arrival in Moscow I had a conference with General Anders.

Mr. FLOOD. What I want to know is, how did it happen that General Anders happened to be in Moscow the first day you arrived there?

Mr. KOT. General Anders was released from a Russian prison a month earlier—from Lubianka—when, at the request of General Sikorski, who could not find the chief of staff of the Polish forces, Gen. Stanislas Haller, he had to see what staff officers were available, and he selected Anders as the chief of staff or the commander-in chief.

Mr. FLOOD. Well, at your first conference with General Anders after you arrived at Moscow as Ambassador, with reference to the Polish officers, what did he say to you?

Mr. KOT. He told me that he has not been able to get any information as to the whereabouts of the Polish soldiers and cannot locate them; that he had had frequent conversations with the top Russian authorities on this question and that he had high hopes that those Polish officers would be found.

Mr. FLOOD. General Anders told you at that time that he had already had several conferences with high Russian military authorities trying to discover the whereabouts of the missing Polish officers?

Mr. KOT. He told me that he had several conferences with the military and that they understood the necessity and urgency for

locating these Polish officers, but up to that time they had no given him a satisfactory answer as to their whereabouts.

Mr. FLOOD. Did General Anders suggest to you at that time that as Ambassador you should not press too hard on the Russian military until he had at least another opportunity to contact the Russian military authorities about the officers?

Mr. KOT. He suggested to me not to press the issue with the Russians. He impressed on me that I should not even touch on that matter with the Russian diplomats. I had no contact with the Russian military; and that he had hope that he might work out some solution with the military. He expressed a fear that if I made some official diplomatic enquiries about these Polish officers, then the Russian military might be hindered in its efforts to help us.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, let us go now to the beginning of your conversations with the Russian diplomats.

Mr. KOT. During my first conversations with the Russian diplomats, which were held on the instructions from General Sikorski, I had discussed at length the release of all Poles in Russia, but I had purposely refrained from touching on the subject of the Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you give us the date, if you can, remember, or refresh your memory from your notes, of your first conversation with Molotov and Vishinsky, with reference to the release of Poles, civilian or military.

Mr. KOT. On the 20th of September 1941 was my first conference with them, and at that time I expressed great concern and great heartbreak——

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. That conference was with Vishinsky alone, was it not; not with them.

Mr. KOT. Yes, the conversation was only with Vishinsky, because Vishinsky was the man who was in charge of the matters.

Mr. FLOOD. Let us develop this carefully.

Mr. Ambassador, your first meeting in Moscow, as Ambassador, with the Russian diplomats, was on the date you gave, September 20th, and only Mr. Vishinsky was there for the Russians.

Mr. KOT. I had previously visited all of the top Russian officials, including President Kalinin and Molotov, but my first official conversation on this subject was on the 20th of September 1941, with Vishinsky.

Mr. FLOOD. Then the answer is "Yes"?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, of course there were interpreters present?

Mr. KOT. Always. It has become traditional since the 16th Century, in all Polish-Russian relations, that each country has its own interpreters and translators.

Mr. FLOOD. Even though the Russians understand Polish and the Polish understand Russian?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. As you best recollect or refresh your memory from your notes, will you give us the gist, the form of the conversation you had with Vishinsky at the first meeting September 20th?

Mr. KOT. I have here in front of me the entire discussion that we had that day according to the notes which were made by my translator.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you let me see that document, Mr. Ambassador? (A document was handed to Mr. Flood by the witness.)

Will you mark this for identification, through the stenographer, as Exhibit No. 48?

(The document referred to was Marked "Exhibit 48.")

Mr. FLOOD. I show the witness a document marked for identification "Exhibit 48" and ask him whether or not this is a copy, in Polish, of the minutes of the conversation between the witness Ambassador and Vishinsky, for the Russians, on the date of September 20, 1941, prepared by the interpreter and secretary of the Ambassador witness, as he has indicated? I also ask him if this attached document is a true translation of the Polish version of exhibit 48?

Mr. Kot. Yes, it is.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, I now show you Exhibit No. 48 for the purpose of your testifying about the meeting, and may we ask—as I am sure you wish to—that you refer only to those sections of the minutes of your conversation which had to do with the missing Polish officers. The English translation of exhibit 48 will be inserted at this point in the record.

AMBASSADOR KOT DISCUSSION OF SEPT. 20, 1941

(Translation from Polish of exhibit 48)

Conference between Dr. Kot, The Polish Ambassador to Moscow, and Mr. Vyshinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on September 20, 1941.

Present: Director Novikov—interpreter, Mr. W. Arlet, secretary of the Embassy.

AMBASSADOR (after a few words of welcome and introduction). I suggest that we discuss a series of problems of a practical nature which have arisen since our last discussion held 10 days ago. There is no doubt that in the sphere of Polish affairs in the Soviet Union much is taking place. However, the information conveyed to the Embassy by the Soviet authorities is completely insufficient. In military matters action is progressing smoothly. Questions relating to the protection of the civilian population are going less well. News on the latter problem is urgently needed, not only for the purpose of informing the Polish Government in London, which is eagerly awaiting it, but also the Polish people in Poland, England, and the United States. Many real achievements made up to now have not as yet reached the Polish authorities. There is a constant lack of data concerning the numbers and the present location of Poles in several republics and districts. [As proof of the fact that Soviet authorities have given improper information to the Embassy, the Ambassador exhibits a list of 13 persons released from prison furnished by the *Narkomindel* (Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs) on September 10. Many more persons on the Polish list, to which the list shown by the Ambassador is an answer, have actually been released.]

VYSHINSKY. I acknowledge the necessity of furnishing the Embassy with the required data. The Soviet authorities themselves are in a difficult situation in this matter as they do not have at their disposal accurate statistical material. Besides, the Polish population is now migrating in great numbers and is, therefore, difficult to keep track of in statistical numbers. Despite this fact, the Embassy will receive, in the very near future, presumably not later than 5 days from today, a list comprising the number of Poles released from prison, camps, places of deportation according to republics, regions, and districts—in numbers of thousands if it is not possible to establish the more exact numbers for the time being. I do not guarantee that this deadline will be met in the case of the more remote regions which have not yet reported. But, in any case, I shall order that reports be forwarded to the Embassy as soon as we receive the data.

AMBASSADOR. That is our friendly request. May I call your attention to the fact that details of what the Soviet authorities have done for Poles, residing in the Soviet Union, might be used for propaganda purposes. I am especially concerned over the anxiety caused by the lack of news on the release of Poles staying in the north, in what is for them a deadly climate, the Kloyma and Pechora

regions, and the northern Yenisei region. They should be immediately released and transported to more suitable regions.

VYSHINSKY. I promise that I shall take an interest in this matter and make every effort to see that these people are shipped away from these improper conditions. What, however, should be done with them after release and transportation from the north? Technically they are already released, but what is to be done with them later?

AMBASSADOR. I shall take the liberty of returning to this topic later. However, as the subject of releases has been mentioned, I would like to know where the peasants have been located after their deportation from Poland. [Ironically:] One hears so far of the release of [government] officials, counts, and Jews; but there is no news as to where the peasants who were deported in entire villages from Poland are being relocated. In this connection, I have in mind a proper utilization of their affection for land, love of labor and their skill. In the matter of the deportation of the Germans from the Volga Republic, there might be the possibility of settling Polish peasants there. It might be of tremendous propaganda significance. The Germans are expelling Poles from their own land, and the Soviet Government is handing land from which Germans have been removed over to Polish peasants. The moral significance of this fact could well stir the entire world. Two large *kolkhozes* were handed over to the Poles there, but it was more in the nature of an unrelated fact: there simply happened to be present on the spot a group of Polish civilians who had arrived in that region with people enlisting in the army, and the group of civilians was placed in those *kolkhozes*. I am intent, however, on a broader plan—that the Polish peasants, who are excellent workers, cease to fell trees in Siberia, for this is only a waste of their abilities. Please enable me to discuss this plan with some competent authority of the Commissariat of the Interior who would appreciate its political significance.

VYSHINSKY. I do not know whether or when the inhabitants of this or that Polish village were deported. I have heard about the deportation of settlers [Polish farmers settled in Eastern Poland since 1920] and foresters, who appear on the cost accounts of the Soviet authorities as separate groups. One should first prove that facts of this kind really occurred.

AMBASSADOR. Whole villages were deported from Galicia and from, among others, the districts of Moscice, Sambor, Podhayce, and Rohatyn. Local committees composed of Ukrainians decided upon the deportations in order, in this way, to get rid of the Poles. The number of deported settlers was much smaller than the number of deported peasants, most of whom had lived in these districts for centuries.

VYSHINSKY. I have no responsibility for internal matters. I know, however, that the *kolkhozes* cleared of the Volga Germans were immediately handed over to peasants evacuated from front-line areas. After all, they are not the sort of Germans the Soviet Union is now fighting. If they are being moved from the Volga region, it does not result from any hostility of the Soviet administration towards them, but is simply a preventive measure.

AMBASSADOR. The Poles know the Germans well and they do not labor under the delusion that they can be separated into good and bad. They are simply not to be trusted.

VYSHINSKY. Surely in Germany there are many millions of people hostile to the Hitlerite regime.

AMBASSADOR. From the experience of Poles, who know the Germans, having often travelled there, having relatives and friends there, and above all from a mass of our compatriots in Westphalia and in other parts of Germany, we know that only elderly people, over forty, are disappointed with Hitlerism. The youth is totally under its control. It is an illusion to believe in the German revolt against Hitlerism.

VYSHINSKY. As our conversation has approached this subject, I want to state that, in my opinion, two forces will decide the defeat of Hitlerism: one, external, i. e. armed forces of the Soviet Union, England, America and brotherly nations such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, which are joined now to the Soviet Union. After the military defeat the other force will go into action—internal disaffection. Hitlerism was opposed not only by Rauschning and Strasser but also by the peasants, workers and millions of those who will take up arms against Hitlerism and will complete the military defeat.

AMBASSADOR. When I spoke of illusion, I had in mind the naive ideas of some lords and even English professors regarding the existence of good Germans. When I was given an honorary degree at Oxford University, a distinguished scholar told me: "Hitler certainly does not know what his administration is doing in Poland."

VYSHINSKY (laughing). I do not believe lords and professors. I am permitted to say this because I am a professor of criminal law myself, and a member of the Academy of Science. Your Excellency, as a historian, knows better than I that in the past there were many instances to prove that tyranny which is supported by the masses always falls down in the end.

AMBASSADOR. I agree with you, of course, but we must not remain under the illusion that a revolt in Germany may take place soon.

VYSHINSKY. I also agree, however, a military defeat may radically change the situation in a short time.

AMBASSADOR. Turning back to the condition of the Polish population in Russia, I would like to draw your attention to the lack of any plan and the complete chaos accompanying the freeing of Poles from the prisons, camps, and places of compulsory settlement. I would like the Soviet Government to suggest concrete proposals in this regard. These should be jointly worked out by the Mixed Commission. Perhaps certain regions could be selected, perhaps it would be possible to assemble a part of our population in special camps made available for that purpose, where it could work while enjoying the rights of free citizens.

VYSHINSKY. There are no camps in our country, except forced labor camps of a penal character. Our system of the administrative restriction of freedom provided for three degrees: (1) individual deportation to a determined locality, where a person lives quite freely and has a choice of employment; however, he does not have the right to leave the place and is under police surveillance, (2) settlement on special farms, sometimes equipped, the so-called "special settlements" (*specialnoye poselenie*), where work is organized under normal conditions, and the deportee has complete freedom of movement in the area, but is not allowed to travel farther than the nearest market town, and is not permitted to change his occupation; (3) placement in forced labor camps, with a total deprivation of liberty. I repeat there are no camps in the USSR where the inmates do not work.

AMBASSADOR. At any rate I request that you should quickly prepare a plan and submit it to us.

VYSHINSKY. I shall take this matter up in the nearest future.

AMBASSADOR. I request that a plan of resettlement and employment be jointly agreed upon. Unfortunately the Embassy has no data to prepare a plan of their own, because information received from Soviet authorities is totally inadequate. [Saying this the Ambassador submits a summary list by separate *oblastii* [regions] of Polish scientists, artists and specialists, handed over to Polish representatives in the Mixed Commission on the 17th day of the current month.] Such information is quite useless for us. It means nothing to us that in a given locality there live a certain number of doctors, when their names and addresses are not given. The number of lawyers is strikingly low; where are the judges, state attorneys, police officers? The list is not only incomplete but without practical value.

VYSHINSKY. I spoke with the Commissar for Health about the use of Polish doctors. It is possible that the list prepared by us is not complete.

AMBASSADOR. Most certainly. In Volhynia, in one place alone, 800 doctors were captured. Not only doctors but other professions are involved. For example, justices and state attorneys. Obviously Russia has no quarrel with these. If it is anybody's, it is our business [he laughs].

VYSHINSKY. I shall endeavour to supply detailed information in the shortest possible time. I shall examine all aspects of the case.

AMBASSADOR. I would like to touch upon two other problems of basic significance: the organization of the welfare of the Polish population and the problem of means. If you will permit me, I shall begin with the second.

VYSHINSKY. As you wish.

AMBASSADOR. In the initial period when Polish citizens were released from prisons and camps they were paid allowances of 15 rubles per day and given tickets to places of chosen settlement. In some places only persons leaving to join the army were accorded that treatment, in some others they received no money. Some, upon leaving a camp, received a lump sum, others received nothing. Letters and wires reach us with complaints that more and more often cases occur in which, after being freed, our people have no means of existence and are unable to leave the place. I would like to hear from you what the Soviet Government is preparing to do to settle such cases, and to provide means to meet these needs.

VYSHINSKY. The released receive a free railway ticket and allowances of 15 rubles per day, according to government instructions. If there are places where this money was not paid, we shall look into it. [Novikov intervenes, and explains that instructions concerning tickets and allowances refer to persons re-

leased from prisons and labor camps.] There is another group of expenses, which is to cover transportation to and living costs in, a new place, of those Polish citizens who were not imprisoned in prisons and camps, but settled in special settlements. The first group of expenses is covered by the Soviet Government, the second should be borne by the Polish Government.

AMBASSADOR (laughs). Polish Government! But we have no means, we have no money. One part of Poland was occupied by Germans, the other by you. Our government is abroad. We have no control over Polish resources. The Polish population was brought to the USSR against their will. You have thrown masses of the population into extremely difficult conditions of life. You have uprooted them from normal and organized life, from farms, and workshops. The Soviet Government is responsible for the presence of the Polish population in this country. It is obliged to provide the means to assist the Polish population.

VYSHINSKY. We have borne expenses connected with freeing the Polish population, we cannot bear the expenses for their moving from place to place.

AMBASSADOR. There are 18,000 Polish citizens in Switzerland, who were not brought there by the government of that country, but came there as political refugees or interned prisoners of war. The Swiss Government, however, not only pays their support, but also cares for their employment and studies.

VYSHINSKY (who in the meantime had thought out a reply to the last part of the Ambassador's declaration). I cannot agree with any statement which charges the Soviet Government with the responsibility for what happened, and judging its actions as guilty ones. Once we shall go into the past we shall dig out many claims and counterclaims. We do not consider the position of the Soviet Government as not right, and we do not recognize the Soviet Government responsible for the maintenance of those Polish citizens who have found themselves here. The Soviet Government is not, after all, the successor of the Polish Treasury, and has not taken over any of its obligations. If the Polish Government wished to present the problem in that manner, then it should have been brought up during the negotiations of the agreement, and not now. What we did in 1939 was entirely the result of strategic motives. The Germans threatened our frontier, we had to keep them away from it at a distance. By occupying Polish territories we have not committed an act of aggression. The present war entirely confirmed this premise. After all, we expressed it quite openly, then as well as now, even in the press. If what had been done then, had not taken place, the Germans would today be in Moscow, and perhaps even as far as the Urals. [In the course of the translating of this statement made by Vyshinsky, who became excited and spoke with a pronounced stress, Vyshinsky interrupts the interpreter and adds.] It is better indeed that during the negotiations of the agreement, the question of the alleged guilt of the Soviet Government for the events of 1939, had not been brought up. We have never acknowledged this guilt, and shall never do so. In regard to the merits of the financial problem, the Soviet Government, after all, covers the outlay of expenses for railway and river transportation. It will, for example, be able to provide farm implements and seeds, but we cannot agree that the problem be put in such a manner that the Soviet Government is now to carry the financial burdens, because of political reasons. The Soviet Government has conducted political actions which it thought necessary and it shall never agree with the statement that it had abused its power towards one or another group of people.

AMBASSADOR. I have not touched the problem of aggression or non-aggression at all. These are not matters for the present discussion. I have not come here to debate them. My Government, in concluding the agreement, did not take up that discussion, in order not to obstruct the negotiations. I was not making any political comments on the financial matters. I have only stated the undisputable fact that the Polish population found itself in the USSR against its will, and you, Mr. Minister, will not after all maintain that the prisoners or persons deported to labor camps arrived here according to their own wishes as tourists.

VYSHINSKY. Mr. Ambassador, you have nevertheless touched the problem of aggression by saying that one half of Poland was occupied by Germany and the other half by the USSR. I can not agree with such a formulation. We can not be placed on the same level with them. If there can be any question of guilt, then it is the guilt of the German Government. I hope that the Soviet Government together with the Polish Government shall one day make that claim in Berlin.

AMBASSADOR. The discussion of a political character resulted because of an inaccurate translation. I said that the Polish Government has no money, because one part of Poland has been occupied by Germany, and the other by the

USSR. In that way the Polish national wealth disappeared. The interpreter left out the first part of this sentence. In the future, I suggest that he translate in shorter passages.

(Vyshinsky admits that this of course changed the meaning of the statement, and emphasizes twice, that he therefore considers this discussion as not having taken place.)

AMBASSADOR. The Polish Government is willing to take upon itself part of the obligations to render assistance to the population, because it is our population, but we have no means with which to do it. A way out of this situation has to be found.

VYSHINSKY. Naturally, I agree with it entirely.

AMBASSADOR. If I were a representative of a wealthy country and had brought with me bags of money, I would simply distribute it among the needy population, without regard to anything. I hope the Soviet Government will take this situation under consideration. Even Solomon could not pour out of an empty vessel.

VYSHINSKY. Of course, we shall think about it. I shall talk with our financial experts about these matters; nevertheless, I would ask you, Mr. Ambassador, to consider several sources from which the Polish Government could obtain money.

AMBASSADOR. Part of the expenditure which is of an immediate character is already covered, or is being met by the Soviet Government. It is a problem of further expenditures for the care of people unable to work, those who are still awaiting assignment to work, also for a wider assistance program. I propose therefore that the Soviet Government grant a loan to the Polish Government for these purposes. Unfortunately the financial resources of the Polish Government will allow only the meeting of expenses for the upkeep of the Embassy and its personnel.

VYSHINSKY. I shall discuss this proposal with the Government, and our financial experts, and shall return to this matter at our next conference.

AMBASSADOR (jokingly). I do not trust financial experts, I prefer to deal with politicians, with executive heads. It would be desirable to submit this matter to Vice President Molotov or President Stalin. In order to solve this problem properly political reasoning must be applied. After all, fiscal considerations should not be allowed to constitute obstacles in bringing together our two countries.

VYSHINSKY (laughing). Our financial experts do not act at their own will, but carry out strict Government directives. They can be trusted.

AMBASSADOR. I would like to turn now to the matter of the organizational forms of care for our population in the U. S. S. R. Unfortunately the sending of Embassy delegates will not yield basic results because of the shortage of personnel. I could send 3 to 4 people to tour the country in order to find out at first hand about the needs of our population, and to report these to me. Such an inspection tour is important and should take place as soon as possible. It does not in itself, however, solve the problem of care for the population on the spot. The representatives of the Embassy who would remain permanently on inspection duties in the country would have to be completely trustworthy people. Our difficulty lies in this, that we do not know these people as yet.

VYSHINSKY. The list of candidates of trusted men or delegates which has been sent to the Embassy, came about in this way. The local soviets submitted at our request the names of people whom they had been in contact with. After all everybody has his reasons and it is difficult to decide whether, for instance, Kubik is suitable or not. I am of the opinion that one has to start on a minor scale and, without using the name "committee," select from among those people who call on the Embassy, and who appear to be most active. If it appears from the correspondence that someone is able to present the needs of a local group, and also prepare statistical data, he may be entrusted to deal with some matters. After all, a trusted man need not be selected forever, he may be changed. Moreover, the Embassy will be able to have, in the area, people known by their names, and select them to become trusted men. It is better to start with 10 to 15 people and later the whole problem will develop on its own. I am not afraid of committees, I had enough to do with them in my life [he laughs], but I believe that it would be a waste of time to discuss, now, this or other organizational forms. The people of whom we speak, in instances where they are not known to the Embassy, could remain as trusted men of the local Poles although not yet trusted men of the Embassy. I would ask you, Mr. Minister, to intervene with the local authorities that they do not interfere with the organizational phase under the pretext that an unauthorized forming of committees is taking place. While all that the trusted men do is simply select a few local Poles, or confer

with them on problems of the given group and then together decide on the fairest means of distribution in kind, or in money.

VYSHINSKY. This can be done. The conception of trusted men does not in itself raise any objections, because it does not constitute any complications in organizational methods. If a committee is set up, there arises immediately the question of its authority, its relations with the local authorities, and its scope of activities. That is where complications may set in. In my opinion, I believe it still would be better to work at once with men who are available. Let the Embassy become the Central Committee, you, Mr. Ambassador, the chairman [he laughs] and the trusted men, act as representatives of the committee. As regards the list of candidates submitted, it will have to be, of course, supplemented. We have to find out the occupation of the particular people and receive their brief personal data.

AMBASSADOR. Thus, in the particular localities selected the people shall deal with Polish affairs, but they will have to have advisers. And now still another formal matter. The date of the issuance of Polish passports set for November 22, cannot be met. The printing of the temporary passports has not even started. I would ask you, Mr. Minister, to assure for us the allocation of a supply of suitable paper.

VYSHINSKY. What kind of paper does it have to be [at the same time he questions Novikov as to how the matter of printing the passports stands, and says that it will have to be speeded up].

AMBASSADOR. It should be a strong paper which will not tear but will wear well. Although the form of the passports is entirely a matter for the Poles themselves, we have resolved to insert, in the temporary passports, a Russian text also for the convenience of the Soviet administrative authorities. At the same time I would like to ask you, Mr. Minister, to issue instructions that the question of selecting appropriate places for the passport and consular agencies, which will deal with the issuance of passports to our people, be discussed with representatives of the Embassy.

VYSHINSKY. I shall take care of these matters. The date of November 22 can of course not be maintained, and it shall be extended.

AMBASSADOR. The question of American help for our people is very important; a great many foodstuffs and relief goods have been collected. It is now a matter of getting assistance from the Soviet authorities. I have heard that a delegation of the American Red Cross is to arrive here, and the problem remains, therefore, that gifts intended for Poles should reach us and that their distribution be left in Polish hands.

VYSHINSKY. I give my assurance that this matter will be settled.

AMBASSADOR. Apart from the problem of the distribution of these gifts there arises also the question of transportation. If the transportation is to be free, American generosity will increase. It would be a gesture on the part of the Soviet Government, which will be fully and properly appreciated by American public opinion.

VYSHINSKY. For transports of that kind we provide for reduced tariffs. After all, free transportation would mean that the Soviet Government would have to pay for it. We have, after all, already agreed to exempt these transports from customs duty.

AMBASSADOR. Has this matter been settled finally? Mr. Minister, I nevertheless want to ask you to see to it that free transportation be granted.

VYSHINSKY. As to exemption from customs duty, in principle a positive decision has been reached. It now remains only to carry it out in details. As to free transportation it will be difficult.

AMBASSADOR. A special form of American help which is of great propaganda value are individual parcels. May this type of consignment be permitted into the U. S. S. R?

VYSHINSKY. I believe, yes. I shall consult with the Commissariat of Postal and Telegraph Communications in this matter.

AMBASSADOR. Polish organizations in America have collected a great quantity of used clothing. A transport of them to the U. S. S. R. had already been planned when the Soviet Embassy in Washington began to make some difficulties. The clothing donated by the Americans is in good condition and of good quality. The question of sanitation should not enter into this matter.

VYSHINSKY. They could be disinfected.

AMBASSADOR. It would be a pity to do that, the clothes may thus be ruined.

VYSHINSKY. I promise to instruct the Embassy in Washington not to raise any difficulties.

AMBASSADOR. The great volume of correspondence which is coming to the Embassy necessitates an increase of the Embassy staff. In addition to this matter I have to ask people over to Moscow who are to become delegates of the Embassy, in order that I may get to know them and instruct them accordingly. I would like to ask that the formalities connected with permits for their arrival be dealt with in the speediest manner.

VYSHINSKY. There is a state of war in Moscow. Arrivals of all kinds must be limited as much as possible. Mr. Ambassador, I am not asking you to give me the number of people who are to arrive here, but to take into consideration the existing state of war and the basic restrictions which are in force here.

AMBASSADOR. In conclusion I would like to submit to you, Mr. Minister, two lists of persons as to whose whereabouts I am very much concerned. The first list pertains to political personalities, some of whom we would like to send over to London in order that they may complete our National Assembly. On this list are also names of some Ukrainians whom we know to be positively anti-German. Today, when the areas inhabited by Ukrainians are occupied by the Germans, one has to counteract their attempts in solving the Ukrainian problem. Let the world know that there are also other Ukrainians who oppose the Germans. Let the Ukrainian population and also the local pro-Germans become aware of it. The second list contains the names of private individuals without any political significance. Some are families of our Embassy officials and of other Polish institutions.

VYSHINSKY [accepts the list and promises to settle the matter].

AMBASSADOR. Finally I wish to submit to you, Mr. Minister, my official as well as private wish. Namely, whether I could be received by President Stalin in order to present to him some matters. The propaganda value of such a conversation would constitute a positive factor in our mutual relations, and would gain wide publicity abroad.

VYSHINSKY. Mr. Ambassador, from the manner in which you formed your wish, I note that you are aware of how very busy Chairman Stalin is at the present time, but I shall of course submit your proposal to him.

AMBASSADOR. I shall be very grateful to you, Mr. Minister. [He gets up and bids his goodbye.] Mr. Minister, you will begin to hate me if I shall always bother you as long as I did today. Perhaps we could see each other more frequently and for shorter periods, instead.

VYSHINSKY. Why more frequently, but briefly? More often and longer, Mr. Ambassador [he laughs]. It is very good that we meet. After all, we should talk all these problems over with each other.

AMBASSADOR (pointing at Novikov). This is all his fault. If the Mixed Commission would only work properly and speedily and if it consisted of people who could make decisions in these matters, I would not have to come to you with everything, Mr. Minister. These, after all, are matters for them to deal with.

The conversation was conducted in a lively manner, in an informal, sometimes light tone. It lasted from 6:00 P. M. until 9:30 P. M. Moscow, September 21, 1941.

Mr. Kor. In the first conversation I was so embarrassed in my discussion by the instructions given me by General Anders, who was not present at the conference. While I did not say specifically that I was inquiring about the Polish officers, I did make an inquiry about Poles in the northern part of Russia around Kolyma and Peczory and Jenisielskow and Winni, where we had suspected that these Polish officers were being imprisoned or detained, in these points. We suspected that our officers were being held at those points.

When General Anders arrived on the 24th of September—

Mr. FLOOD. Just a minute. We will get to that in a minute, Mr. Ambassador. All I want to know at this point is: What did you say to Mr. Vishinsky and what did Mr. Vishinsky say to you on September 20? Then we will get on to the next meeting.

Mr. Kor. Vishinsky told me that the Embassy will receive a report on the number of Poles who had been released but that his information

is not complete and he is still lacking information as to the camps in the far north. But he promised to make an effort to release these people from the far north, but he did not indicate or say to me at the time that I was inquiring about the Polish officers but merely about the Poles.

Mr. FLOOD. That was the extent, since it was just a detail of a general conversation, of talk about the missing Poles on that day?

Mr. KOT. There were many other things discussed at this meeting, but this particular phase of our conversation I understood it to be in regard to our Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. When was the first time, after September 20, that you had your first meeting with Mr. Molotov?

Mr. KOT. With Molotov it wasn't until the 22d of October.

Mr. FLOOD. Your first meeting with Molotov was on what date in October?

Mr. KOT. The 22d.

Mr. FLOOD. Between your first meeting with Vishinsky on September 20 and your first meeting with Molotov in October, you had several other meetings with Vishinsky?

And Vishinsky was the man you always were in touch with until you first met Molotov?

Mr. KOT. Always with Vishinsky.

Mr. FLOOD. Now will you go back to the second meeting you had with Vishinsky? What was the date of the next meeting with Vishinsky? The 20th was the first; when was the next?

Mr. KOT. The 6th of October 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you not have another meeting with Mr. Vishinsky after September 20?

Mr. KOT. I did not have a meeting, but I did dispatch a note to Vishinsky inquiring about the release of the Poles, and this note was sent on the 27th of September 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. So the first contact was a meeting on September 20 with Vishinsky, the second was a note dispatched to Vishinsky on September 27, inquiry about the missing Poles. Now, do you have a copy of the dispatch that you sent to Vishinsky on the 27th of September?

Mr. KOT. I do not have it here.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Ambassador, that note of September 27 dealt with a number of complaints you had received from various Polish citizens, which you related to Mr. Vishinsky; is that correct?

Mr. KOT. I would have to have that note in front of me. I cannot remember the details of that note.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did it not deal with the complaint that Polish citizens were kept at forced labor, that they were not given the right to contact with the Embassy and were not given the right to move from place to place?

Mr. KOT. I had filed and sent more than 50 notes on that subject. I would have to have the note to refresh my recollection.

Mr. FLOOD. But, anyhow, you are sure that in that note of September 27 you did raise the question of the missing Poles, among other things?

Mr. KOT. I did not say officers, I merely demanded information as to the release of Poles from these camps.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you get a reply from Mr. Vishinsky to that dispatch of September 27?

Mr. KOT. No. But at my meeting on the 6th of October, I then specifically raised the question of the Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Between your dispatch of September 27 to Mr. Vishinsky and before you had your first meeting with Molotov, did you have any other meetings or communications, in any way, with Mr. Vishinsky on the question of the missing Polish officers?

Mr. KOT. I will name them.

October 6, 1941, a conversation with Vishinsky; and I have the minutes here.

The 13th of October 1941, a note was sent to Vishinsky. In this note the question of the military people is definitely raised and clearly raised.

The 14th of October, a conference with Vishinsky. I have the minutes of that in front of me. As a result of my conference with Vishinsky on the 14th, General Sikorski sent a note to Bogomowo here in London the same subject, because Sikorski and I had conferred or contacted each other on this matter.

Mr. FLOOD. After the September 27 note, what was the next date of contact with Vishinsky? Was it October 6?

Mr. KOT. October 6.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that a note, or a talk?

Mr. KOT. A conference. And here are the minutes of that conference. And here for the first time we mentioned specifically the Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. October 6?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us at this moment, referring to the note you have before you, the gist of the conversation with Vishinsky on October 6, dealing with missing Poles or missing Polish officers only?

Mr. KOT. I complained that 9,500 Polish officers were evacuated or were taken from Poland to Russia, and that, "Meanwhile, today, we only have 2,000 Polish officers in the Polish Army; what happened to the 7,500 Polish officers?"

To this, Vishinsky and his aide, Novikow, attempted to convince me that what I am saying is not true. But they did not give me any arguments to support their allegation.

To this, I told them that, "We have been making constant effort to find those people," that we suspected that they were surrendered to the Germans, "We have searched for these men in the German prison camps, in occupied Poland; every place where they could conceivably have been found," that I would understand if we were missing a few tens of these people, or even a few hundred, but not several thousand.

To this Vishinsky and Novikow became somewhat confused and they said, "Well, what do you think happened to these men?" I told them that, on the basis of our earlier speculation as to what happened to these men, we believed that in the fall of 1940, we believed these men were transferred by ship to the far north, we knew of a shipment of 1,500.

Vishinsky replied that that information could not be correct and he demanded to know where we received such information. To that I replied, "From Archangel."

I further pointed out to him that on the terrain of the Soviet there was a camp located at Ostashkov, in which were interned the gendarmes and the police, "The camp actually no longer does exist, but from among tens of thousands of Poles who have already reported for duty to our Army, there isn't a single one from that camp."

I further demanded to know what was happening to our Polish officers who were still being detained in camps near Soswa, Kolyma, and also a camp near Omsk. To this Vishinsky replied, "They must be among the 300,000 Polish nationals who already have been freed." To this I said, "From those camps that I have named here, there are no Poles among us." And I added, "For example, the doctors and the professors of our higher institutions of learning who were in these camps, they are now nowhere to be found."

Vishinsky was very unhappy about this. I gave them the impression that if they would promise to give us the names of all those who had been freed, then we would be able to draw or reach some conclusion as to who has been released and who hasn't. That was the gist of the conversation that day.

Mr. Flood. Thank you very much.

Now, Mr. Ambassador, your next contact with Mr. Vishinsky was on October 13, at which time you tell us you dispatched to him a note.

Mr. Kot. Yes.

Mr. Flood. Do you have the gist of that note with you?

Mr. Kot. In this note I complained that up to that time I did not get the promised list of names of those released and that, furthermore, the people that I am looking and searching for are not being released, and that the military and the reservists are not being released from the prisons. Naturally, I kept General Sikorski completely informed as to the nature of my discussions.

Mr. Flood. Mr. Ambassador, can you at this time give us excerpts of your October 6 conference and also a copy of your note of October 13, 1941?

Mr. Kot. Here they are.

(A document was handed to Mr. Flood by the witness.)

Mr. Flood. Mark this for identification as "Exhibit 49 and 49A."

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 49 and 49A" for identification.)

Mr. Flood. Mr. Ambassador, I now show you exhibit No. 49 marked for identification and ask you whether or not that is the copy of the minutes of the conversation between you and Mr. Vishinsky on October 6, as you have just discussed?

Mr. Kot. Yes, it is.

Mr. Flood. We will offer those in evidence, and for the purpose of the record, the committee, in its judgment, will determine to print that part of those minutes dealing with the conversations about the missing Poles as discussed by the Ambassador, after they have been translated into English.

[Translation of exhibit 49]

KOT DISCUSSION OF OCT. 6

Excerpt 2.

Conversations between the Ambassador of the Polish Republic, Professor Kot, and the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Vyshinsky, which took place on October 6, 1941 (Present: Director, Novikov—interpreter, Secretary of the Embassy, W. Arlet.)

VYSHINSKY. The lack of data regarding prisoners is sometimes due to the fact that in the occupation part of the territory of the U. S. S. R. by the Germans, prisoners were evacuated separately and the files with their records were moved separately also. [Novikov adds a few examples of such prisons.]

AMBASSADOR. Apart from the fact that I am unable to trace a number of persons whose names have been listed on orders from London, and who will be sent to join the National Assembly, I also wish to submit the following figures: A total of 9,500 officers were imprisoned in Poland and deported to the interior of the U. S. S. R., while at the present time we have in the army only 2,000 officers. What has happened to the 7,500 men?

(Vyshinsky and Novikov both contend that this is impossible. They cannot, however, present any arguments to the contrary.)

AMBASSADOR. We have tried to find these people everywhere. We thought that they were handed over to the Germans, therefore we have tried to trace them in German prisoner-of-war camps, in occupied Poland, and wherever they might possibly be. I could understand it if about thirty to ninety men were missing, or even several hundred, but never several thousand.

(Vyshinsky and Novikov, embarrassed, they themselves ask questions as to what has happened to these persons.)

AMBASSADOR. In the autumn of 1940 a transport of 1,500 of our officers was sent north from Archangelsk by ship.

VYSHINSKY. This is surely wrong information. Where do you get it from?

AMBASSADOR. From Archangelsk. A prisoner camp was located at Ostaskow in the Moscow province, in which our military police and policemen exclusively, were kept. To be sure this camp does not exist any more, but among the tens of thousands of people who reported to join the army, not one prisoner from that camp is included. And what of the camps in which our officers are still being kept, on the Soswa, Kolyma, not far from Omsk?

VYSHINSKY. I am sure they are among the 390,000 or so Polish citizens who have been freed.

AMBASSADOR. No officers whatsoever from the afore-mentioned camps are to be found in the army; and what about the doctors and university professors?

VYSHINSKY. During our previous conversation, Mr. Ambassador, I mentioned 591 Polish doctors of medicine (physicians); surely there must be 600 physicians in all. Perhaps some of them listed a different profession.

AMBASSADOR. Meanwhile we have about 30 of them in the army. The general health of army personnel leaves much to be desired, and there is no one to administer medical treatment.

VYSHINSKY. I promise to meet your request, Mr. Ambassador, and to assign a greater number of doctors to the army.

The final conversation is conducted rather rapidly, since Vyshinsky is in a hurry to attend another conference. The Ambassador mentioned the problem of publishing, by radio, the names of Poles freed, the demands of the Home Front (in Poland) relative to this problem, the intended transfer of part of the Embassy offices of Gzelabinsk or Swierdlowsk, [Vyshinsky's attitude towards the latter idea was one of reluctance. The Ambassador declared that he would return to this matter], the question of Mr. Gruj's departure for Archangelsk as a delegate of the Embassy, [Vyshinsky agreed, but at this point made an unfriendly remark regarding the Consulate] and also expressed hope that the dates set forth by Com. Vyshinsky will be kept.

The conversation lasted from 6:30 to 7:45 in the evening.

AMBASSADOR:

Moscow, October 8, 1941.

[Translation copy of Exhibit 49A]

NOTE OF OCTOBER 13TH, 1941, FROM AMBASSADOR KOT TO MR. VISHINSKY, DEPUTY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN MOSCOW, DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE INCOMPLETE FULFILMENT OF SOVIET OBLIGATIONS CONCERNING POLISH CITIZENS, UNDER THE AGREEMENT OF JULY 30, 1941.

The EMBASSY of the REPUBLIC of POLAND.

D.538/41.

Moscow, October 13, 1941

Mr. COMMISSAR: Referring to the Note of the Charge d'Affaires ad iterim of the Republic of Poland addressed to the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, No. 30/41 of August 22, 1941, and the Note Verbale of the Polish Embassy, No. D.467/41 of

September 27, 1941, I have the honour, Mr. Commissar, to inform you of the following:

In both the aforesaid Notes, as in my conversation with you, Mr. Commissar, I emphasized particularly the need for the fulfillment by the Soviet Government of the provisions of the Agreement concluded between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government on July 30, 1941, and of the provisions of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, concerning the release of Polish citizens from prisons, labour camps and localities of compulsory residence at the earliest possible date, at least before the coming winter, during which the departure from many of the camps would be most difficult if not altogether impossible. The question of release was also brought up by the Polish delegation at the two meetings of the Mixed Polish-Soviet Commission, when emphasis was laid on the special urgency of this problem.

During my conversation with you, Mr. Commissar, on September 20, I received your assurance that the Soviet authorities would take care that Polish citizens detained in distant Northern regions, where the climate is unsuitable for Poles, were transported to more suitable districts before the winter season sets in. During my conversation on October 7, I quoted figures relating to Polish citizens who were still detained in large numbers in camps and mentioned the fact that certain categories among them had been transferred to very remote Northern regions. In spite of repeated Polish requests and the assurances given on behalf of the Soviets, this Embassy has not as yet received the list of localities nor the exact numbers of Polish citizens released.

Contrary to the assurances that, except for a small number of individuals suspected, indicted or convicted of espionage on behalf of Germany, whose names and dossiers up to now have not been communicated to the Embassy, all Polish citizens had been set free and that in a small number of cases only was delay caused by purely technical considerations, the Embassy is in possession of information that there are still in a number of prisons and camps thousands of Polish citizens who were not informed of the Agreement concluded on July 30, 1941, or were informed that the provisions of this Agreement and of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. of August 12 did not apply to them.

By way of example, may I state that Polish citizens are still being detained in prison at Saratov, Gorki, Balshov, Tschelabinsk, Kizel and in compulsory labour camps in the Primorski Kray in the North-Eastern extremity of the Yakut district/ near the mouth of the Kolyma on the Arctic Ocean/, near Aldan, in the region of Tomsk, Karaganda, in the mines of Karabash /Tschelabinsk district/, in the Ivgiel camp /Svierdlovsk district/, in the Archangel district and in the Republic of Komi, along the railway line under construction between Kotlas and Pechora and at other points.

More detailed information concerning the numbers and conditions of these Polish citizens is given in the Annex to the present Note. As will be seen therefrom the local authorities either did not receive detailed orders concerning the treatment of Polish citizens after the conclusion of the Agreement of July 30, or, in some cases, the local authorities were content to deal with the matter in a purely pro forma way / the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs withdrew police supervision of the 2,000 Polish citizens employed in the mines of Karabash-Voloshynowski-Rudnik, but left the persons concerned where they were which actually made their position worse than before/, or with a partial execution of the orders issued. It is to be assumed that various considerations have dictated this treatment and in some instances local authorities may have desired to secure for themselves virtually unpaid manpower, whence the tendency to release sometimes elderly, invalid or ailing persons, while the stronger and healthier are retained for compulsory labour.

I have the honour to draw your attention, Mr. Commissar, to another characteristic feature of the conduct of local government authorities towards Polish citizens who are released, or who approach them with the request for employment or for the assignment of a residence. This conduct, without doubt unknown to the Central authorities, which should cease in the interests of good relations between the Polish and Soviet Governments, consists in informing those concerned that the blame for their difficult situation rests with the Polish Government and their representatives in the U. S. S. R. Naturally Polish nationals are not misled by this, but it arouses unnecessary mistrust among the Polish population.

Information issued abroad by the Polish Government, entirely in line with good Polish-Soviet collaboration, is to the effect that Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have been liberated from prisons and camps. I pre-

sented to you, on the 7-th of this month, copies of communiqués issued by the Polish Telegraph Agency in London and New York. The Polish Government is of the opinion that such official information should correspond to the real situation of the Polish population in the U. S. S. R. In the common interest of both Governments the Polish-Soviet Agreement should be fully carried out so that in foreign countries no elements unfriendly to this collaboration and hostile to the U. S. S. R., should find in the difficult position of the deported Polish population a theme for their propaganda.

The Polish Government could in no case agree that, as a result of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, the lot of Polish citizens residing in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should become worse or that local authorities should carry out its provisions in a manner contrary to the declarations and statements of the representatives of the Soviet Government.

Consequently, in its Note, No. 30/41 of August 22, 1941, the Embassy presented a number of proposals forming a logical whole with a view to the practical solution of the problem of the Polish population in the U. S. S. R., in accordance with the interests of this population and of both Governments. The fact that the suggestions contained in point 2 were only carried out in part, and that points 3 and 4 were left completely unfulfilled, has meant that such Polish citizens as have been released have not been able to improve their living conditions and a large number of them have been forced to wander aimlessly and compelled to camp at railway stations or in the open air in the localities newly chosen for their residence. In view of the approaching winter which in some parts of the Soviet Union has already set in, many of them are threatened with death by starvation. Their position is rendered still worse by the fact that the local authorities not only refuse to carry out the suggestions of the Embassy, but do not even comply with the assurances given by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs contained in the Aide-Mémoire of August 28, 1941, with regard to free railway fares, travelling subsidies, subsistence allowances and, most important of all, employment for the persons released.

I also venture to draw your attention, Mr. Commissar, to the fact that the organization of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R. is not progressing in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, or with the intentions of the two Governments.

The Supreme Command of the Polish armed forces in the U. S. S. R. has vainly waited four weeks for a decision on the formation of further Polish divisions and the designation of the localities in which this formation is to take place. In consequence, numerous Polish citizens reporting for military service and rallying en masse to the Polish Army stream into the two already overcrowded camps, which lack the necessary number of tents, adequate food supplies and medicines. Thus a situation, harmful alike to the troops and to the common cause is being created. The local administrative authorities very often do not carry out the instruction issued by the central authorities with regard to questions concerning the Polish Army and create new additional difficulties, as for instance by declining to release from prisons and camps all Polish citizens, military and reservists, and in many instances by detaining the more physically fit elements, which reduces the military value of the units already formed. Moreover, considerable numbers of Polish citizens enrolled in the Red Army and subsequently transferred to the so-called labor battalions, have not up till now been directed to the Polish Army.

Thus the Polish contribution to the common struggle against Germany, contrary to the intentions of the Polish and Soviet Governments and to the unanimous will of the Polish citizens, is being weakened to the detriment of the cause of all the Allies.

In the profound belief that the Soviet Government attaches no less importance than the Polish Government to the development of friendly relations between the two States, I have the honour to request you, Mr. Commissar, to take measures to put into full effect all the proposals contained in the Note of the Embassy of August 22, and in particular the immediate release from prisons, camps and localities of compulsory domicile of all Polish citizens, the friendly treatment of those who are unfit for military service and the acceleration of the decision concerning the formation of further large units of the Polish Army, in accordance with the letter and Spirit of the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

I have the honour to be, etc.

/—/ STANISŁAW KOT.

His Excellency A. J. VISHINSKY
Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, we are now up to the point of the conversation on October 14, between you and Mr. Vishinsky.

Mr. KOT. In order to understand my conversation of the 13th, I must state here that——

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. Your contact of the 13th was not a conversation; a note.

Mr. KOT. On the 14th, I was saying that General Sikorski was planning on coming to Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. As I understand it, Mr. Ambassador, as the basis of your talk with Vishinsky on the 14th, you have advised us that you had information from General Sikorski about his coming to Moscow as soon as possible.

Mr. KOT. That is correct. Because of the unfavorable results of my previous conversations, I sent a dispatch to General Sikorski advising him that he should not come to Moscow, for various reasons. Among them, one of them, was the reason that they had not released the Polish officers. There were actually two dispatches sent, one on the 12th and one on the 14th.

Mr. FLOOD. You sent these telegrams of the 12th and the 14th to Sikorski suggesting that he not come, for the reasons you have just stated?

Mr. KOT. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to point this up, if I can, if you recall, or not. Did the Russians invite Sikorski to come, or did Sikorski volunteer to come—if you know?

Mr. KOT. As early as July 30, 1941, when the pact was being signed, General Sikorski said that he wanted to come to Moscow as soon as the actual formation of the Polish forces would begin.

Mr. FLOOD. But, of course, it is also reasonable to assume that the Russians were most anxious to have Sikorski come and be of assistance in the formation of Polish forces?

Mr. KOT. I tried to find out and determine whether they really wanted him to come or didn't want him to come.

Mr. FLOOD. Anyhow, that was in the background, and now we have the conversation of October 14 between you and Vishinsky.

Mr. KOT. At this conversation, I expressed the opinion that Sikorski should not come to Moscow because I had observed during our conversations that that was very important to them, his arrival.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You do not mean, do you, that that is what you told them?

Mr. KOT. The entire conference consisted of my openly telling them this.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. Then, as a matter of fact, when I suggested to you just a minute ago that the Russians were anxious to have Sikorski come, you agreed because that was the tenor of the conversation with Vishinsky on the 14th?

Mr. KOT. It was my conviction or impression that they did want him to come, but they were not so much concerned with the formation of a Polish Army as they were with the exploitation, propagandawise, all over the world, of a Pole's arrival in Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. What was Vishinsky's reaction to your declaration that you advised Sikorski not to come?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Just a second; may I interrupt there?

He did not finish his entire statement to Vishinsky as to why he urged to Vishinsky that Sikorski not come.

Mr. FLOOD. We will develop that. This whole conversation is about that.

Mr. KOR. You must understand that the Russians are very clever and that they never indicate openly whether they want or don't want something. They vacillate and maneuver around. You must study this whole conversation. Understand this: There was an hour and 15 minutes devoted to this conference.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, we understand quite well. What we would like you to give us, as you have been doing so excellently, is the gist of the conversation and the atmosphere surrounding the parties.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is what I want to hear.

Mr. KOR. I pointed out to them that the proposal of Sikorski's trip to Moscow was suggested at the conferences with Churchill. Vishinsky told me that he was well aware of that and that the Russians had given complete instructions to expedite the general's arrival in Moscow. I told him that I must make clear to him the motives behind General Sikorski's proposed trip to Moscow, but to go into that now requires a great deal of time and I don't know whether you have the time to go into this.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, are you prepared to give us, in substance, in a paragraph or so, the thought of the motive, that is, without too much detail?

Mr. KOR. I emphasized that General Sikorski wanted to demonstrate to the whole world that the Poles were ready and prepared to fight with the Russians against Hitlerites, and this came at a time when the tides of war were going bad for the Russians and the Germans were already boasting to the world that they were going to defeat the Russian Armies.

I emphasize further that the faith, the belief, of the Poles that the Germans would not be victorious and that the Poles would help in the struggle would be a great moral victory for the world.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just a moment. Mr. Ambassador, am I correct in stating that the gist of your conversation is that you finally told Mr. Vishinsky that you had hopes that by the time General Sikorski would come, that these Polish officers would be released? Is that correct?

Mr. KOR. I emphasized further that the Polish soldiers must be released by the time General Sikorski arrives in Moscow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Is it not true, Ambassador, that the conference closed with Vishinsky giving you the assurance that he would give you all the Polish officers under control, those that were still there, but he said he could not give those that he did not have?

Mr. KOR. More or less, that is correct. Yes. I could go into greater details. While the conversation was larger in scope, those words that you mentioned are in my conversation.

Mr. FLOOD. You mentioned to us before that, as a result of your meeting on October 14, with Vishinsky, Sikorski directed a communication to Bogomolow here in London on the same question; is that correct?

Mr. KOR. That is correct; to the Russian Ambassador attached to the Polish Government.

Mr. FLOOD. And, as I understand it, no answer was received from the Russians to Sikorski's dispatch on that subject at that time?

Mr. KOT. There was, but it didn't come until the 19th of November of 1941, and the content of that reply will become evident from the conversations that I continued.

Mr. FLOOD. Now you have the next meeting with Mr. Molotov. What was the date of the meeting?

Mr. KOT. 22d of October.

Mr. FLOOD. With Molotov?

Mr. KOT. With Molotov.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was present besides you and Molotov?

Mr. KOT. Only Molotov's translator and my secretary, Mniszek.

Mr. FLOOD. Just you and Molotov? All right.

Mr. KOT. And the discussion lasted an hour and 15 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you just relate for us that part of your discussion with Molotov dealing with the missing Polish officers?

Mr. KOT. I made a request that my efforts to contact the NKVD be facilitated, that while my dealings with him were not diplomatic, they were in an effort to find the missing soldiers.

As an example, I mentioned to them our efforts to locate General Sikorski's adjutant, to whom he was very much attached. Molotov asked, "Is he here in Russia?" I replied that he was in a Russian prison camp in Russia and later he was transferred into the depths of Russia.

Molotov asked, "What is his name?" I replied, "Major Furman, Jan Furman." Molotov said, "Everything will be done to find him."

And immediately he instructed his translator, Narkomindielu, to write down correctly that name. To this I replied, "If, by some misfortune, this adjutant should not be alive, please inform us immediately because the worst thing that can happen to us is the uncertainty."

I also cited the names of two outstanding Polish generals, Orlik Lukowski and Kmiecic Skrzynski, about whom we have had to this date absolutely no information. Also, I said I had several other names, with which I did not want to burden him at that time.

Molotov said, "Please send me the list." I to Molotov: "General Anders already has submitted a list to competent military authorities. Please give the proper instructions to expedite this matter. General Sikorski is very much concerned about this in regard to his arrival here." Molotov: "We will try to do everything possible."

And then we discussed further affairs.

Mr. FLOOD. I am leading you up to the meeting with Stalin, but now, before you had the meeting with Stalin, you had one or two other meetings with Molotov and Vishinsky.

Mr. KOT. No. Molotov left for Moscow, because all this happened in Kubyishev, and my subsequent conversation with Vishinsky.

Mr. FLOOD. You had several subsequent conversations after the meeting of October 22 with Molotov, you had several conversations with Vishinsky, and in the early part of November, you tell us you sent a note to Molotov.

Mr. KOT. The 1st of November.

Mr. FLOOD. November 1 was the date of the note to Molotov.

Mr. KOT. Yes; my note on November 1 was about the failure of the Russians to carry out the amnesty agreement and again pointing out that General Sikorski should not come to Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. That was the note to Molotov?

Mr. KOT. Yes; November 1.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, you had a meeting with Vishinsky on November 2?

Mr. KOT. Yes. Here we had a detailed discussion regarding the question whether or not these Poles are in the Russian prisons or whether they are not. We were at that time accused of giving exaggerated figures and that we were exaggerating the number of men we were seeking.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, we are now ready to talk about the meeting with Stalin; but, first of all, I want to get the atmosphere and the attitude of Vishinsky and Molotov from the first day you met with them right down to the day you met with Stalin. How did they act at first? Was there any change? What do you think caused the change, and what kind of change was it?

Mr. KOT. There was a change in attitude, but only in the last moment. I could not understand, myself, what was the reason for that change in attitude. On the other hand, I asked Ambassador Cripps to support my efforts, and on November 4, Cripps went to Vishinsky in an effort to intervene on the matter that I had talked about.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before that, did not Ambassador Cripps, on November 3, issue a note to Molotov asking for assistance, intervening on your behalf?

Mr. KOT. At this moment, I don't recall, but Cripps did tell me the details of his conversations. And I sent a report to General Sikorski informing him of this conversation.

Ambassador Cripps' intervention had no effect, and on the 8th of November, I received a note from the Russians informing me that all of the Poles have been released. Then the Americans intervened—specifically, a telegram from Harriman to Stalin.

Mr. DONDERO. This was all in September, October, and November of 1941. In all of those conversations, did either Stalin, Molotov, or Vishinsky ever say one word about these men falling into the hands of the Germans?

Mr. KOT. No; never; not once.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What happened as a result of Harriman's telegram?

Mr. KOT. Harriman's telegram was sent on the 11th of November. On the 12th, I had a conference with Vishinsky, and for the first time, Vishinsky was very pleasant. And he asked me if I am prepared to tell Stalin why I am objecting to Sikorski's trip to Moscow.

As regards the matter of the Polish officers during this conference, he asked me whether we had submitted to the Foreign Office the list of names to them. To this I replied, "Regarding these officers, General Anders had submitted a list to the NKVD, but only the list of prisoners who were in Starobielsk. But those who were in Kozielsk and Ostashkov, the list of names is now in the stage of preparation."

Vishinsky replied, "I am again asking you about this matter because these people, in my opinion, have been released. The only thing that remains now is to determine where they are. If any of them are not

free at this time, they will be released immediately. For me, this problem does not even exist."

Mr. DONDERO. Just for the sake of the record, let it be noted that while all these conversations took place, these men were already in their graves, and they knew it. That is my own comment.

Mr. FLOOD. It is significant, as I understand it, that during all of these conversations, Vishinsky and Molotov kept insisting that the Poles produce lists of names of officers?

Mr. KOT. Yes. That question always comes up. I will come back to that, but after I had discussed my conversations with Stalin.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, you may like to take a glass of water and smoke a cigarette. You have had quite a long stretch of testimony.

(There was a short recess.)

Mr. FLOOD. Do you feel ready now?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now we come to the date of the meeting with Stalin, and what was that date?

Mr. KOT. November 14.

Mr. FLOOD. What year?

Mr. KOT. 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you just detail for us or give us the outline of the meeting with Mr. Stalin? Tell us who was present for the Poles and who was present for the Russians.

Mr. KOT. With Stalin was Molotov and a translator. With me there was just the translator-secretary, Arlet. Molotov virtually did not participate in the discussion except for one instance.

Mr. FLOOD. How was the meeting with Stalin arranged? How did you come to have a meeting with Stalin? Why?

Mr. KOT. Because of my opposition to General Sikorski's arrival in Moscow; that was the basis for calling this meeting.

Mr. FLOOD. Who called this meeting?

Mr. KOT. Please remember that at this time General Sikorski already was in Cairo, and he was being asked publicly there whether he planned to leave for Moscow. He, on the other hand, on the basis of the dispatches that I sent to him cautioning him that the Soviets want to exploit his arrival there for their own purposes and are not willing to release our soldiers, Sikorski publicly announced that he had not decided whether he would go to Moscow or whether he would return to London.

It was my impression that Sikorski's arrival in Moscow meant so much to Stalin that he had arranged this conference and invited me in an effort to determine why I was objecting to the general's arrival there.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. Will you tell us the gist of the meeting, the conversation with Stalin; with particular reference to the missing Polish officers?

Mr. KOT. In the general conversations, we discussed the entire Polish-Soviet relationship. Stalin expressed his opinions as to the character of the Polish people, about the future of Poland. I emphasized that they did not want to permit us to form a large Polish Army in Russia because they had reduced our rations to such a point that we were forced to release 14,000 of our volunteers.

We continued our discussion on this subject, and it led to a conflict between myself and Molotov; and Stalin decided in my favor. At this time I raised the question of the missing Polish officers.

Shall I read now the part of our exact conversation?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes. I would like to hear that. If it is in Polish, let the interpreter read it into the record.

(Following is the translation by the interpreter:)

AMBASSADOR: I have already taken much of your valuable time, Mr. President. However, I have one more matter. May I raise this question?

STALIN (very politely). Please do, Mr. Ambassador.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to emphasize this, Mr. Ambassador: What is now going to be read into the record are the minutes of the conversation which took place between you and Stalin, with particular reference to the missing Polish officers.

Mr. KOT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The interpreter is getting tired. I will help.

(Following is a continuation of the translation by Mr. Machrowicz:)

AMBASSADOR. You are the author of amnesty for the Polish citizens in Soviet Russia. You made that gesture. I would be very grateful to you, Mr. President, if you would see to it that that gesture would be executed.

STALIN. Are there still some Poles not released?

AMBASSADOR. From the camp in Starobielsk, which was broken up in the spring of 1940, we have not yet received a single officer.

STALIN. I will look into that matter. However, the matter of the discharges is sometimes very curious. What was the name of the commander of the city of Lwow? If I am not mistaken, his name was General Langner.

AMBASSADOR. General Langner, Mr. President.

STALIN. That is right; General Langner. We released him last year; we brought him to Moscow; we talked with him. In the meantime, he escaped outside of the boundaries, as far as I know, to Rumania.

(Molotov confirms this.)

STALIN. Our amnesty knows no exceptions. But the same thing might have happened with some of these military people as happened with General Langner.

AMBASSADOR. We have names and lists; as, for instance, we have not, to this day, found General Stanislaw Haller. We are still missing the officers from Starobielsk, Kozielsk, and Ostashkov, who were sent away from there in April and May of 1940.

STALIN. We released all; even those people who were sent to us by General Sikorski so that they would destroy bridges and kill Soviet people, even those people were released by us. After all, it was not General Sikorski who sent them, but his Chief of Staff, Sosnkowski.

AMBASSADOR. He resigned already. And as far as the people whom General Sikorski sent here, you can count on them to the fullest extent. That is the best element.

STALIN (laughing). I know about that.

AMBASSADOR. So my request to you depends on your giving instructions that the officers whom we need, to organize our Army, be released. We have records as to when they were sent away from the camps.

STALIN. Do you have accurate lists?

AMBASSADOR. All the names are entered in the records of the Russian commanders of these camps when they daily call them for daily calls. Furthermore, the NKVD had special interrogations with each one of them. Not one officer of the staff of General Anders' army, which he led into Poland, has been released.

(Stalin for a few minutes got up and walked slowly around the table lighting a cigarette, listening attentively and answering questions. He then walks with a fast step to the telephone on the bureau and calls the NKVD. Molotov arises and also walks to the telephone. "That is not the way to get the connection." He then moves the telephone and sits at the conference table.)

Mr. O'KONSKI. In other words, the record should show that Stalin did not know what connection to use to contact the NKVD.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is right.

STALIN (speaking into the telephone). This is Stalin. Have all the Poles already been released from jail? (Then there is a moment of quiet while he is listening to an answer.) For the Polish Ambassador is here in my office and he tells me that not all.

(Again he listens to the answer and then puts the telephone aside. He returns to the conference table.)

And then Stalin is talking:

I also would like to ask you a question, Mr. Ambassador. When and where do the Polish troops care to act against the Germans? Do you have any material on that matter? If so, answer me.

I am told that following that is another subject. I am now omitting a number of questions and answers which do not relate directly to the subject matter and am returning again to the conversation on this matter:

(Stalin arises from his seat when the telephone rings and is listening most probably to the answer to the question which he gave a few minutes ago regarding the release of the Poles. He puts aside the receiver and returns, not saying one word.)

That is the end of the conversation on that subject.

Mr. FLOOD. We are very grateful to our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, for his very excellent translation of those minutes.

Mr. Ambassador, you were present, of course, during all that time?

Mr. KOT. The conversation was with me.

Mr. FLOOD. You observed all of these movements of Stalin and Molotov as described in the minutes?

Mr. KOT. Yes. I was very much interested.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, you do not know whether Stalin actually talked to anybody on that telephone, or not; do you?

Mr. KOT. I could be skeptical on that point.

Mr. FLOOD. What do you mean by "that point"?

Mr. KOT. I considered that or regarded that as some sort of a theatrical gesture.

Mr. FLOOD. Play acting?

Mr. KOT. Since he had nothing to say to me later and he discontinued that subject of the conversation and moved to another subject, then I was led to believe that he was trying to create the impression with me that he didn't know anything about these missing officers and that he was just then beginning to make inquiries as to their whereabouts.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the attitude of Stalin during the period of time of your conversation when you talked about the missing officers? How did he act, how did he seem to act? What was your impression on just that one point?

Mr. KOT. Stalin is a man who is unequivocally calm and very cold. He has unusual control of every one of his gestures and every word he utters. Stalin does not show normally how he reacts to any given suggestion, the way he is thinking.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. That terminates, then, the meeting on November 14 with Stalin, insofar as the subject of officers is concerned? I will instruct our interpreter to have the minutes of this entire conversation translated and insert them into the record at this point as exhibit 49B.

EXHIBIT 49B

MINUTES OF THE CONVERSATION OF AMBASSADOR KOT WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLES' COMMISSARS OF THE U. S. S. R., J. STALIN, AT THE KREMLIN ON 14TH NOVEMBER 1941, IN THE PRESENCE OF W. MOLOTOV, COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND OF MR. W. ARLET, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE POLISH EMBASSY

(Literal translation from Polish)

Ambassador Kot. I hold it as a great privilege to be introduced to you, Mr. President, with whose name is bound the historical moment of the reestablishment of mutual relations between Poland and the U. S. S. R.

STALIN. I am pleased to meet you, Mr. Ambassador; we, the Soviet people, all of us, maintain that the relations between the Soviet and the Polish nations should be as good as possible. I hope, inasmuch as it depends on the Soviet people, that we shall be able to do everything we can in this respect. I think that we can turn a new leaf in the history of the relations between our two countries and base them on friendship.

Ambassador Kot. It was a great pleasure to hear you say that, Mr. President, and on my part may I assure you that the leaders of the Polish state and of the Polish nation are themselves adherents of the idea of a deep and permanent Soviet-Polish cooperation. We simply do not see a single reason and no problems which could become a source of any conflicts between us—neighbors.

STALIN. We are not only neighbors, we are also of the same stock.

Ambassador Kot. In view of the terrible lesson given to us and to the world at large by Hitler the more so should you and we demonstrate this kinship of ours.

STALIN. You are quite right.

Ambassador Kot. It is held in certain circles that there exist problems which divide us, such as for example the Ukrainian or the Lithuanian question. But it is precisely by means of our cooperation that these problems can be solved. I think that they become one more reason of drawing us closer together.

STALIN (confirms by nodding).

Ambassador Kot. In the meantime, however, a war is being waged which has absorbed every single Pole. We wish to engage all our possibilities on this side of the fighting world. Our position is not easy: Polish territories are, under German occupation, our Government is abroad, material means are practically nonexistent. But in spite of all that the Germans themselves have to admit that the Poles represent a formidable force. They know and are afraid of the fact that every Pole under their occupation, when the decisive moment will come, will fulfill his soldiery duty. The Polish nation bears its share of the struggle by its endurance and perseverance which induces it to keep up the fight loyally till the very last on the side on which all democratic values have been engaged. You know no doubt, Mr. President, the love of freedom of the Polish nation. The Germans failed to find a single quisling in Poland, nor did they succeed in forming a puppet government [*gouvernement fantôme*]. There is, however, one more characteristic value which Poland brings into the democratic block. We are the only Catholic nation which fights on the side of the Alliance of the Anglo-Saxon Powers and the Soviet Union. And this fact is of inestimable value as it makes it impossible for Hitler to assume the role of defender of faith. At the same time the attitude of Poland prevents the Vatican from openly backing the Axis States. As far as we are concerned, however, our main ambition is to create the strongest possible Polish Army abroad. After all this war is not only your war—it is our war as well. And that is why we ask you to favor our endeavors to build up a powerful Army. The Poles have given ample proof that they can and will fight Hitler to the last. Our forces are dispersed over Egypt, Palestine and Great Britain—they are fighting on the seas and in the air. However, our greatest manpower resources are in the Soviet Union. This is then the main problem, which General Sikorski desires to settle with you. General Sikorski is a statesman with a great temperament but also a soldier who knows how to force an issue. Rigor of character and a strong will are his main traits. He has proved them in his determination to conclude the Polish-Soviet pact in spite of a strong opposition. He is highly esteemed by the leaders of all Allied nations. There is therefore every reason to believe that, together with you, Mr. President, and with Churchill and Roosevelt, he will be included within the privileged group of men who will be called upon to decide the future of the world.

STALIN. I well understand the necessity of forming a Polish Army. I have met with Polish soldiers on many a battlefield and I am aware of their value.

This is obvious—I am ready to give all necessary assistance. Be so good, Mr. Ambassador, as to tell me exactly with what you are dissatisfied, and with what are dissatisfied the Poles in Russia—and what are their wishes. If General Sikorski wishes to come to the U. S. S. R. he will be our welcome guest and I hope that we will be able to reach full agreement.

Ambassador Kot. Does this mean, Mr. President, that you are ready to listen to our complaints and requests?

STALIN. Indeed I am.

Ambassador Kot. A friendly atmosphere should be the basis of cooperation and of good mutual relationship. The Poles who since the sixteenth century have suffered so much from the hands of the Russians really need such a friendly atmosphere. It is not so much a question of principles it is more the emotional approach which counts the most. There is a deeply rooted false notion among the Russian people that the Poles are a nation of landlords. This is definitely untrue. We are a nation of peasants, artisans, and working people—in fact a deeply and sincerely democratic nation. I would like to emphasize the fact that this notion is very common among the lower Soviet executive functionaries which creates various difficulties for the Poles. We would, therefore, be very grateful to you, Mr. President, if by using your authority you would remedy this state of affairs, having already proved your good will by your readiness to cooperate with us.

STALIN. There is one point which I would like to make clear for the sake of historical exactitude. It was not only the Poles who had suffered from the hands of the Russians ever since the sixteenth century—it was the Russians who had also suffered from the Poles. After all you have twice captured Moscow in that time. Let bygones be bygones. I can well believe that isolated cases of improper treatment of the Poles by certain authorities do occur. But this unfriendly atmosphere will be stopped [Budiet likwidirowana.] I know also that the Poles are a nation of peasants and working people. There exist at present all the necessary circumstances to enable us to forget all our historical grievances and to join hands in a common effort to fight our common enemy—Hitlerite Germany. As far as the Polish Army is concerned—we have undertaken to set on foot 30,000 soldiers in 1941, which amounts to two infantry divisions, one reserve regiment, an officers' training center and the respective staffs. The First Division is to be equipped by us—the Second by the Poles. To put it bluntly [Goworia grubo]—both divisions, the whole of those 30,000 soldiers have to be fed by the Russian people. The Soviet Union has undertaken to do that and we shall keep our promise. Is that correct? [Eto prawilno?]

Ambassador Kot. This is not quite so. The Polish Army in the U. S. S. R. should be as large as manpower reserves we dispose of in the Soviet Union will permit. If we used every single man available we could form an army counting 150,000 men. In making this rough estimate I am considering only those physically fit—otherwise it could be even larger. We will certainly do our best to obtain equipment and maintenance from abroad.

STALIN. However, the existence of a protocol limiting the number of soldiers to 30,000 for the year 1941 cannot be denied. This is not my last word [Ja nie szczitaju etowo naszym poslednim slowom]. I only stress the fact of the existence of such a protocol.

Ambassador Kot. This is not the only protocol. There is one, if I remember rightly, dated the 12th of August, drawn up at the first meeting of the Polish-Soviet Military Commission. This protocol states clearly that the two divisions were only meant to be the first stage—that they would only be the nucleus of an army, which was to be formed straight away. Already the following month new protocols were drawn up about the creating of further units.

Molotov. But those later protocols have not been signed or ratified by the Government. I have here the document in question [holds up the paper and points to the date, 1.X.1941.]

Ambassador Kot. (Pointing to the same date). Do show me, please, where it says that in the year 1941—only two divisions were to be formed. As far as I know the protocol states that the two first divisions have to be ready on the 1st October 1941. The meaning is completely different. There is no limit as to the number of men in the army for the year 1941.

Molotov (reluctantly). Yes, indeed. In any case no other protocols have been ratified by the Government.

STALIN. The Russians have not broken the agreement. If the Poles are dissatisfied they have every right to forward further proposals. The Russians have not gone back on their word.

Ambassador Kot. Our intention was to form further 3 divisions. Two of them were to be labor units which were created for the purpose of building winter quarters for the army.

STALIN. But up till now you have only got one division.

Ambassador Kot. We have two of which only one fully armed, although it was agreed that both would be supplied with the necessary equipment. It was only in September that the U. S. S. R. military authorities informed us that they were unable to supply the second division with the necessary armaments.

STALIN. Yes, indeed. I seem to remember.

Ambassador Kot. Not being a soldier—I do not claim the right to discuss technical matters. I am concerned rather with the principle of the whole thing, than with minor details.

STALIN. We, the Soviet people, wish to have the strongest possible and battle-fit Polish Army. [Kak mozno bolszoi i wojennospobnoy polskoj armii.] We are willing to share with you everything we possess and what we feel our duty to supply you with but the Poles must bear in mind that the U. S. S. R. is waging a war and that we have to equip our own reserves. Don't forget that we have suffered great losses. Consider the fact, Mr. Ambassador, that we may not be able to keep up with the necessities of equipment and maintenance of our front-line armies, our reserves, and the Polish Army as well. We have to feed many millions already engaged in fighting. All we can do is to provide for two Polish divisions. One of them is fully equipped and ready. I have nothing against the raising of five, six, or seven Polish divisions on our territories, as many as you can manage with the men and equipment you have. But I repeat, we are fighting on a widespread front and we risk to fail to supply our own armies. The Poles themselves should make every possible effort to find arms and equipment for their troops. It is possible that the situation might improve and then—it will become a different matter. [Tozda rozgovor drugoi.]

Ambassador Kot. I thank you, Mr. President, for this statement. If I have well understood it means that we can form as many divisions as our manpower resources will permit, subject to our obtaining the necessary food and equipment supplies from abroad.

STALIN. Yes, that is what I meant.

Ambassador Kot. As all the candidates fit to bear arms will be enrolled—there remains only one thing to be settled, namely the choosing of the places where these units would be formed, chosen in a way which will make deliveries of maintenance and equipment from abroad as easy as possible.

STALIN. I agree, in principle. A suitable place will be found. However, it cannot be Uzbekistan, to where the Poles keep traveling illegally.

Ambassador Kot. We do not insist on Uzbekistan. It was the place indicated to our command by the Soviet military authorities. I was always much against all this disorderly shifting of the Polish population, but it had to happen as, in spite of numerous requests, I was unable to obtain the plans of resettlement. It was the Soviet authorities which directed our people to Uzbekistan. I have even a telegram to that effect to prove it.

STALIN. Where is it from?

Ambassador Kot. From Nowosybirsk where the local Soviet authorities direct our people southward. It was only natural that all those who left prisons and labor camps in the far north should in fear of the hard winter, strive to get to the south. I quite agree that such a disorderly mass movement is quite intolerable in times of war, but for my part I was completely helpless in the circumstances which have arisen.

STALIN. A suitable district will be chosen tomorrow.

Ambassador Kot. I have to renew my request to consider in choosing the place, the suitability of climatic as well as transport facilities indispensable to our being supplied from abroad.

STALIN. Are you talking about a place where the Army should be concentrated—or about the districts designated for the civilian population? Haven't those been assigned to you?

Ambassador Kot. The district chosen for the formation of the first Polish divisions has been overcrowded by the constant arrival of volunteers for the Army. The Polish military authorities were forced, therefore, to direct those people somewhere—which they did according to the indications of the Soviet authorities which stipulated that the transports should be sent to the place where the next divisions were to be formed. This was apparently the Wrowskoje station in the Uzbekistan where sufficiently large barracks allegedly existed.

MOLOTOV. This particular place has not been approved by the Government and therefore the sending there of those people was pointless. The Polish Embassy and her employees have even been sending telegrams to various centers inhabited by the Poles advising them to go to Uzbekistan.

Ambassador Kot. The Soviet authorities kept directing those transports southward, for example, to the Farab station. It was they who requested from General Szyszko-Bohusz the sending of a telegram to that effect.

STALIN. I am asking you once again, Mr. Ambassador, are we talking about a place required for the formation of an army or about districts chosen for the settlement of civilians? Do we have to solve two problems or one?

Ambassador Kot. This is a very difficult question.

STALIN. Which districts am I to decide upon for tomorrow?

Ambassador Kot. The indication of both districts is, of course, a matter which has to be settled by the Soviet Government. I have already formulated what our wishes are in respect of the districts destined to form the Army. In choosing the places for civilian settlements could you, please, take into consideration not only the climate but also the possibility of employment in the place of settlement. There is, however, no necessity to make a decision about it—tomorrow. On the contrary I would ask you, Mr. President, to postpone the decision in this matter till the arrival of General Sikorski and after discussing it over with him.

STALIN. All right. I repeat once more that although we would like to see a numerous and well-equipped Polish Army—we are at war and quite unable to maintain at present more Polish divisions. It is likely that in 3 months time the material situation will improve but for the time being we have to give priority to our own divisions many of which have to be organized. It might happen that even in 2 months times there will be a change for the better.

Ambassador Kot. I thank you, Mr. President; General Sikorski will be informed about it.

STALIN. After all we are allies. And who wants a weak ally? We will share with the Poles everything, like with brothers. We'll do for you whatever we can.

Ambassador Kot. I entirely realize your difficulties. However, in the matter of maintaining the units which are about to be formed I have to ask you for a definite promise of keeping up the supply of rations for some time at least.

STALIN. We will do for you whatever will be possible.

Ambassador Kot. After all there can't be any possible comparison between the needs of your immense army and our few divisions.

STALIN. And yet it happens that a man can lift 100 pounds and will collapse under the weight of one more ounce. We'll do whatever human power will permit us, but I don't want to give promises which I won't be able to fulfill.

Ambassador Kot (hands to Molotov the copy of the order of the plenipotentiary of the Red Army for the formation of the Polish Army, dated 8th February 1941). Here is the copy of the order.

Molotov hands it to Stalin who gives it to the Secretary.

STALIN. What sort of order is it? Who has signed it?

THE INTERPRETER. Panfilov.

STALIN. He has no right to issue such orders. [This is said with a clearly displeased tone.] This is not an order at all.

Ambassador Kot. I have already taken up a great deal of your time, Mr. President, when you have such important matters to attend to. But there is still one more important question—may I raise it?

STALIN. [Politely.] Certainly, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador Kot. You are the author of the amnesty for Polish citizens in the U. S. S. R. You made that gesture. I would be extremely grateful to you if you would use your influence to have it put into full effect.

STALIN. Are there still any Poles in captivity?

Ambassador Kot. From the camp in Starobielsk, which was dissolved in the spring of 1940, we have not yet regained a single officer.

STALIN. I will look into the matter. But after release many things can happen. What was the name of the commander of the defense of Lwow? General Langer, if I am not mistaken?

Ambassador Kot. General Langner, Mr. President.

STALIN. Exactly, General Langner. We released him last year. I had him brought to Moscow and talked with him. Later he escaped abroad, probably to Rumania.

MOLOTOV. [Confirms this.]

STALIN. There are no exceptions to our amnesty, but with certain servicemen the same thing may have happened as with General Langner.

AMBASSADOR KOT. We have the names and lists. For example, General Stanislaw Haller has still not been found; officers from Starobielsk, Kozielsk, and Ostashkov, who were removed from these camps in April and May 1940, are still missing.

STALIN. We have released everyone, even people who were sent to us by General Sikorski to blow up bridges and kill Soviet people; we have set free even those people. Actually it is not General Sikorski who sent them, but his Chief of Staff, Sosnkowski.

AMBASSADOR KOT. He has already resigned. As far as people sent here by General Sikorski are concerned you may rely on them—they represent a first-rate element.

STALIN (smiling). I know it.

AMBASSADOR KOT. So my request to you, Mr. President, is that you should give instructions for the officers, whom we need for the organization of the Army, to be released. We possess records of when they were removed from the camps.

STALIN. Are there any accurate lists?

AMBASSADOR KOT. All names are recorded by the Russian camp commanders who held a roll call of all prisoners every day. In addition the NKVD carried out an investigation of every person. Not one officer of the staff of General Anders's Army, which he commanded in Poland, has been handed over.

STALIN (who stood up a few moments before and was slowly pacing round the table, smoking a cigarette, but listening carefully and answering questions, walks quickly to the telephone on Molotov's desk and connects himself with the NKVD).

MOLOTOV (also gets up and goes to the telephone). It does not work like that [he turns the switch and sits down again at the conference table.]

STALIN (telephoning). Stalin here. Have all Poles been released from prison? [Silence for a moment, while he listens to the reply.] I have with me here the Polish Ambassador who tells me that not all [he again listens to the reply, puts down the receiver and returns to the conference table]. I would also like to put a question to you, Mr. Ambassador. When and where does the Polish Army want to operate against the Germans? Do you possess any material in this matter? If so, will you kindly report about it to me.

AMBASSADOR KOT. I am not a soldier. That is a subject for General Sikorski. I must explain that we Poles do not look upon the army as a theatrical performance. Yet we do not wish to send to the front one or two divisions which would be lost among the numerous Red Army divisions. We desire to be entrusted with some important sector of the front so that we, the Poles, may show what we have to say to Hitler. We wish our army to fight here in the East, and our agreement should be sealed by the brotherhood of arms.

STALIN. The Czechs collected a battalion and wanted to fight, but I did not permit it. I understand your attitude. The Poles should form a corps or an army.

AMBASSADOR KOT. I take the liberty of stressing the fact that every item of news about the formation of a Polish division is of great importance to bringing about an atmosphere among the people in Poland which would be sympathetic to a Polish-Soviet rapprochement.

STALIN. Of course, I understand it [rises as the telephone rings and listens—probably to the answer to his inquiry of a few moments before concerning the release of the Poles. Puts down the receiver and, without saying a word, resumes his seat].

AMBASSADOR KOT. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, in the matter of the further formation of our army and the release of our nationals. The army and the release—these are the two vital words [Rises to take farewell]. In leaving I wish to tender you my wishes that the halo of the defender of Moscow which surrounds you today, may in the future be transformed into the glory of the final vanquisher of Hitler.

STALIN. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. Would you tell me when the arrival of General Sikorski is to be expected?

AMBASSADOR KOT. Unfortunately it is not possible to communicate directly from here with Egypt. But I'll do it as soon as I get to Kujbyszew. It is probably the question of another few days. I will not take up any more of your precious time, Mr. President, but I do want to assure you that the Poles remember and won't forget that it is your name which is linked with the Soviet-Polish agreement and the amnesty.

STALIN. I am personally anxious to be of help in the rebuilding of an independent Polish state, without being concerned with its internal structure.

Ambassador Kor. I thank you, Mr. President, for this statement. May I make a note of it and make it known to all. It would be of the greatest importance. Or would you consent to make this declaration publicly?

STALIN. I'll do it gladly at the first opportunity.

Ambassador Kor. I am very grateful to you, Mr. President. It will be of great consequence. There is, however, one more thing. I know that sometime ago you gave your consent to the creation of a Polish newspaper. Unfortunately we have encountered with many difficulties.

STALIN (turning partly to Molotov). Is there still no Polish paper?

Ambassador Kor. I am afraid not. We are constantly being told that there are no printing facilities; no type, etc.

STALIN (not hiding his dissatisfaction). Who said so?

Ambassador Kor. I would rather not mention names. But I would be grateful to you, Mr. President, if you would give some instructions in this matter.

STALIN. I'll certainly do it. Do you know Wanda Wasilewska?

Ambassador Kor. Of course, I do. She was one of my pupils. After all, by profession I am a university professor.

STALIN. A year ago, yes, I remember well—exactly a year ago, while talking to her, I asked her to try and find some Polish officers, who would undertake the formation of a Polish Army on Soviet territories. I stress the fact that it was a year ago, which means at the time when the pact of nonaggression with Germany was still valid. Wasilewska failed to find such officers.

Ambassador Kor. I thank you once again, Mr. President, for taking such interest in our problems. May I hope to be granted another interview in case of urgent questions arising in the future.

STALIN. Yes, of course. [He says good-by to the Ambassador.]

Ambassador Kor (turning to say good-by to Molotov). As I still have many important matters to discuss with you, Mr. Commissar, with which I do not want to take up the President's time—could I come and see you tomorrow?

MOLOTOV. Yes; please. [The Ambassador takes his leave and withdraws.]

The conversation lasted from 7 p. m. to 9:10 p. m. Molotov's interpreter translated. The Ambassador spoke in French; Stalin and Molotov in Russian.

Stalin who during the interview was composed and self-possessed spoke in a low voice. Several times he showed his discontent when from what the Ambassador told him it became apparent that he was not kept fully informed by the Soviet authorities about what was going on. Initially his behavior was marked by a certain reserve and mistrust which little by little subsided however. He addressed the Ambassador with courtesy throughout the interview. Several times he got up and paced up and down along the length of the conference table at the end of which the Ambassador was sitting. Molotov hardly took any part in the conversation.

KUJBYSZEW, the 16th of November 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. When was your next communication, either in person or in writing, with Stalin or Molotov or Vishinsky on this one subject of the missing officers?

Mr. Kor. That same day, I requested an audience with Molotov in the Kremlin. Molotov already was in Moscow and I presented him with a pro memoria, and I stressed and underlined that there must be complete amnesty through the release of those people for whom I was searching.

I will add here that I received a reply to this note, this pro memoria, on the 19th of November, where they again stressed that the amnesty is complete and that everybody has been released; that the only people whom they have not released are those who are being incarcerated for criminal offenses and also those whom they consider as agents of the Hitlerites. I want, at this time, to tell you what my reaction to my conversation with Stalin was.

I was convinced that, unless we prepared a complete list of the names of the people that we were seeking, we cannot succeed, because that was our weak point in these negotiations. And immediately upon my return to Kuybishev, on the 17th of November, I dispatched a letter to General Anders.

I have an excerpt here of that letter, although I do not have the complete letter here with me.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, will you read into the record at this point that excerpt which is material.

Mr. KOR. I reacted very painfully that—

Despite my frequent requests, I have not to date received a detailed list. I beg you to prepare, within a week, the information from all of those who were interned in Starobielsk, Kozielsk, and Ostashkov—

the list of names which they may recall—

and from this list prepare a master list of names. It is conceivable that we may have an opportunity to present such a list.

General Anders, in turn, applied pressure to his own officers to get this information, and he issued instructions that everyone who was in these camps should try to recall every name possible to obtain the names for this list. But, since the human memory is weak, many of those did not recall the names of the people that they were interned with.

So at that time, I decided to transfer the preparation of this list to the Embassy, to the press office of the Embassy, and I asked General Anders to send me Czapski, and I assigned additional help to Mr. Czapski. On the basis of all the information, we began preparing the list.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. I think it is important for us to point out on the record at this time that all of the conversations you are talking about and all of your service as Ambassador at the time you mention, since the date of the transfer, is taking place at Kuybishev, with the exception of the conversation with Stalin, which you went to Moscow to fulfill; is not that correct?

Mr. KOR. The first weeks were in Moscow, but after the evacuation in Moscow, that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. You went to Moscow to meet Stalin?

Mr. KOR. And also I talked to Molotov.

Mr. FLOOD. And then you went back to Kuybishev?

Mr. KOR. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And your conversations with Vishinsky were at Kuybishev?

Mr. KOR. Yes. And at this time I was supervising and most concerned about preparing this list. So, the list is being prepared in the Embassy, where I can keep a constant eye on it, and a constant vigil, to make this list, so that when General Sikorski arrives he will have such a list available.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. Now, we come to your next communication or talk with the Russians in December. What was that date, the first one in December?

Mr. KOR. General Sikorski was invited to Moscow, and either on the 1st or 2d—I do not recall—we made the trip with General Sikorski to Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a minute. Who invited General Sikorski to Moscow?

Mr. KOR. Stalin. No one else could do that.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have any record of a note dated December 1?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Ambassador, did you prepare some material for General Sikorski for his talks with Stalin; which material was dated December 1?

Mr. FLOOD. That is what I meant.

Mr. KOT. First, I prepared the list; which, incidentally, the night before his arrival, we worked all night and it was removed from the machines in the early morning hours for his arrival. The list contained approximately 3,000 names of some 8,000 missing officers. We considered even this list very large and important because we now had the names of the people that we were seeking. And then we also prepared a private note for General Sikorski's information regarding soldiers.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, Mr. Ambassador, you were on the way from Kyubishev to Moscow to meet with Stalin at the meeting requested by Stalin to have Sikorski come there. Now, who was with Sikorski—you, Sikorski, and who else?

Mr. KOT. General Anders, with his chief of staff, Okolnicki.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did General Anders come from?

Mr. KOT. General Anders previously had already flown to Tehran to meet General Sikorski and returned to Kuybishev with General Sikorski.

Mr. FLOOD. So, Sikorski, Anders, and Kot left for Moscow?

Mr. KOT. There were more people there.

Mr. FLOOD. I know; but those were the main ones?

Mr. KOT. General Anders' adjutant, Klimkowski. And with me there was a press attaché, Prusinski.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, I am not concerned too much with who made the trip. Now, take us to the meeting in Moscow with Stalin and Sikorski and tell us who was present at the meeting on December 3d.

Mr. KOT. From the Russian side, there was only Molotov and his translator.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And Stalin?

Mr. KOT. And Stalin.

Mr. FLOOD. All right; for the Russian side, Stalin, Molotov, and the Russian translator.

Mr. KOT. That is right.

Mr. FLOOD. On the Polish side?

Mr. KOT. General Sikorski, Ambassador Kot, and General Anders.

Mr. FLOOD. And, of course, a Polish translator?

Mr. KOT. No. General Anders was our translator, who speaks very well in the Russian language.

Mr. FLOOD. You, of course, will give us a copy of the minutes later on; but now, will you give us the gist of the conversations dealing with the missing Polish officers at that time? And, Mr. Ambassador, we would appreciate very much if you would let our colleague, Mr. Machrowicz, read into the record that part of the minutes of the meeting of December 3d which has to do with the missing Polish officers.

Mr. KOT. I will, of course, give you that information, but I want to note here that the actual notes of this conversation were made by myself. General Anders was the translator, and I was making the notes. My notes are based on that here. And, later, both General Anders and I edited this memorandum.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, Mr. Ambassador, the fact that you made these notes yourself gives them additional legal value.

Mr. KOR. Yes. But the conversation lasted for 2½ hours. At times it was exceedingly heated; and, since I am not a stenographer, I was not able to make all of the notes.

Mr. FLOOD. I would say that the Ambassador, as usual, did very well.

Mr. KOR. Unfortunately, all of the conversation is not included in this memorandum.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I will now read and translate those portions which the Ambassador has pointed to me as having relation to this particular issue [reading]:

General SIKORSKI. I am returning to our matter. I want to affirm before you, Mr. President, that your statement regarding amnesty has not been executed. Very many, and some of the most valuable people of ours, are still in labor camps and prisons.

STALIN (making a note). That is impossible, for the amnesty concerns all, and all the Poles are released.

(The last two words he directed to Molotov, and Molotov nods his head. General Sikorski then asked General Anders to give the details as to those who have not been released.)

General ANDERS. This is not in accordance with the true state of affairs, for we have the most definite data that first there were released in those camps those who were the least physically capable for heavy work.

General SIKORSKI. It is not up to us to furnish the Soviet Government an accurate list of these people, for the commanders of the camps have such lists. I have with me a list of about 4,000 officers (which he then placed on the table) who have been taken away by force and who are now still in prisons and labor camps. And even this list is not complete, for it has only those names which we were able to assemble from memory. I have given instructions to verify whether or not they are in Poland, with which I have close contact. I have found that none of them is there, as also they are not in the camps of our war prisoners in Germany. These people are right here; none of them has returned.

STALIN. That is impossible; they ran away.

General ANDERS. Where could they run away to?

STALIN. Well, to Manchuria.

General ANDERS. That is impossible that all could have run away, especially since all correspondence with their families has broken off from the time they were taken away from their prison camps to the labor camps. I know absolutely definitely from the officers who already returned, even from Kolyma, that there are there still many officers mentioned here by name. I know that there were even transports of Poles prepared already for departure and discharge, who, in the last moment, were stopped. I even have information that our people are on the island Novaya Zemly. I know personally a great number of the officers mentioned in this list. There are among them my staff officers and commanders. Those people are being lost there and are dying in terrible conditions.

STALIN. They were certainly released; only, they have not yet arrived.

General SIKORSKI. Russia is large and also has great difficulties. Maybe the local authorities did not execute your orders. Those who are arriving and who are freed confirm the fact that the others are just vegetating and working. If any one of them would have gotten beyond the boundaries of Russia, he would have surely reported to me.

STALIN. I want you to know that the Soviet Government has not the slightest reason to retain even one Pole. I even released the Sosnkowski agents who arranged attacks upon us and who murdered our people.

General ANDERS. However, we are receiving reports of people well known to us, with their prison numbers and cell numbers in which they are locked; and I know the names of many camps where great numbers of Poles have been retained and must continue to work.

That is the end of the discussion, insofar as it relates to the lost officers. The balance of the discussion relates to other matters.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. The committee appreciates again Congressman Machrowicz's translation of the minutes as just given.

Mr. KOT. The subsequent conversation was very dramatic, when General Sikorski demanded that the welfare and the conditions of the Polish Army in Russia be improved. He insisted that they be fed better and that they be given better clothing, and he asked that they be permitted to go south to Iran to build themselves up and regain their health, and then he assured Stalin that they would return to the battlefield.

Stalin became very irritated and said, "If you do go south, you will never come back; and, if you insist on going, then go and don't come back."

This was the only time that I had ever observed Stalin in a state of irritation. He said, "The whole world will laugh at us that we were unable to reach some sort of agreement on this matter." And he attributed this lack of agreement to the efforts of the British, who, he claimed, were trying to get the Poles to transfer to London.

General Sikorski protested very sharply to these charges and said that the Polish Army was being formed in Russia for mutual assistance to the Allies and that, even if his soldiers were removed to Iran, he would bring them back personally and, if necessary, he would even bring the soldiers from Scotland to participate in the battles.

Stalin then regained his composure and calmly began discussing the possibility of where the Polish Army should be transferred in the south, so that they could rebuild themselves and not go to waste freezing in Russia.

Mr. FLOOD. I will instruct our investigator to have the entire memorandum of this conference translated into English and insert it as exhibit 49-C at this point.

EXHIBIT 49C

MINUTES OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN GEN. WLADYSŁAW SIKORSKI, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC AND JOSEPH STALIN, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLES' COMMISSARS, AT THE KREMLIN ON THE 3D DECEMBER 1941, IN THE PRESENCE OF PROFESSOR KOT, THE POLISH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW, MR. W. MOLOTOV, PEOPLES' COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GENERAL ANDERS, O. C. OF THE POLISH FORCES IN THE U. S. S. R. AND MR. MOLOTOV'S SECRETARY. (LITERAL TRANSLATION FROM POLISH.)

General SIKORSKI. I am exceedingly glad to greet you as one of the real creators of contemporary history and to congratulate you on the heroism of the Russian Army in the struggle against Germany. As a soldier I express my admiration of the heroic defense of Moscow, so efficiently directed by you who stayed on in the capital. At the same time I thank you for the most generous hospitality which I have enjoyed from the moment when I first set foot on U. S. S. R. soil.

STALIN. I thank you for your kind words and it gives me great pleasure to see you in Moscow.

General SIKORSKI. I shall begin by saying that I have had nothing to do with and shall never agree with the policy directed against Soviet Russia for the last 20 years. I therefore had a moral right to sign the agreement, which may be the crowning of the theories which I have held for so long. Moreover, in this most important issue for the future I have the backing of the Polish Nation just as much within our country as among the Poles living abroad in such large communities as in America where some 4½ million Poles reside, in Canada, in France where there are 600,000 of them and in other smaller Polish communities scattered all over the world. Those who disapprove of such a policy as mine are against me. I do not want the slow realization of the terms of the agreement to weaken the policy of close cooperation between our two countries. On the loyal fulfillment of the agreement depends whether we now stand at the cross-roads of history. That depends on yourself whose decisions are final in this country. Our agreement must be put into effect, so that our people will cease to be harassed and driven. I am

well aware of the difficulties in which Russia finds herself. Four-fifths of the whole armed forces of the German Reich has descended upon you. I realize this and am therefore upholding your cause in London and in the USA. Already several months ago I have deposited materials emphasizing the necessity for creating a second front in the West.

STALIN. Thank you, what you say is just and right.

General SIKORSKI. But it is no easy task we are faced with. There are great difficulties, especially as regards shipping. It is no easy task to ship across the Channel a large number of troops and to capture and develop suitable positions on the Continent. This type of operations must be prepared very carefully and thoroughly and in detail; pressure cannot be exerted for fear of a repetition of the Dakar incident.

STALIN. You are right, should such an operation fail, it would shake the morale badly.

General SIKORSKI. But I must return to our affairs. I declare to you, Mr. President, that your announcement of an amnesty has not been fulfilled. A great many, and indeed the most valuable of our people are still in labor camps and prisons.

STALIN (makes a note). That is impossible, because the amnesty applied to all and all the Poles have been set free. [The last words are directed at Molotov, who nods.]

General ANDERS (at the request of General Sikorski gives details). That does not correspond to the real state of affairs; we have absolutely accurate data showing that first Jews were released from the camps, then Ukrainians, and finally the physically weaker Polish manpower. The stronger ones were detained, only a small proportion of them have been released. I have people in the Army who were freed only a few weeks ago from such camps and who affirm that in certain camps there still remain hundreds, even thousands, of our compatriots. The Government's orders are not put into effect there, because the commandants of the particular camps, having an obligation to carry out the production plan, do not want to lose their best labor, without which the execution of the plan would sometimes become impossible.

(Molotov smiles, nods his head.)

General ANDERS. Those people completely fail to understand the whole importance of our common cause, which is thus suffering a severe set-back.

STALIN. Those people ought to be brought up for trial.

General ANDERS. Yes, indeed.

General SIKORSKI. It is not our business to provide the Soviet Government with exact lists of our people, about whom your camp commandants have complete lists. I have with me a list of about 4,000 officers, who were forcibly deported and who are at present still in prisons and labor camps; but even this list is not complete, containing only names compiled from memory. I ordered an investigation to be made to ascertain whether they are in our country, with which we are in permanent contact. It appears that none of them are there, neither are they in camps for Polish prisoners of war in Germany. These people are here; not one of them has returned.

STALIN. That is impossible. They escaped.

General ANDERS. Where could they have escaped to?

STALIN. Well, to Manchuria.

General ANDERS. It is impossible that they could have all escaped, especially since, from the moment of their transfer from prisoner of war camps to labor camps and prisons, correspondence with their families has ceased entirely. I know definitely from officers who have already returned even from Kolyma that many of our officers, whose names they mentioned, are still there. I know that there were even convoys of Poles already prepared for release and departure, who at the last moment were detained. I am informed that our people are to be found even in Novaya Zemla. A great many of the officers named on this list are personally known to me. Among them are my staff officers and commanders. Those people are perishing and dying there under the most terrible conditions.

STALIN. They have certainly been freed, but have not yet arrived.

General SIKORSKI. Russia is immense and so are her difficulties. Perhaps the local authorities have not carried out their instructions. Those who have been released and have arrived say that the others are vegetating and working. If anyone had crossed the frontiers of Russia, he would certainly have reported to me.

STALIN. You must know that the Soviet Government has not the slightest reason for detaining a single Pole. I have even released Sosnkowski's agents, who attacked and murdered our people.

General ANDERS. But reports are reaching us about people who are well-known to us, giving the names of prisons and numbers of cells in which they are confined. I know the names of a great many camps, in which a tremendous number of Poles are detained and are forced to go on working.

MOLOTOV. We have only detained people who committed crimes, carried out diversionary activities, set up radio stations, etc., after the outbreak of war. Surely you are not concerned with them.

Ambassador KOT. Obviously not, but I have already requested, on many occasions, to have lists of these people because very frequently these accusations are levelled at persons whom I know to be good patriots and who are wholly innocent.

MOLOTOV [nods his head].

General SIKORSKI. Let us not touch on matters dating from the war. It would be a good thing if you were to issue a public explanation with regard to this matter, so as to bring about in Russia a fundamental change of attitude toward the Poles. These people are not tourists, they are people forcibly deported from their homes. They did not come here of their own will but have been deported and have undergone untold sufferings.

STALIN. The people of the Soviet Union are friendly to the Poles. Mistakes are only likely to be committed by officials.

General ANDERS. It is not only officials who carry out their instructions badly. The point is that the Russian people should understand that it is not of their own free will that Poles are concentrated in large groups in certain localities. We are particularly anxious to insure good relations with the local population.

General SIKORSKI. I say in Kuybyshev a transport of our people which created an appalling impression upon me. They must receive instant assistance. I divide our people into two categories—first, those who can work and those ought to be given work with as good conditions as possible.

STALIN. On the same conditions as Soviet citizens.

General SIKORSKI. Not even on the same conditions as long as they are just bearable. It is in the interest of the common war effort to make proper use of our people. You naturally understand, Mr. President, that a specialist in building tanks who is cutting trees in a forest is not being made full use of, nor is an eminent chemist, who is doing manual labor in the fields. The second category are those unfit for labor—old people, women, and children who ought to be concentrated in localities with a suitable climate and conditions, so that our Embassy may look after their welfare. Everyone should be immediately freed from the camps, leaving only those who have settled in tolerable conditions. The uncoordinated transfer of people here and there only creates bad morale, for they find themselves in very bad conditions and so it appears to them that in making an agreement with you I have done them a wrong. People are dying as a result of the terrible conditions. Those corpses will greatly weigh on our future relations. These people must be helped and it is hardly worth-while haggling over a few million rubles—a sum, which especially in wartime, is of no importance whatever. A large-scale loan must be granted to the Polish Government. It is also imperative that delegates of the Embassy should be allowed access to all those localities where there are large concentrations of Poles and that they be granted genuine and not fictitious powers. For example, our delegate in Archangielsk is not in a position to extend any assistance to the Polish people and his work is limited to the dispatch of transports. He cannot even distribute warm clothing among them. I am most anxious to set up an office of the Delegate of the Embassy in Vladivostok, in view of the fact that Poles in America have collected large numbers of clothes for Poles in Russia, the despatch of which has been made conditional upon the possibility of handing them over to the Delegates of the Embassy.

STALIN. I agree to the delegates, and in Vladivostok too.

MOLOTOV. I do not think it is possible that your people are still in the camps.

General ANDERS. Nevertheless I state most definitely that they are; I repeat that the strongest are retained there because workmen are needed. By not freeing our people they are doing a bad service to the common cause.

STALIN. That will be arranged. Special instructions will be issued to the executive authorities, but it must be remembered that we are waging war.

General SIKORSKI. And you are waging it jolly well too.

STALIN. No, no. Only moderately well. Our transport was terribly overstrained. We removed our wounded, we evacuated the population, we trans-

ferred 70 large factories. We had to transport army units both ways. I want the Poles to understand the tremendous difficulties we were confronted with. But things will improve.

General SIKORSKI. The Polish population ought to be transferred to districts with a better climate.

STALIN. Let us consider which districts would be suitable for the Poles. To Fergana and Uzbekistan we normally supply grain because we mostly grow cotton there and we have even issued special instructions forbidding the cultivation of grain crops in these districts. From that point of view they are therefore unsuitable. But the southern parts of the Semipalatynsk District would be more adequate. We can anyhow see how it looks on the map. [All present get up and cross over to the map. Stalin points out on the map.] Therefore—Tashkent, Alma-Ata, and the entire southern Kazakhstan.

Ambassador KOR. For those from the Far East perhaps Barnaul and Novosibirsk would be better.

STALIN. Its very cold there, although a lot of bread.

Ambassador KOR. But where to send those who are now in the Archangielsk and Komi districts?

STALIN. Also to Southern Kazakhstan. [They sit down at the table.]

General SIKORSKI. As to the loan I think that a hundred million roubles would solve the matter for a long time, also because it would not make a bad impression and would prevent the raising of voices who might reproach you of making difficulties over such trifles.

MOLOTOV. Haven't we already given 65 million?

Ambassador KOR. But that was for the Army.

General SIKORSKI. Hitler has taught us all how, without gold but merely by hard work, great things can be accomplished. Do not imitate the ministers of finance in the West, Mr. Commissar, who had initially quarreled over every million.

STALIN (nodding). All right.

General SIKORSKI. That would be about all I wanted to say in the matter of the Polish civilian population. I now have various military problems I wish to raise. Should I first speak about the military question as a whole, or shall we discuss the various points one by one?

STALIN. As you wish, General.

General SIKORSKI. To us Poles war is not a mere symbol but we understand it as a real fight.

STALIN. [Acknowledges with a gesture.]

General ANDERS. We want to fight here, on the Continent, for Poland's independence.

General SIKORSKI. In the country we have at our disposal a powerful military organization which I have forbidden to boast about since over there one is shot for a single word. [Stalin nods, General Sikorski describes various details of the methods by means of which the Polish nation continues its fight against the Germans.] Our army fights everywhere. In the United Kingdom we have a corps which needs men to complete its establishments. We have a navy which functions most efficiently. We have in action 17 air squadrons which are supplied with the newest British aircraft and which fight magnificently. Twenty percent of the German air force losses over Great Britain were caused by Polish pilots.

STALIN. I know that Poles are courageous.

General SIKORSKI. If well directed. Thanks to Providence, and of course also due to you, Mr. President, we have General Anders who is my best soldier and whose eight stars for his eight wounds speak best of his courage. You put him to prison for having attempted to join me. He is a loyal commander, not a politician, who will not allow his subalterns to indulge in politics.

STALIN. The best policy is to fight well. [Turning to Anders.] How long were you kept in jail?

General ANDERS. For 20 months.

STALIN. How were you treated?

General ANDERS. In Lwów very badly—slightly better in Moscow. But you know, Mr. President, yourself what "better" means in prison when you have been sitting there for 20 months.

STALIN. Can't be helped. Such were the conditions.

General SIKORSKI. I have a brigade in Tobruk which will be transferred to Syria and transformed into a mechanized division with two tank battalions. If needed I can throw it over to the east. I have a number of warships. After I had decorated with medals the crew of one of our submarines stationed in Malta for

having sunk an Italian battle cruiser and a transport ship—the men got so excited that the next thing they did was to enter a Greek harbor and in spite of a damaged periscope they sunk one more cruiser and yet another transport ship. They returned with no damage or loss. That is how Polish soldiers will fight anywhere when under good leadership. Our country is occupied and the only reserve of young men we have is over here. I wish to send as supplements to Scotland and Egypt some 25 thousand—the remainder should be used for the formation of about 7 divisions. It is of greatest importance to those in the country which look toward this army as to a symbol of their resistance and the nation's independence. We want to fight and, therefore, our troops stationed in Scotland will be used as the vanguard in the formation of a western front or they may be even transferred here to the east. In which case I would personally take over the command. The present difficulties of maintenance, equipment, and training worry me because units formed in such conditions will be quite worthless. Instead of sacrificing their health and life for furthering our common cause they vegetate here or perish to no avail. This war will be a long one. Great Britain and the United States have disarmed to such an extent that their armament industry, especially the American one will need considerable time to attain full capacity again. In due course an avalanche of equipment will overtake us. But even already now I have the assurances from both Roosevelt and Churchill that our divisions will be armed together with yours without impairing the delivery of equipment to the Red army, subject however, to the condition that the formation of our army will take place in districts which will be easily accessible for our deliveries to reach us. The present armament of our divisions is wholly inadequate. The divisions in their present state are of no use in the field as they have not received the equipment they need. General Anders will explain this in detail.

(General Anders describes in detail the amount of equipment received already and the general requirements of armament for Polish troops and underlines the insurmountable difficulties he daily encounters.)

STALIN (Asks about certain details as to artillery equipment). Russia had entered the war with divisions which had establishments of 15,000 men but which proved to be too heavy and we therefore changed to a type of a lighter division counting only about 11,000 men.

General SIKORSKI. The present conditions in which the Polish Army is being formed are inadequate. The soldiers freeze in summer tents, they lack food and they are simply sentenced to slow death. I therefore suggest that the whole army together with the rest of the Polish manpower of military value should be transferred for example to Persia where the climate together with British and American supplies will contribute to their swift recovery and will allow us to organize a strong army, which would then return here and take over a whole sector of the front. This plan has Churchill's approval. On my part I am ready to make a separate declaration that this army will return to the Russian front and that it could be even strengthened by a few British divisions.

General ANDERS. [Proceeds with describing the state of organization of his troops and declared that under existing conditions of maintenance, accommodation, sanitary equipment, and climatic conditions the formation of units which would be capable of taking up the fight is quite impossible.] It is nothing else but a poor vegetation in which the entire energy is directed into the effort to survive and to live pretty badly at that. After all the main issue is to form as quickly as possible a battle-ready Polish Army which could fight for Poland side by side with the Allies. This is quite out of the question in present conditions. That is why it is absolutely essential to transfer these troops to climatic conditions which together with adequate maintenance and better deliveries of equipment, would at last move things forward. In view of the difficulties with which Russia was struggling, the British and American facilities of delivering supplies should be considered. Persia would be the most suitable region. All soldiers and all men capable of bearing arms should find themselves there. Once we take up the fight the blow delivered by our Army cannot be merely a symbolic blow. It must serve its purpose and further our aim for which we are fighting all over the world in our struggle for Poland.

General SIKORSKI. I would very much appreciate if the Soviet Government had confidence in my proposal. I am a man who if he says "yes" he means "yes," and if he says "no" he means "no," if I say nothing that means that either I cannot or I do not want to tell the truth.

STALIN. [In an irritated tone and obviously displeased.] I am an old and experienced man. I know that once you leave for Persia you will never come

back here. I see that England has plenty to do and is in need of the Polish soldiers.

General SIKORSKI. We are bound to Great Britain by an alliance which she fulfills loyally. We also have our full sovereignty in England. I can even transfer my corps from Scotland to Russia and I assure you that the British will not make me any difficulties about it. In the same way I can add to our Army over here the units I have in Tobruk.

Ambassador KOR. A Pole fights the better the closer he is to his country.

STALIN. Persia is not so far off but the British can force you to fight with the Germans in Turkey and tomorrow Japan may also join in the war.

General ANDERS. We want to fight for Poland. We believe that not even the strongest air force or navy can end a war. It will be decided on the battlefields of the Continent. All of us, without exception, love our country and we want to reenter it, before all others, we want to be ready to fight as soon as possible but under present conditions we cannot prepare ourselves for this fight.

General SIKORSKI. England today, compared with what she was before is like heaven to earth. The British have now enough troops to defend their isles, they, therefore, have no purpose to prevent our corps from leaving.

MOLOTOV. [Suggests the summoning of General Panfilov and instructs the secretary to go and fetch him.]

General ANDERS. (Explains the difficulties of organization and the conditions of life in Koltubianka, Tatiszczew, and Tockim, the nonfulfilment of delivery of food, fodder, equipment, implements etc.) "This is nothing but a miserable vegetation and months of wasted time. Its quite impossible to form an army under such conditions."

STALIN. (Irritated) If the Poles don't want to fight let them go. We cannot retain the Poles. If they wish, then let them go.

General SIKORSKI. If we were given the chance to organize ourselves we would be fighting already, but how much time has been wasted here through no fault of ours. In our present dislocation we have no means of training our soldiers. [A silence.] May I therefore ask for some alternative solution.

STALIN. If the Poles do not want to fight here let them tell me straight forwardly—"yes" or "no". I am 62 and I know that there where an army will be formed there it will remain.

General SIKORSKI (sharply). Please find me another solution, because here the conditions are such as to make it quite impossible to form an army and I do not want to let my men perish to no avail. This is not an ultimatum, but in the conditions of a severe winter when gales and frost decimate my men I cannot just watch and remain silent.

General ANDERS. The temperature has at times fallen already to 33 centigrades below zero. The people are quartered in single-ply tents mostly without stoves, which are not supplied in sufficient quantities. They wake up in the morning with frostbitten noses and ears. This is not the organizing of an army, but a doleful vegetation.

General SIKORSKI. One cannot throw against the Germans untrained soldiers. We cannot risk being discredited. The Polish Army must be adequately armed and fight as an organized whole.

General ANDERS. As it is, I cannot but admire our soldiers who, in spite of the acute sufferings they have gone through in the last 2 years and in spite of their present abominable conditions—they had only received boots a few weeks ago and up till that time 60 percent of them went about barefooted—in spite of all that, they never complained—not even in spite of never receiving in full the food rations which are due to them and, for a long time, not even getting their pay.

General SIKORSKI (curtly). You have insulted me, Mr. President, by saying that our soldier does not want to fight.

STALIN. I am vulgar (in Russian, "grubyy") and I want to be told plainly—do you or don't you want to fight.

General SIKORSKI (firmly). That we do want can be proved by facts not by words.

General ANDERS. The reason why we are organizing ourselves is to fight—here, on the mainland. According to my calculations I can have 150,000 men the equivalent of eight divisions. As things stand now we have only two divisions and with limited possibilities of making them battle-ready at that. We do not receive sufficient maintenance supplies and any promises given in that respect are never kept.

STALIN (to General Sikorski). As you wish.

General SIKORSKI. I do not wish to force such an issue. I still await alternative suggestions and I am ready to accept any reasonable solution.

STALIN (with irony). I see that the British must be truly in need of good soldiers.

General SIKORSKI. This is not correct. They appreciate us in England but do not exploit us. I also know Churchill very well and I know he wishes to do everything he can to help Russia.

General ANDERS. I have 60 percent of soldiers of the reserve among my men, but they need to recover after the 2 years of hardships and they must be trained. The volunteers which join us also arrive in a deplorable state and must undergo adequate training for which time and suitable conditions are needed.

STALIN (irritated). Which means that we are nothing but barbarians and there is nothing which we can improve. It boils down to this that a Russian can only oppress a Pole but can do nothing to help him. But we can do without you. We can give them all away. We will manage alone. We shall reconquer Poland ourselves and then hand it back to you. But what will people say to that? The world will laugh aloud that we cannot do anything here now.

General SIKORSKI. I still have not received an answer to my question—Where am I to form an army which could take part in the fighting instead of having to perish in atrocious climatic conditions? Please give me a positive counterproposal. I declare once more and categorically that we want to fight for Poland and arm in arm with you.

STALIN. Once you go to Iran you will have to fight maybe in Turkey against the Germans. Tomorrow Japan will join in and then against Japan. Wherever the British will order you to do so. Perhaps in Singapore.

General ANDERS. We want to fight against the Germans here on the Continent, for Poland. Our men have not seen their country for so long and no other men love their country as much as the Poles do. The shortest way is from here.

General SIKORSKI. Polish patriotism needs no certificates to prove it. I repeat that I am still awaiting a positive counterproposal.

STALIN. If you categorically insist—one corps, from two to three divisions, can leave. While if you really want I will give you the place and the means to form seven divisions. However, I see that the British are in need of Polish soldiers. Haven't I received requests from Harriman and Churchill in which they want me to evacuate the Polish Army?

General SIKORSKI. Things are not so desperate with the British as to contend that the Polish Army formed over here was going to decide about their fate. They are slow but today they already represent a formidable force. It was I who had requested Churchill to make the move about the evacuation of our Army. But I shall give you a proof of my good will and I am willing to leave the army in Russia provided you allot us a suitable district for concentrating our men and give us an assurance of maintenance and dislocation which would create conditions suitable for its training.

MOLOTOV. Panfilov is ready. Have you anything against General Panfilov coming in? [All nod their approval, enters General Panfilov, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Red Army.]

(A conversation follows between Stalin, General Anders, and General Panfilov about the conditions in which the Polish Army could be organized. Both sides quote a number of details.)

General ANDERS. I categorically state that I do not receive sufficient food, and not enough fodder for the horses. The divisions have not received all the food they were entitled to, neither have they been supplied with such an essential thing as the little stoves for the tents. Since the promise was made to supply me with tractors months have gone by and they haven't reached me yet. All my pleas have no result while the promises from Soviet military authorities remain unkept. Cases of typhoid fever have been reported from certain units but my urgent pleas for a sanitary train bring no response. For several months the soldiers haven't received any soap, no tools, no building materials, no boards, no nails. The soldiers do not receive any vegetables. A great number of food products is not added to our rations. Transport equipment is quite insufficient and in a very poor state. A few weeks ago, all of a sudden, the number of food rations had been reduced from 44,000 to 30,000 and in spite of the promise of President Stalin to our Ambassador that the rations will be raised back to 44,000 this has not yet taken place till today. The camp in Tockim has not received any rations at all for the day of 1st December. [He enumerates a number of other shortcomings in food and equipment.] It is untrue that we haven't sent complaints. I perpetually reminded about it Colonel Wolkowyski our liaison

officer and I myself have sent numerous cables and a number of letters. [Panfilov remains silent.] I personally made several journeys in connection with these matters.

STALIN (very sharply to Panfilov.) Who is responsible for all that?

General PANFILOV. The appropriate instructions have been issued, the orders were given by General Chrulov.

STALIN. When did I order to increase the number of food rations?

General PANFILOV. Two and a half weeks ago.

STALIN. Then why have my orders not been put into effect till now? Are they to eat your instructions? [All this part of the conversation is conducted by Stalin in a very sharp tone. Panfilov stands to attention blushing and becoming pale in turn.]

General SIKORSKI. Only too great difficulties which we encounter and impossible conditions have forced me to adopt such a course in this matter.

STALIN. We can give the Polish Army the same conditions in which the Red Army has to carry on.

General SIKORSKI. In hitherto existing conditions not even a corps can be set on foot.

STALIN. I understand that they are bad; our troops are being organized in better conditions. I say that honestly that if you can get better conditions in Iran, as far as we are concerned we are in a position to give you only such which we give to our own army. And the food that our soldiers get is better than that of the Germans.

General ANDERS. If they get the full amount which is allotted to soldiers, I deem it sufficient but it must be really delivered without these perpetual shortcomings which we are faced with. I must be given the opportunity to manage the supplies myself and to build up my own stock so as not to live from hand to mouth and if a transport fails—to leave the men hungry.

General SIKORSKI. I restate once again our wish to fight alongside with you against our common enemy—the Germans.

STALIN. It seemed to me that the British were in need of your troops.

General SIKORSKI. No. It was I who—seeing the difficulties which we encounter over here—persuaded the British and the Americans to enable us to move our soldiers into better conditions.

General ANDERS [gives detailed explanations about the numbers of Polish soldiers located at present in the southern districts of the U. S. S. R. and names the respective places of their whereabouts. A discussion takes place about possible areas of concentration. The names of Uzbekistan, Turkestan and Trans-Caucasia are mentioned]. I count on roughly 150,000 men, therefore on 8 divisions together with noncombatant services. Perhaps there are even more of our men but amongst them quite a lot of Jewish element which is not keen on military service.

STALIN. Jews are poor soldiers.

General SIKORSKI. Many from among the Jews who have reported are speculators and men who have been sentenced for smuggling and they will never make good soldiers. I have no use for these in my army.

General ANDERS. 250 Jews deserted from Buzuluk at the false news that Kuybishev was bombed by the Germans. Over 60 deserted from the Fifth Division the day before the announced distribution of arms to the soldiers.

STALIN. Yes. The Jews are no good as soldiers.

(A discussion follows between Stalin, Anders and Panfilov about the armament and its deficiencies. Checking and counting from lists.)

General SIKORSKI. When will we be allotted new assembly areas and learn other details about the formation of the units?

(Stalin deliberates aloud with Panfilov and mentions for guidance the names of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Transcaucasia.)

General SIKORSKI. After completing the formation and training, all the units should be assembled together into one whole so as to strike as an army because only that will appeal to the imagination of the Polish Nation.

STALIN. It will take a long time.

General ANDERS. No—if everything will be carried out in a proper way the formation of the units after the supplying of arms will not take long.

(Stalin raises the question of forming an army without the formation of separate corps.)

General SIKORSKI. Maybe it would be better. We shall accept this suggestion, but so much stronger will have to be the equipment and armament of the divisions.

STALIN. An organization without corps units is better because the commander of an army which is divided into corps shifts over the responsibility upon corps

commanders with the result that no one is responsible for anyone. It would be better if your army had simply seven divisions similar to what we have in our armies.

General SIKORSKI. I shall look to it that the equipment from abroad reaches you in a constant stream. With a little good will it can be done.

STALIN. We will supply part of it, the British should send the rest. But sea transports often fail to reach us on schedule. They can be delayed and this should be borne in mind.

General SIKORSKI. I must withdraw 25,000 men from here because I need them for the air-force, the navy and the armored troops. Further to that we can set on foot seven divisions. It is here that we have our only manpower reserve. Have you enough of aircraft?

STALIN. There can never be enough of aircraft. In numbers we are not worse off than the Germans, as for quality we are even better. On the other hand our situation in respect of tanks is much worse.

General SIKORSKI. Lybia has already swallowed up a considerable part of the German Air Force.

STALIN. For the last 2 months we no longer feel the superiority of the German Air Force. They use very young and inexperienced pilots now. Their planes are relatively slow. How many planes has your squadron?

General SIKORSKI. 27, of which 18 in the first and 9 in second line.

STALIN. This corresponds to our regiment.

General SIKORSKI. We could send a few air squadrons from Great Britain to our army over here.

(Stalin: praises British airmen who are at present in Russia.)

General SIKORSKI. Our airmen have excellent eyes and a quick orientation.

STALIN. Slavs are the best and the most courageous airmen. They act swiftly because they are a young race which has not used itself up as yet.

General SIKORSKI. The present war will rejuvenate the Anglo-Saxons. The British are not like the French who are in fact already done for.

STALIN. I do not agree to that.

General SIKORSKI. Perhaps the lower classes still have something in them but the upper class in its majority presents but little value.

(Follows a lengthy discussion about Petain, Veygand, and others.)

STALIN. The Germans are strong, but the Slavs will overpower them.

General SIKORSKI. I would like to undertake a journey now to inspect the troops and visit the assembly camps of the civilian population, after which I would like to return to Moscow so as to be able to see you once again, Mr. President.

STALIN. By all means—do. I am at your service.

General SIKORSKI. I shall broadcast tomorrow in the name of the German-occupied nations. The text of my speech was to be sent to you by Commissar Wyszynski.

STALIN. Yes, I have read it. It will be very good if the transmission takes place.

General SIKORSKI. I think it will do the world a little good. The B. B. C. and America will take it up.

STALIN. In Russia, I have ordered to translate your speech into 40 languages.

General SIKORSKI. May I ask you to introduce my speech. I suggest that we sign a common political declaration. I do not insist but I leave you, Mr. President, a draft of the text. [He hands over the draft of the declaration.]

STALIN. In principle I agree. I will read it and we shall settle it together tomorrow.

General SIKORSKI. I take it for granted that the questions relating to the army have been mutually agreed upon. In the mixed commission which should hold a meeting as soon as possible in order to settle these matters General Anders will deputize for me. Would you be so good as to appoint your trustees for the visiting tour of the camps.

STALIN. I quite agree. [He mentions Panfilov and Vishniński asking whether they would be agreeable to General Sikorski.]

(General Sikorski answers in the affirmative and bids farewell. Ambassador Kot and General Anders do the same. They leave but Stalin retains General Anders.)

(The conversation between Stalin and Anders lasts a few minutes. Stalin asks whether the cooperation with Panfilov is satisfactory. Anders states that they got along quite smoothly but that Panfilov was unable to do much.)

General ANDERS. Now that you have promised to solve our difficulties, Mr. President, I do believe that the formation of our army will be satisfactorily accomplished.

STALIN. I regret not to have met you before.

General ANDERS. It was not my fault that I had not been asked for an interview, Mr. President.

STALIN. I would very much like to see you from time to time.

General ANDERS. Mr. President, I am at your disposal at any time and will come when only you wish to see me.

(The conversation lasted two and a half hours.)

(These minutes were taken down to General Anders' dictation based on notes made by Ambassador Kot throughout the interview.)

Kujbyshev, December 6, 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. You may proceed, Mr. Kot.

Mr. Kot. As a result, we left with the impression that the fate of our missing soldiers continued to be a mystery. We were led to believe and understand that if Stalin was not returning these men to us, then possibly these men were no longer in existence.

On the other hand, we reasoned that since it was such a severe winter in Russia, it was conceivable that these men were somewhere in the far north and that during the winter months they could not be brought back and that as soon as the thaws would come and it became warmer, conceivably they may rejoin our forces.

As a result, we considered this particular discussion and conversation without any aim, but formally we continued the discussions, stating our objectives. Therefore, that same day, the 3d of December, we sent back a reply to the Soviet note of November 19, charging again that the amnesty has not been applied to all of the Poles in Russia.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a minute.

For the record: By sending a reply on December 3 to the Russian reply of November 19, by the Russian reply of November 19 you mean the Russian reply to General Sikorski's note to Bogomolow in London; is not that correct?

Mr. Kot. Yes, I believe that is correct. There were so many of these procedural notes that I cannot recall all of them.

Mr. FLOOD. I want to enter in the record at this point a copy of General Sikorski's note of October 15, 1941, to Bogomolow in London. It will be marked "Exhibit 49d" after being translated into English.

EXHIBIT 49D

NOTE OF OCTOBER 15, 1941, FROM GENERAL WLADYSŁAW SIKORSKI TO AMBASSADOR BOGOMOLOV IN LONDON CONCERNING THE FAILURE TO RELEASE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF POLISH OFFICERS FROM SOVIET PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS (TRANSLATED FROM POLISH TO ENGLISH)

No. 4684/XIV/6

LONDON, October 15, 1941.

EXCELLENCY,

May I request Your Excellency to convey to the Soviet Government the assurance that the Polish Government appreciates the good will shown by the Soviet Government in carrying out the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941. However, certain difficulties have become apparent which do not seem to have any connection with those arising from military operations. Thus, in view of the approaching winter, the immediate release of Polish citizens deprived of their freedom appears necessary as well as the finding of means of assuring their existence. The fate of several thousand Polish officers who have not returned to Poland and who have not been found in Soviet military camps, continues to remain uncertain. They are probably dispersed in the northern districts of the U. S. S. R. Their presence in Polish Army camps is indispensable.

May I also request Your Excellency to draw the attention of the Soviet Government to the necessity of increasing the aid essential to the formation and development of this Army.

At the same time I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that in view of existing military operations I have issued instructions to intensify sabotage and subversive activities by Poles in German occupied Poland.

I have the honor to be, etc.

/—/ SIKORSKI.

His Excellency
Ambassador BOGOMOLOV
16, Kensington Palace Gardens,
S. W. 8.

Mr. KOT. That same day I presented a pro memoria to Molotov. The Soviets replied to my pro memoria on the 19th of November. Therefore, I had to formally reply to that November 19 note on the 3d of November so that that note would not go unanswered.

And on the 9th of January 1942, they again replied to my note of December 3.

But the exchange of these notes was virtually empty because both sides maintained the same points.

On the 28th of January 1942, here in London, Ambassador Raczynski submitted another note to Bogomolow. I objected to this move because I maintained that these types of notes seemed to devalue themselves.

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment, Mr. Ambassador.

Before we touch on that: After you finished the conversation with Stalin, at which Sikorski and Anders were in attendance on December 3, 1951, you then left Moscow and went back to Kyubishev?

Mr. KOT. No; not quite yet.

Mr. FLOOD. Two or 3 days later?

Mr. KOT. The following day, General Sikorski had spoken over the radio to the whole world, and later, there was a big reception at Stalin's which lasted from 8 in the evening until 2 in the morning.

Mr. FLOOD. At the dinner given in Moscow by Stalin in honor of Sikorski, I take for granted that Stalin offered a toast to Poland and to Sikorski?

Mr. KOT. Yes. There were toasts presented to Poland and also in principal tribute to the close harmony and to the plans for a strong Poland of the future. But in these toasts, there was no political significance. There were many speeches made. Stalin himself spoke and even dwelt on some of his own experiences with the Poles. Molotov presented toasts to everyone, including the lowest-ranking adjutants. Among these was Colonel Okulicki, who today is being held in jail in Moscow.

After the banquet, there were informal discussions, and then we were invited to view a film. And then Stalin and Sikorski talked with each other, but not very long. And then there was the formal signing of a declaration of friendly cooperation. This was signed by Stalin, for the Russians, and General Sikorski, for the Poles. And since it was late at night, we then went home.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, I think now that we have come pretty much to the end of your experiences as Ambassador insofar as the search for the Polish officers is concerned—is not that correct—and you returned to Kyubishev—

Mr. KOT. There is the second phase now when things got a little hotter, but that is when the weather got warmer.

Mr. FLOOD. At Kyubishev you continued as Ambassador to maintain your contacts with Vishinsky and to still try formally to press your case for the missing officers?

Mr. KOT. The contact was very active and very much alive because General Sikorski was seeking permission to make a tour around Russia to visit the various Polish Army camps, and he requested that Stalin give him his confidante, who would escort him on this tour. And Stalin assigned Vishinsky to this mission.

Vishinsky toured Russia for a week with us and, as a result, we spent a great deal of time with Vishinsky and his aides. But the question of the missing Polish officers was not raised because we were anxious to settle other matters, positive matters that we had to settle.

Mr. FLOOD. What I mean, Mr. Ambassador, is that there is nothing further, as far as you are concerned, except formal negotiations with reference to the missing officers?

Mr. KOT. The next point is on March 18, when General Anders visited Stalin. But this, of course, General Anders will relate to you personally.

My next action begins in May.

Mr. FLOOD. By the way, when did you leave Kyubishev as the Polish Ambassador to the Soviet?

Mr. KOT. The 13th of July.

Mr. FLOOD. 1942?

Mr. KOT. 1942.

Now, the following action took place during May and June.

Mr. FLOOD. Where?

Mr. KOT. In Kyubishev.

First, I went to see the new British Ambassador, Carr, and sought his assistance in this matter. He promised to assist me by intervening, and he inquired of his own Government. I also asked or requested the United States Ambassador, Admiral Stanley, and, at the same time, I prepared a very long and detailed memorandum on the 19th of May, in which I listed all of our pleas and charges regarding the failure to release Poles—not only soldiers but civilians. Stanley had attempted to assist us, and he made some efforts. But these were on such wide and general terms that he did not specifically raise the points that we were most interested in.

As to Ambassador Carr, I am not under the impression that he did anything in particular or specific to assist us.

In this memorandum of May 19, I referred to 42 different notes that we had sent to the Russians inquiring about the missing Polish officers and civilians.

On the 13th of June I submitted another note regarding the war prisoners, taking advantage of information obtained from two people who were in Russian prisons but were released earlier.

On the 20th of June, I was again instructed by General Sikorski to renew my conversations regarding these matters. I replied by cable to General Sikorski that I would like to wait a little while to see whether there would be any results from the intervention promised by the United States Ambassador and the British Ambassador. Seeing nothing which would lead me to believe—since it was getting pretty close to the date when I was supposed to leave Russia, I once more raised the question of the Polish officers during my last formal visit, when I went to bid my farewell to Vishinsky.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was the date of that?

Mr. KOT. This was on the 8th of July.

Shall I read here what I said during that conversation with Vishinsky? This is important.

Mr. DONDERO. Was that July 8, 1942?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is right.

That was with Vishinsky, was it not?

Mr. KOT. With Vishinsky.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Reading from the notes which Ambassador Kot gave me here:

The second matter is the matter of those Polish civilians who have not as yet been released; among these, thousands of judges, prosecutors, police, and other officials. And particularly lies heavy on my heart the matter of 8,000 officers, of whom—and I say this with the full sincerity of my heart—not one of these has been released.

Taking advantage of the summer period, which affords us the possibility of communications, I beg you for the opportunity to establish contact with these men. These men are not criminals but war prisoners, and the best of our officers.

It is an impossibility for so many people to have disappeared at one time. You cannot explain that or convince anyone of that. The inability to find these men continues to be the sharpest point in the Russo-Polish relations.

I repeat once more, with deepest sincerity and complete responsibility for my statement, that not one of these has been given his freedom. I implore you, Mr. Minister, that I do not want another answer similar to those which you have so frequently given us in all of your notes to this date dealing with this painful matter to us, but for actual help toward their discovery. I am particularly appealing this matter to you before my departure with you Mr. Commissar, and with the Soviet Government.

Among other things, Vishinsky replied to this statement, "As to the matter of detaining the Poles in jails or camps, or at hard labor, I can assure you, Mr. Ambassador, that I have personally attended to these matters and I have investigated them, and that, really, these people are not there. I see a tendency of considering our replies to you as purely formal. I had judged that this really was different. In the meantime, this does not agree with reality. Besides the small group detained as Hitlerite agents, there aren't any others; there are none of the others up north, nor in the near north, or anywhere else. Maybe they are beyond the U. S. S. R.; maybe a part of them has died.

"For instance, as a matter of fact, in a recent note from the Embassy, you yourself had canceled out a previous appeal for the release of a certain individual explaining to us that this person had been found in Poland. Maybe the same thing has happened with the others. All of these people are free. A part of them were released before our war with the Germans and part of them later."

(The translation was continued by Mr. Machrowicz, as follows:)

AMBASSADOR. As to the officers, I must state that I have received many letters from their families in Poland, full of fear for their fate, for they are not there, not one of them.

SOKOLNICKI. If our prisoners have been released then please give us the lists of those who have been released, also the dates and the places from which they were released.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you identify Sokolnicki?

Mr. KOT. Sokolnicki was a legal aide of the Embassy, and he was my translator, and who later was to be the chargé d'affaires after my departure.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Continuing, Sokolnicki states:

The Soviet authorities have many times made lists of these prisoners in camps, and the furnishing of such a list to us could not present any difficulty.

VISHINSKY. Unfortunately, we have no such list.

Mr. KOT. The memorandum bearing this particular conversation was not edited by myself; it was edited by Sokolnicki. But at the time, Sokolnicki, in a discussion with the Polish military attaché,

recalled one more statement that Vishinsky had made, which is not included in this memorandum—and this is very important—

Maybe these people are beyond the borders of the U. S. S. R.; maybe part of them have died, some of them have been released before the war with the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was supposed to have made that statement?

Mr. KOT. Vishinsky.

Mr. FLOOD. As a matter of fact, that statement was contained in the minutes, as read.

Mr. Ambassador, that finishes your immediate statement, does it?

Do you have any questions, Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. KOT. One more reply from the Russians, a note on the 10th of July, which is an answer or reply to my memorandum of the 19th of May.

Their reply was very large and wide in scope, but as to any reply or comment on the Polish officers, they maintain, as they always have, their position that all of them had been released.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have just one question there, Mr. Ambassador.

In that note they give various reasons why you or the Polish Government did not hear from these Polish officers; is that right?

Mr. KOT. You cannot answer that yes or no because all of their replies are very loose and you cannot put your finger on them. But they describe in detail the difficulties that they encountered in releasing these officers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I understand, Mr. Ambassador. But there is one question that is very important and that I want you to answer for me. Did they, in that answer, or in any other note, notify you that the reason that these officers have not been returned to you was that they were captured by the Germans?

Mr. KOT. Never.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. At neither one of the prior notes or in that note of July 10th?

Mr. KOT. As long as I had been in Russia, in all my communications with them and my dealings, there had never been the slightest statement or hint that these men had been taken prisoners by the Germans.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In those notes, they gave you various reasons at times, namely, that they may have been too far away and there were no communications; that they may have died, that they may have wanted to return?

Mr. O'KONSKI. That they went to Manchuria.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But never was there any statement to you that they were taken prisoner by the Germans?

Mr. KOT. Never.

In connection with this, I want to make something clear. It was only Stalin that mentioned Manchuria. But that was just a general statement. When the Germans discovered these graves in Katyn and the Polish Government at that time was preparing some sort of a statement, I already was in London as the Minister of Information in the Polish Government. At that time, a high dignitary of the Soviet Embassy came to me and he told me that he is paying his visit to me on instructions from the Kremlin, and he asked me to make a public pronouncement that these Poles had been murdered by the Germans.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When was this? Do you know the date?

Mr. KOT. More or less, as best as I can recall, it was the 16th of April. It was the same day during the evening of which the official statement of the Polish Government was released.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But was it after the Goebbels announcement of the finding of the graves?

Mr. KOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. The German announcement.

Mr. KOT. Yes, it was after that. But this was before the official announcement of the Polish Government.

He asked me to make such a statement. To this I replied that, "I cannot do such a thing, because I have been in Russia and I have made frequent inquiries and I have asked Stalin, and why didn't either Molotov or Stalin ever tell me that these Polish officers had fallen into the hands of the Germans? How can you demand today that I issue such an opinion when you have never indicated that to me before?"

He was most dissatisfied with my attitude and he left.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know who this person was?

Mr. KOT. Unfortunately, I am not certain of the name today. I did not pay any particular attention to it then, but possibly, as I go through my diaries, I may find it. I have an idea who it was, but since I am not certain, I don't think that I ought to name it.

He was not personally known to me, but he was a counselor in one of the Russian embassies; either the Russian Embassy attached to the British Government or to the Polish Government.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, this has been a very long and a very illuminating and an extremely informative session for this committee. We would like to ask you, as we have asked all witnesses: Have you been offered any payment of any kind, or any gratuities of any kind, by anyone, for coming here and testifying?

Mr. KOT. No; not at all.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, do you appear here and testify voluntarily?

Mr. KOT. Voluntarily.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, in view of your long and distinguished career as an Ambassador and a Minister of the London Polish Government; in view of your long and wide acquaintance with the Russians generally; in view of your official capacity and the information that you have had an opportunity to examine and that has been brought to your attention with reference specifically to the massacre of the Polish officers in the forest at Katyn; what, in your opinion, or which of the two governments, in your opinion, the Russian, or the German, was responsible for this massacre?

Mr. KOT. In all of the efforts that I had made until the spring of 1942, I was convinced that these people were still alive, but during that period, I reached the conviction that the whole mystery of this affair can be traced to the fact that these people are not alive any longer and they ceased living immediately after the evacuation of the three camps in which they were interned.

That was the spring of 1940.

When the Germans announced the entire matter at Katyn from the material that then became available, my suspicion that these men had been killed immediately after the evacuation of those camps was confirmed, and the method of their liquidation, that is, those responsible, points to the Russians.

But I always asked myself the question: What was the attitude of the Germans to this matter? Because you must remember that in 1940 the Russo-German relations were very amiable and the Germans knew everything as to what was happening to the Polish prisoners. In occupied Poland, they knew of all the officers through their families, what was happening to these officers who were interned in Russia. Through their hands passed all of the correspondence from the families in Poland to the prisoners and from the prisoners in Russia to their families in Poland.

The fact that all the correspondence broke off in the spring of 1940 could not have been unknown to the Germans. The Germans, before then, had many negotiations with the Russians about the transfer of Polish prisoners, particularly to those Polish prisoners in which the Germans attributed considerable interest; specifically, to the Poles from Western Poland, whom they considered within their own sphere. And also among those Polish officers were Poles of German ancestry. Therefore, the Germans had to know what happened to these Polish officers; whether the liquidation was with the knowledge of the Germans could never be established.

Please keep in mind that the German Embassy in Moscow and several of the German military attachés knew what was going on in Russia and especially with the Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Ambassador, that is a very interesting analysis, and we, of course, are very glad to have it, based upon your experience and knowledge of both the Germans and the Russians and their methods of operation and their thinking. However, at this moment, that does not contribute directly in answering my question.

My question is not concerned with whether or not the Germans knew what the Russians did or whether or not the Russians knew what the Germans did—as interesting as that analysis is. I want to know only what is your opinion, as one man, because of your knowledge of all the facts and circumstances; what, in your opinion, is the answer? It is a very simple answer. Was the massacre committed, in your opinion, by the Russians, or by the Germans?

Mr. KOT. In my opinion, by the Russians. But I am convinced that it was with the cooperation and knowledge of the Germans in this matter.

Mr. FLOOD. That is very interesting; but you are satisfied that the massacre itself was committed by the Russians, as I understand your answer.

Mr. Ambassador, we realize there was considerable sacrifice for you to appear here tonight and present this very important testimony. We know of your other engagements and that it was at our special invitation that you were kind enough to come here and go to this trouble. Thank you very much.

Mr. KOT. I value the work of this committee, not only from the standpoint of legal procedures but from the moral service you are performing here for all of humanity.

I am happy to have been here, and I wish you great success in reaching a triumph in the public opinion of the entire world.

Mr. FLOOD. The committee is very grateful for that expression from the Ambassador.

The committee will adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock. (Whereupon, at 10:50 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Saturday, April 19, 1952.)

THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE,
London, England.

The select committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 111, Kensington Palace Hotel, De Vere Gardens, W. 1., Hon. Ray J. Madden (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Madden, Flood, Machrowicz, Dondero, and O'Konski.

Also present: Roman Pucinski, investigator and interpreter.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will come to order.

This is the fourth day of the meetings of the special congressional committee for the investigation of the Katyn Forest massacres, held in London. Present at the meeting are the Chairman, Congressman Flood, of Pennsylvania; Congressman Machrowicz, of Michigan; Congressman Dondero, of Michigan, and Congressman O'Konski, of Wisconsin.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. WLADYSLAW ANDERS, 7 WAVERTON STREET, W. 1; SHAFTSBURY AVENUE, KENTON, MIDDLESEX; LONDON, ENGLAND. (THROUGH INTERPRETER ROMAN PUCINSKI)

Chairman MADDEN. General Anders, you are the first witness this morning. If you will, give the reporter your full name and address, please.

General ANDERS. Wladyslaw Anders. In London, Shaftsbury Avenue, Kenton, Middlesex.

Chairman MADDEN. General, I will read a statement here.

Before you make a statement, it is our wish that you be advised that you would run the risk of action in the courts by anyone who considered he had suffered injury as a result of your testimony. At the same time, I wish to make it quite clear that the Government of the United States and the House of Representatives do not assume any responsibility in your behalf with respect to libel or slander proceedings which may arise as a result of your testimony.

Do you understand that?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Chairman MADDEN. Now will you be sworn?

Do you swear, by God the Almighty, that you will, according to your best knowledge, tell the pure truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; so help you God?

General ANDERS. I do.

Mr. FLOOD. General Anders, you, of course, have been identified with the armed services of Poland; have you not?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us in what capacity, in what way; your rank and so on?

General ANDERS. I was a Polish general since 1933.

Mr. FLOOD. It is important, because of your distinguished military career, that the committee have a little bit of your military background.

I believe that at one time you were an officer in the old Imperial Russian Army. Is that correct?

General ANDERS. That is correct. I was born in the part of Poland near Warsaw. This part was under Russian domination and I was in the Russian Army as a soldier, and later, I was an officer of the reserve. I was a student in Riga Polytechnikum in 1914. With the beginning of the war, I was mobilized in the Russian Army. I spent all of the time at the German Front.

Mr. FLOOD. So you served as an officer in the Russian Army?

General ANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. In what branch of the service?

General ANDERS. I was in the Cavalry, later in the Military Staff School, and then I was Chief of Staff of the Seventh Division of Riflemen.

Mr. FLOOD. That was in the Imperial Russian Army in World War I; was it?

General ANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FLOOD. What happened when the Bolshevik revolution took place at the end of World War I?

General ANDERS. After the revolution, I was in the First Polish Lancer Regiment that was organized following the revolution.

Mr. FLOOD. Was the Republic of Poland formed?

Gen. ANDERS. It was not the Republic of Poland, but after the first revolution it was the beginning of the formation of the Polish unity. And there were two Polish corps being formed. I was in the First Polish Corps, in the First Lancer Regiment. After, I was Chief of Staff of the First Infantry Division. It was during the time I was in Russia.

After I was in Poland in 1918 I participated in the revolution against the Germans in Warsaw, and later, in Poznan, and I was Chief of Staff in Poznan, of General Dowbar-Muszmicki, who was Commander of the Poznan Army.

In April 1919 I was nominated Commander of the First Polish Lancers in Poznan. I was in the battle of Poznan against the Germans, and from July 1919, I was transferred to the eastern front against the Bolsheviks, who were attacking Poland.

Mr. FLOOD. And you engaged, as a military officer, in what became known as the Polish-Russian War?

Gen. ANDERS. Yes, I participated in the Russo-Polish war until its conclusion, with the exception of 6 weeks when I was hospitalized, suffering from very serious wounds.

Mr. FLOOD. General, in your own words, will you take us down briefly, stressing any military or diplomatic or civil governmental positions you held in Poland; will you take us down briefly to the beginning of hostilities in World War II?

Gen. ANDERS. I returned to Poznan from the battle front in January of 1921, together with my corps. In the fall of the same year I was assigned to the Military Staff Command School in Paris; the Ecole Supérieur de Guerre. I completed the course of that school by the fall of 1923 and after various assignments in France, I returned to Poland in the fall of 1924. I was nominated Chief of Staff of the General Inspector of the Cavalry, and subsequently, to 1926, in September, I was nominated Commander of the Cavalry Brigade Rowne.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the form and nature of the Government of Poland, and who headed it during these years?

General ANDERS. The governments had changed; up to May of 1926, the Government and the Premiers had changed several times. I had never participated in the political aspects of the Government.

Mr. FLOOD. Was this known as the Republic of Poland?

General ANDERS. Yes, it was known as the Republic of Poland.

When in 1926 there were the well-known incidents in Poland, the Premier was Witos and the President was Wojciechowski. In the military struggles of that period, I was with the President and with the Government.

Mr. FLOOD. General, we would like you to take us, as soon as possible, to the outbreak of hostilities in World War II. Just as rapidly as you can, bring us to the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Poland in World War II.

General ANDERS. I had been assigned to various commands up until 1939 in the eastern part of Poland. In March of 1939, when the threat of the German invasion became apparent, I was mobilized and I was transferred to the western part of Poland, to the border of eastern Prussia; and I was there at the beginning of the war, on the 1st of September 1939. I participated in those battles.

Mr. FLOOD. That was in the area of the so-called Polish Corridor, was it?

General ANDERS. No. That was more in the general direction of Mlawa.

After the third day of battle, I was named the commander in chief of the entire group in that region. We participated in very heavy battles.

Later, I was transferred to the outskirts of Warsaw and there I participated in the battles, and then I received an order to transfer in the direction of Lublin, and there we had to fight our way out of a German encirclement.

After the battle in Lublin, I was again transferred or directed to proceed south, and it was at this time that we received the horrible news that Russia had attacked us from the east. I proceeded in the constant running battles toward the south, fighting constantly with the Germans, and at dawn of the 24th of September, we had our last battle against the Germans, and by 4 o'clock that afternoon, I found myself battling against the Russians.

Mr. FLOOD. At that point, let me ask: By "battling against the Russians," do you mean that the Poles and the Russians were engaged in actual gunfire?

General ANDERS. Yes. I was right in the middle.

Mr. FLOOD. And up until that moment, there had been no declaration of war by Russia against Poland, or vice versa?

General ANDERS. There was no declaration of war. As a matter of fact, there were reports that the Russians were coming to help us as our friends.

Mr. FLOOD. Tell us what happened as soon as the hostilities ceased between the Russians and the Poles.

General ANDERS. The battle had not ended. In the ensuing severe battles, I was twice very seriously wounded.

Mr. FLOOD. By the Russians?

General ANDERS. Once by the Russians and twice by the Germans.

Mr. FLOOD. And I believe you subsequently became a prisoner of the Russians; is that correct?

General ANDERS. Yes. I was transferred to a hospital in Lwow. I had been very seriously wounded.

Chairman MADDEN. General Anders, before you get into that phase of it, let me ask you this: On the day that you started fighting the Germans in the morning and wound up fighting the Russians in the afternoon, what happened? Did the Polish Army, in part, fight the Germans from then on and part of the Polish Army fight the Russians, or what procedure followed in that battle?

General ANDERS. I had to fight with one and then the other. I had attempted and my plans and my desires were to get my entire group into Hungary. Whoever got in my way, that was the one that I fought with or against.

Mr. FLOOD. As I understand the situation tactically at that time, the instructions from the Polish High Command to all field generals were to extricate their commands in whatever way was possible, to the south and across the border. Is that right?

General ANDERS. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. And you were gradually being forced into a pocket by the Germans on one side and the Russians, on the other, until the situation became impossible?

General ANDERS. Not only was this a pocket, but the Russians had blocked my attempt to take my units into Hungary. My original attempt, my original plan, was to try and negotiate with the Russians for permission to evacuate my forces across the border, but when they attacked us openly and began firing on my units and killing my men, then I had no alternative but to fight back.

Mr. DONDERO. General, at that time, did the Russian Army attack or fire at the German Army?

General ANDERS. No. They were great friends.

Mr. DONDERO. That came later.

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, General, we now have you, unfortunately in a hospital in Lwow. Now what happened?

General ANDERS. During my stay in the hospital in Lwow, I oriented myself as to the general situation. I already know of the orders and the appeals issued by General Timoshenko to the Polish forces for the enlisted men to murder their officers and transfer into the Red Army.

Mr. FLOOD. Those are the appeals printed by Timoshenko and published throughout the cities in that area, including Lwow; which, I think you have been advised, were inserted in the records yesterday.

I show the witness exhibit No. 48 and ask him whether or not he

identifies exhibit No. 48 as an exact reproduction of the so-called Timoshenko order of that nature?

General ANDERS. Yes. This is a photograph of the order. That was scattered all over the area, and I saw tens of these in the area. I knew then that the Russians were murdering large numbers of our people, that they were evacuating larger numbers out of our country. So I had drawn a fairly good conclusion as to what this ostensible "friend" of ours looked like.

The entire effort of the Russians was to thwart or block any efforts on the part of our people to cross the borders either into Hungary or Rumania. I was arrested by the Russians and I was detained in a jail in Lwow, called Brygitki, during December of 1939 and January and February of 1940. I was then transferred to Moscow, to the Lubianka prison.

Mr. FLOOD. Now that you are in the Lubianka prison in Moscow, how long were you in the Lubianka prison until you were released later in 1941?

General ANDERS. I remained, during that entire period, in the Lubianka prison, with the exception of 2 months, when I was transferred to a prison in Moscow called Butyrki, and then I was returned to Lubianka. I was released on the 4th of August 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. While this investigation, General, is concerned primarily with the Katyn massacre and the question of missing Polish officers as related thereto, is there anything, briefly, which would be important to this investigation, even in the nature of general observations, that you would like to make to the committee, as far as concerns the nature of any interrogations to which you were subjected while in Lubianka, by the Russians, before release?

General ANDERS. That is a very lengthy subject because I had been interrogated hundreds of times, sometimes for four or five nights in a row. The interrogations frequently were most unpleasant. I can say, however, that the line of questioning during my stay in Lubianka during 1940 and 1941 up until the invasion of Russia by the Germans, the line of interrogation indicated that Russia will wait until France, England, and Germany destroy each other and then she will proceed to occupy the whole of Europe, and that Russia will terminate the war there where she began it.

I asked, "Where will that be?" and I was told, "In Spain."

Mr. FLOOD. I take for granted these interrogations were by the Russian NKVD rather than by the Russian military, since Lubianka was an NKVD citadel?

General ANDERS. The military never interrogate prisoners in Russia; it is always done by the NKVD.

Mr. FLOOD. Is there any other significant factor, before we come to your release on August 4th, that the committee or the world generally would like to know, do you think, in connection with your interrogations at Lubianka, other than the very important promise you have just stated?

General ANDERS. It is difficult to repeat here all of my conversation and there isn't time for that, but, basically, you have to accept one thing: the understanding that the desires and plans of Russia are aimed at the occupation and control of the entire world; Soviet Russia is only the core, the center of an attempt to occupy the entire world.

Mr. FLOOD. Then you are satisfied, General, that the result and the nature of the investigations by the NKVD, of you, during your incarceration in Lubianka, clearly indicated that regardless of any alliances made by the Russians with Western Powers, it was merely an alliance of expediency and world conquest was their ultimate end, regardless of any alliances with anybody?

General ANDERS. Most certainly.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, General, that brings us now down to 1941 and the moment when the Germans attacked Russia; which produced your release on August 4. Will you now direct your attention to the incidents bringing about your release from Lubianka on August 4, 1941?

General ANDERS. I would like to add one more thing before I go into that. In 1941, before the war, there was a moment when I was transferred to a general cell. Prior to this, for 7 months, I had been in solitary confinement. To this cell was brought a Polish army captain named Kuszel. He was brought to the Lubianka prison from the prison camp at Starobielsk; it was from him that I first learned of the three large internment camps at Starobielsk, Kozielsk, and Ostashkov.

Mr. FLOOD. I know it is a difficult question, General, but is it possible for you to help the committee by telling us now what month or what part of the month it was that Captain Kuszel was brought to your cell?

General ANDERS. Kuszel had been taken from Starobielsk to Pavlishchev Bor; he was among that more or less group of men who had been transferred from Starobielsk to Pavlishchev Bor.

Mr. FLOOD. That is very clear, General, but what we would like to know, if possible, is whether you could give us the day and the month in 1941 when you first talked to Captain Kuszel.

General ANDERS. I had talked to him approximately during either May or June of 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. Was there anything significant, other than the mere fact, that Captain Kuszel told you?

General ANDERS. I learned from him first of all that the Starobielsk prison had been evacuated during the months of March and April 1940, and that he and his small group that were taken to Pavlishchev Bor had met with other Polish prisoners from Ostashkov and Kozielsk, and the entire group numbered about 350.

Mr. FLOOD. I suppose, General, even though you were in solitary confinement and in prison during the time you were in Lubianka, you knew or heard or guessed that many Polish officers, and many Poles of all categories, were in prison in Russia?

General ANDERS. Yes, I knew that there were many because I had had occasion to observe already in Lwow the transfer of a large number of Poles as prisoners. I also had occasion to read the official Russian communique, which stated that 181,000 soldiers were taken prisoner into Russia, and in this group were included some 10,000 Polish officers.

Mr. FLOOD. And, of course, because of your record and background, General, you speak and read Russian fluently?

General ANDERS. Yes, just as well as I do in Polish.

Mr. FLOOD. Now after the incident of your conversation in May or June with Captain Kuszel, General, and your first knowledge of

the three camps that we refer to all through this hearing, is there any other detail of any importance which you would like to tell us before we come to the day of your release?

General ANDERS. It was through Kuszel that I found out about this rather small group being evacuated from these three camps, but he had no knowledge of what had been done to the remaining prisoners in these camps.

Mr. FLOOD. During this entire period of your imprisonment in Russia or anywhere else, General, were you permitted any communication at all with any other of your Polish brother officers?

General ANDERS. No, not at all.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, General. Would you now bring it up to the date of your release, and detail for us, as best you can recall, the incidents immediately prior and immediately subsequent to your release from Lubianka?

General ANDERS. When the war started with the German invasion of Russia, we had first learned of this act when the Germans began bombing Moscow. At that time all of our windows were painted over, and the building was sandbagged, and they discontinued permitting us a slight walk through the prison. The prison guards at Lubianka told us and explained to us that these were merely training maneuvers—

Mr. FLOOD. By "us" and "we," you mean your fellow brother Polish officer prisoners?

General ANDERS. All of the prisoners in the prison. But you could hear and imagine immediately that these were not training maneuvers, but something a great deal more serious.

Ten days after this attack, they had called me for another interrogation; they had not been interrogating me during that 10-day period, and their attitude toward me was considerably changed; they were very friendly. They told me that most probably we will have to reach some sort of agreement for mutual cooperation, that we must forget about what had happened in the past, and our task now will be to fight together against the Germans. It was more or less on June 20—no, this was around July 20—when I was again called up for interrogation, and again they were very friendly, and they improved my daily diet; they even took me to a barber and permitted him to shave off my beard, and they even gave me some cologne water.

Toward the end of July they informed me that negotiations had been cleared with the English, and said: "We are now arranging discussions with the Polish Government." On August 4 I was called out of my cell in the regular manner, but I could immediately notice that this was something very important, because they had already stopped twisting my arms behind my back, and there was present not only the regular jail guards, but the commander of the prison, the head of the NKVD. I was still limping at that time—

Mr. DONDERO. What was his name, if you know?

General ANDERS. I do not recall his name at this moment, but I think I could probably find that in my book; he was a colonel of the NKVD.

Mr. FLOOD. If later the name of this officer recurs to you, General, will you so advise the committee at your convenience?

General ANDERS. Certainly. They led me out of the cell. They had, of course, to assist me because I was on crutches. As we proceeded, I could notice that the entire surrounding was becoming better; there were more rugs and nicer quarters.

Mr. FLOOD. At that moment were you on crutches as the result of wounds received in combat, or as the result of physical abuse received in Lubianka, or both?

General ANDERS. I was unable to walk because of wounds which I suffered; to this day I still have a bullet in my leg. I, of course, could not restore myself to my normal health because of the extremely poor diet in Lubianka. I can give as an example the fact that normally I weigh 90 kilograms, and when I was released from Lubianka I weighed not quite 59 kilograms.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well. They have taken you from the cell, and they are taking you some place.

General ANDERS. Eventually I found myself in a large room in the presence of two men, both of them dressed in civilian clothing. They introduced themselves, one as Beria, and the other as Merkulov.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you identify Beria and Merkulov by official position?

General ANDERS. Beria was the commander of the NKVD, which he is today, and Merkulov was commander of the NKGB, which was commissariat of the interior security. The NKGB was under the command (or was subject to the command) of the NKVD, but subsequently the two agencies were separated and were given separate commands.

Mr. FLOOD. What was the NKGB as distinguished from the NKVD?

General ANDERS. The NKVD consists of all of the interior security agencies; it takes care of all the affairs of the Ministry of the Interior and all other agencies; but the NKGB was responsible exclusively for the jails and the prisons.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well, General. We are now in the room.

General ANDERS. The conversation lasted a very long time. They informed me that I had been nominated as the commander in chief of the proposed Polish Army which was to be formed in Russia, and that I am from this moment a free man.

Mr. FLOOD. Did they indicate who had named you as commander in chief?

General ANDERS. At first they told me that they had nominated me. When I asked them, "What do you mean, you nominated me?", they then told me that it was actually the Polish authorities in London that had nominated me, and that they have agreed to that nomination.

Mr. FLOOD. Then what happened, General?

General ANDERS. The conversations consisted mainly of generalities, and the oft-repeated assurances that we must now cooperate and work together, and that we must now fight together against the Germans. They gave me tea, and they gave me cigarettes, and we discussed for 4 hours.

Chairman MADDEN. General Anders, at that time was there any word spoken regarding the possibility of the great number of Polish officers that would be available for your army?

General ANDERS. No; they merely told me at that time that all of our prisoners would be released.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, General, for the purpose of expediting our hearings, although we want to give you full leeway to present anything you think important, will you now bring us to the formation of the Polish Army under your command, and in your own way tell us of your difficulties in a reasonable period of time so we can come at once to the question of where are the Polish officers to help you staff an army?

General ANDERS. I was released on August 4. I was given a home, an apartment. A few days later they made it possible for me to contact General Bogusz-Szyszek, who was sent to Moscow as the chief of the Polish military mission from London. It was from him that I learned the details of the invasion of Russia, the beginning of the war, and the agreements that had been reached between the Polish Government and the Russian Government subsequent to that attack. He gave me at that time the orders prepared by the commander-in-chief, General Sikorski, General Sikorski being also the Premier of the Polish Government in exile, and I began to prepare for organizing the army.

I had many discussions with Russian authorities, and shortly after that one thing came up which to me was extremely important, and that was the very small number of Polish soldiers and officers that the Russians claimed they held in Russian territory. They told me that in all there were approximately 1,000 Polish officers available, and approximately 20,000 Polish soldiers.

I had been reading the Russian press at that time, and I knew that there had appeared in the Russian newspaper Pravda an article during the year 1940. This article appeared on the first anniversary of Russia's invasion of Poland, and the article stated that there were some 225,000, if I am not mistaken, of Polish prisoners taken at that time.

Mr. FLOOD. Your conversations up till this time, I gather, General, on this subject of establishing the Polish Army, were with Russian military authorities, and not with the diplomatic or political leaders?

General ANDERS. I had not carried out any conversations with the diplomatic corps. However, I want to point out that even at the discussions with the military, the NKVD were always present.

Mr. FLOOD. What I meant was that you had had no conversations up to this moment with Stalin, Molotov or Vishinsky?

General ANDERS. No, that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well.

General ANDERS. Since the evening of the day when I was released from prison, the Russians brought to me Lieutenant Colonel Berling, from whom I had learned that evening the same information that I had previously learned from Captain Kuszel, and I knew then that the approximate number of Polish officers in those three camps should be somewhere around 15,000. So I immediately began asking the Russian military authorities why their figure is so low, and what happened to the rest of the Polish officers. Their answers repeatedly were that these men are in Russia, and if they are, they will be found. It is interesting to note that I have the minutes of at least six conversations that I had with them, and that in none of those conversations did they raise the point of these officers.

Mr. FLOOD. General, do I understand that you have here in your possession the original minutes of the conversations with the Russian

military authorities as you have just described with reference to the missing Polish officers?

General ANDERS. The references to these Polish officers are not in these minutes or protocols, because they had deleted all of those conversations from the official minutes. These conversations had been carried on in the presence of General Bogusz-Szyszkowski and also of Okulinski.

Mr. FLOOD. Then, General, may I ask you this: Does he have in his possession any minutes made by himself or any of his attaches during these conversations with the Russians during this period having to do with missing Polish officers?

General ANDERS. I have here the originals of the six conferences that were held. I do not have any notes of my own personal, because there were tens and hundreds of these conferences; but General Bogusz-Szyszkowski, who was present at these conferences, could confirm that the point of the Polish officers had been raised. I have the original of a memorandum prepared by myself and delivered by Mr. Czapski to the NKDV in which I again raised the point of the Polish officers. The memorandum was in the Russian and I have the Polish version.

Mr. FLOOD. Excellent. We will get to that in a moment; but I just want to be sure that the general does not have in his possession any minutes of the six meetings with the Russians during the period we are just at—whether in those minutes there is any reference to the Polish officers. Now, the general told us that the Russians deleted such references. I want to be sure we have no exhibits with reference to the officers?

General ANDERS. No, that is correct; there are none.

Mr. FLOOD. Now will you go on and describe your conversations with reference to the officers?

General ANDERS. During my conversations with the Russians I repeatedly attempted to find out how many of those people are available. They told me that all of our officers have been grouped together at Grazowiec. I went to Gruzowiec and there I found not quite 400 of our Polish officers who had been brought there from Ostoszkov, Starobielsk and Kozielsk.

Mr. FLOOD. Can you tell us, General, if you recall the date of your visit to the camp at Kozielsk? [The witness consulted a book.] General, we are not concerned about the exact day. The month and the year, under the circumstances, will satisfy us?

General ANDERS. I believe it was in August of 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, will you take it from there, then, General?

General ANDERS. I also found there a group of Polish officers who had been interned in Lithuania and who had been brought to Gruzowiec from those camps. All told, there was a little more than a thousand of the Polish officers brought from Lithuania, and it was there that I learned more details from those Polish officers who had been brought from Pavlishcher Bor as to the other Polish officers who had been interned at the three camps. This disturbed me very much. I was even more disturbed with the fact that these men told me that since their evacuation from those three camps they had had absolutely no contact with the others who had been evacuated earlier, since all of those who were at Gruzowiec had carried on frequent correspondence with relatives in Poland. In the letters and corres-

pondence that came from Poland to these men in Giazowiec they had been told that the people back in Poland had lost all contact with the soldiers interned at the three camps since March and April of 1940. Some of the men that I talked to already then told me that they have a premonition that something horrible had happened to those men. I was convinced that these men most probably had been taken to labor battalions far up in the north and that all communication with them had ceased. I instructed all of those at Giazowiec to immediately commence preparing lists of those names that they could remember in the three camps where they had been interned. This, of course, was very difficult.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you recruit the officers who were at Giazowiec into the Polish Army at that time?

General ANDERS. Yes, all of these men were immediately recruited into the Polish Army, and many of them were assigned to the General Staff of the Polish Army.

Mr. DONDERO. How large a Polish Army were you able to establish in Russia?

General ANDERS. First of all, the Russians had turned over to me the 20,000 Polish soldiers and the possibly 1,700 Polish officers; but when the Polish soldiers began to be released from the various prisons in Russia, they began reporting to me in considerably larger numbers.

Mr. FLOOD. General, at what point now have you set up your first headquarters?

General ANDERS. My first headquarters were set up at Buzuluk.

Mr. FLOOD. In what part of Russia?

General ANDERS. In the central part of Russia, near the Urals.

Mr. FLOOD. And there you had gathered the number of soldiers that Mr. Dondero has just inquired about?

General ANDERS. Yes; but this number kept constantly increasing until we transferred our headquarters to the region of Tazhkent.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell me the month and the year that you set up your new headquarters at Tazhkent?

General ANDERS. In February 1942.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, General, the committee is concerned primarily from now on with your orders, your instructions and your efforts to find out where are the missing Polish officers. What instructions did you give, what sort of an organization did you set up, what contact did you have with the Polish London Government to do exactly that one thing, Since the general has requested that he be permitted to have present, as well as the interpreter here of the committee, his own personal interpreter (to which the committee have no objection) may I suggest that that interpreter now be sworn.

(Mr. E. Lubomirski was sworn as follows:)

Chairman MADDEN. Do you solemnly swear that you will interpret the testimony given by the witness now on the stand truthfully, so help you God?

Mr. E. LUBOMIRSKI. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course, you understand that the interpreter for the committee will proceed as long as possible and that the general will consult his personal interpreter only from time to time.

General ANDERS. I think this is better, because Mr. Lubomirski was with me in Moscow from 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. But we will use our interpreter as long as he is physically able to continue.

General ANDERS. The translation is excellent.

Mr. FLOOD. He has worked very hard.

General ANDERS. I had made all my reports; I reported everything to London; but I cannot find the officers who were interned in those three particular prisons. I knew personally many of the officers who were interned in those camps who were in my various groups and under my command. I had repeatedly asked the Russians for the whereabouts of these men and their repeated answers were evasive, stating that they would eventually be found. Eventually there were 73,000 Polish soldiers who had assembled at our assembly points. There even arrived a group of soldiers from Kolyma, but of this particular group of officers in these three camps not a single one.

Mr. FLOOD. Why did you say "even from Kolyma"?

General ANDERS. Because Kolyma was a horrible place, and these were the only people who came out alive from Kolyma. From a total of 10,000 Poles who had been sent to Kolyma there returned and survived only 160.

Mr. FLOOD. General Anders, could you very briefly explain what you mean by Kolyma being a horrible place?

General ANDERS. I have described Kolyma in detail in my recent book. I can tell you here, however, that it was the most horrible prison in Russia, where it was extremely unusual for anyone to survive longer than one winter.

Mr. FLOOD. Where is it located?

General ANDERS. Kolyma is in the northeasternmost part of Russia, away up near Kamchatka.

Mr. FLOOD. What is the type of temperature there in the worst part of the winter?

General ANDERS. It is approximately 70° C. below zero.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you explain what that is Fahrenheit: could you translate 70° C. to Fahrenheit?

General ANDERS. More than 100° F. below zero. In Kolyma the main occupation is the mining of gold. The general opinion in Russia is that you do not return from Kolyma.

Mr. FLOOD. You would not describe Kolyma as a camp of happy workers, would you, under any circumstances?

General ANDERS. I doubt if a place like this has ever existed before anywhere in the world.

Mr. FLOOD. It is so bad, you mean?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now will you take us back to what you did and what kind of an organization you set up in conjunction with the London Polish Government for the existing Polish officers?

General ANDERS. First of all, there were my personal efforts to locate them. I appealed to our Polish Ambassador in Moscow to take up this subject with the Russian diplomatic staff.

Mr. DONDERO. Who was he?

General ANDERS. Ambassador Kot; and I know from his reports that he had frequently taken this matter up with the Russians. When General Sikorski was planning to come to Russia, we succeeded in obtaining a list of 4,000 names. I had set up and organized a special

agency, a special office, which would seek the whereabouts of these officers. I had named Major Czapski as the head of this bureau.

Mr. FLOOD. What is his first name?

General ANDERS. Joseph—Josef Czapski. Major Czapski had visited these various camps where the Poles were being mobilized, and he had also conducted frequent conversations and discussions with the Russians, and finally I sent him to Moscow, where he delivered the note that was prepared by myself to the Russian authorities on this matter of Polish officers. I will be very happy to have the original note photostated and give it to this committee.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have the original note in your possession now, General, at this moment here?

General ANDERS. Yes, I do.

Mr. FLOOD. May I see it, please?

General ANDERS. I have here the Russian copy of that note in the Russian language. [Handing same to Mr. Flood.]

Mr. FLOOD. This Russian copy was prepared by whom?

General ANDERS. By Czapski under my order.

Mr. FLOOD. Under your direction?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And this is a copy of the note transmitted by Czapski?

General ANDERS. By Czapski to General Rajchman in Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. I ask the stenographer to mark this as "Exhibit No. 50." [The document was marked accordingly.] Now, General, I show you this document which you have handed to me, as you have just described, marked for identification "Exhibit No. 50," and ask you whether or not this document in the Russian language is a copy of the note transmitted?

General ANDERS. Yes; this is the copy of the notes.

Mr. FLOOD. Transmitted by Mr. Czapski at your direction to the Russian General Rajchman?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, General, I understand that you are willing to have a photostatic copy of that document placed in the hands of the committee as soon as possible?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Pucinski, when that is received, will you see it is marked and placed in the record as "Exhibit 50A" and you will return the original which is marked exhibit 50 to General Anders.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, sir.

EXHIBIT 50A

Memorial złożył w Moskwie Gen. Rajchman
mowi na kulbasi 2/10 1942 J. Ciapkiński

СТАРОБИЛЬСКА, КОЗЬЯВСКА и ОСТАШКОВА

Военнопленные, которые были помещены в 1939 году до апреля 1940 года в СТАРОБИЛЬСКЕ, КОЗЬЯВСКЕ и ОСТАШКОВЕ /далее 18.000 чел., из которых 8.700 офицеров/ но впоследствии из советских мест их заключенцев нам не известно; исключение составляет 400 - 500 чел., т.е. около 3% общего количества военнопленных на СТАРОБИЛЬСКА, КОЗЬЯВСКА и ОСТАШКОВА, которые были освобождены в 1941 году после такого же заключения в ТРИБЮНЕ под ВОДЗОМ, как и в других местах.

ЗАПЕЧАТ В СТАРОБИЛЬСКЕ - 1.

Офицеры и военнопленные прибывали в лагерь СТАРОБИЛЬСК с 20 сентября по 1 ноября 1939 г. и в день начала разгрузки лагеря, 5 апреля 1940 г. количество заключенных польских военнопленных составляло 3880 чел. из них в том числе генералов и полковников, помещенных отдельно. В этот момент было расформировано двести тысяч польских и около 30 советских и хорунжих, все оставшие офицеры, из которых по числу более 50% кадровых офицеров, 8 генералов, более чем 100 полковников и подполковников, около 200 капитанов, приблизительно 2000 поручиков и подпоручиков всех родов службы и много, между прочим 200 врачей, несколько тысяч ассистентов врачей и т.д.

КОЗЬЯВСК и ОСТАШКОВ были лагерями военнопленных, офицеров и солдат, размещенных соответственно в то же время.

ЗАПЕЧАТ В КОЗЬЯВСКЕ.

Имел в день начала разгрузки 3/4.1940 г. около 5.000 заключенных, из них 4.500 офицеров всех рангов и родов службы.

ЗАПЕЧАТ В ОСТАШКОВЕ.

Имел в день начала разгрузки, 5 апреля 1940 года около 6.000 человек, из которых 200 офицеров.

РАЗГРУЗКА ЗАПЕЧАТ В СТАРОБИЛЬСКЕ.

5 апреля 1940 г. была отправлена первая группа из 100 человек из СТАРОБИЛЬСКА. Советский командир, подполковник ДИМИТРИЙ и комиссар КИРЯКИ просили официально военнопленных, что их помещают на временный пункт, откуда они будут отправлены по месту своего жительства, в ПОДЛЕШЕ, как на немецкой, так и на советской стороне /1/. До 25 апреля приблизительно отпущено 20 групп от 50 до 240 человек. 25 апреля, после официального объявления, было освобождено 100 человек, был проведен специальный отбор из 50 человек, которых было предложено держаться отдельно от остальных на воле.

После 25 апр. наступил перерыв в отправке до 3 мая, когда было освобождено 200 чел. и еще потом небольшие группы 2-го, 11-го и 12-го апр. был отправлен оставшийся. Группы эти, в которой находился и я, были направлены в ПАРЖИМ ВОР /СОВЕТСКОЙ ОБЛ./ где мы вступили в "специальную группу" из 60 чел., отпущенных 25.4. К ней нас стало 70, почти исключительно офицеров из

/1/ На многочисленном шествии, состоявшем из ПОДЛЕШЕ, зимой 1940 - 1941 г. мы знаем с полной достоверностью, что никто тогда из СТАРОБИЛЬСКА, КОЗЬЯВСКА и ОСТАШКОВА в ПОДЛЕШЕ отпущен не был.

Из одного из этих сообщений нет достаточно подробного, хотя и косвенного, указания на то, что именно там самым правдоподобным.

Мы знаем, с какой точностью был каждый военнопленный зарегистрирован, как "ЛСЛ" каждого из нас с указанием, где эти записанные допросы были сохранены в особых папках со строгими проверкой фотографий и документами, мы знаем, насколько старательно и точно проводилась эта работа НКВД, так что никто из нас военнопленных не может ни на минуту допустить, чтобы местонахождение 15,000 военнопленных, из которых более 8,000 офицеров могло быть неизвестным нашим инстанциям НКВД.

Разве торжественное обещание самого ПРЕДСЕДТЕЛЯ СТАЛИНА, его категорический приказ выяснить судьбу бывших Польских военнопленных, не позволяют нам надеяться на то, что мы по крайней мере будем знать, где находятся наши боевые товарищи, и - если они погибли - как и когда это случилось.

КОЛИЧЕСТВО ЛЮДЕЙ СТАВШИХ ЖИТЕЛЯМИ ПОДКОПАНСКОГО РАЙОНА

ВНИМАНИЕ ВНИМАНИЕ! ВНИМАНИЕ! ВНИМАНИЕ! ВНИМАНИЕ! ВНИМАНИЕ!

В день начала разгрузки лагеря в СТАРОВОДСКОМ районе 3 апреля 40 г. количество всех военнопленных, офицеров, командиров, десантников, вставших в окопы 30 хорунжих и подпоручиков было 3.920

Количество военнопленных в КОЗЬМИНСКОМ районе начала разгрузки 3 апр. 40 г. - 5000, в том числе офицеров 4.500

Количество военнопленных в ОСТАШКОВЕ в день начала разгрузки 3 апр. 40 г. - 5.570, в том числе офицеров 380

Итого 8.800

За вычетом нескольких десятков вставших из СТАРОВОДСКОГО района офицеров из мотыля 8.700

Всего же в Польскую Армию около 300 офицеров из ГРАБОВСКОГО района, военнопленных из СТАРОВОДСКОГО, КОЗЬМИНСКОГО и ОСТАШКОВСКОГО районов, кроме того несколько десятков офицеров, вставших из мотыля, куда они попали из тех же лагерей, общим количеством не больше 400 офицеров.

Следовательно количество офицеров, не попавших в лагерь СТАРОВОДСКОГО, КОЗЬМИНСКОГО и ОСТАШКОВСКОГО составляет 2.200 человек.

Вся армия Польской Армии, количество которой составило в 1 янв. 1940 г. около 2.300 человек, является объектом внимания и заботы высшего командования. ВСТАВШИЕ, ЛАГЕРИ, ВСТАВШИЕ в лагерь военнопленных /с/ исключительном количестве 400 человек.

Из этих возможностей с такой точностью определить общее количество военнопленных, не попавших из лагерь исключительное количество КОЗЬМИНСКОГО, СТАРОВОДСКОГО и ОСТАШКОВСКОГО - в большинстве офицеров, так как мы имеем возможность определить их количество с относительной точностью.

Таким образом, по мнению ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ СТАЛИНА и ГЕН. СИНОВСКОГО, наша Армия на юге СССР, чувствует в этих резервных офицерах все возрастающую необходимость, мы должны в них иметь лучших специалистов, лучший командный состав.

Не следует особого объяснения, до какой степени катастрофично многократное брожение в рядах вступает работу над созданием резерва нашей Армии и Советскому Союзу, которое так необходимо для здорового развития взаимных отношений двух социалистических стран в борьбе и общем великом деле.

УПОМОЩЕНИЕ ПО ДЕЛАМ
ВНЕШНИМ ОТНОШЕНИЯМ В СССР

/-/ От имени ДВЕРИ ЧАПОВСКИ

КОЗЬМИНСКОГО в ФЕВРАЛЕ 1940 ГОДА.

[Translation from Russian of Exhibit 50A]

[On the top a pencil mark:] Memorandum submitted in Moscow to the Gen. Raichmann in Lublianka [seat of N. K. V. D.] on April 2, 1942, by Capt. Czapski.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE POLISH PRISONERS OF WAR FROM STAROBEL'SK, KOZEL'SK AND OSTASHKOV, WHO DID NOT RETURN

The prisoners of war, who from 1939 until April 1940, were in Starobel'sk, Kozel'sk and Ostashkov (numbering more than 15,000, of whom 8,700 were commissioned officers) did not return from exile, and the place of their confinement is unknown to us; an exception are 400-500 men, that is approximately three percent of the total number of prisoners of war, who were released in 1941, after one year's imprisonment in Griasovets near Vologda or in other prisons.

Camp in Starobel'sk No. 1

Shipments of prisoners of war used to arrive in Starobel'sk camp from 30 September to 1 November 1939 and when the clearing of the inmates of the camp began, the number of the Polish Prisoners was 3,920 men including generals and colonels who were kept separately. There were also several scores of civilians, about 30 cadet-officers (podkhorunzhii) and ensigns (khorunzhii). All others were commissioned officers, of whom at least 50 percent were of the regular army, 8 generals, more than 100 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, about 250 majors, approximately 2500 first and second lieutenants of all branches of the service and auxiliary services. Among them there were 380 doctors, several professors of institutions of higher learning, etc.

Kozel'sk No. 1 and Ostashkov were camps for prisoners of war, both formed and cleared approximately at the same time.

The camp in Kozel'sk

On the day when the clearing of the camp began—on April 3rd, 1940—the camp had approximately 5,000 prisoners, among them 4,500 commissioned officers of all ranks and of all branches of the service.

Camp in Ostashkov

On the day when the clearing began—on April 6, 1940—this camp contained 6,750 men, among them 380 commissioned officers.

The clearing of the Camp in Starobel'sk

On April 5, 1940, the first group, consisting of 195 men, was sent from Starobel'sk Colonel Berezhkov the Soviet commandant, and commissar Kirshin official assured the prisoners of war, that they are being sent to the distribution center, from where they will be sent to the places of their residence, to Poland, both, to the German or the Soviet part.¹ Up to April 26, inclusive, groups consisting of from 65 to 240 men were shipped.

On April 25, after the customary announcement concerning the sending of more than 100 men, a special list of 63 men was read, to whom the order was given to stand separately during the departure to the station.

After April 26 there was an interruption in the clearing of the camps until May 2, when 200 men were sent. After that the rest of the prisoners were sent with small groups on the 8th, 11th, and 18th of May. The group, which included me, among others, was sent to Pavlishchev Bor (Smolensky region), where we met the whole "special group" of 63 men, who were sent on April 25. Thus we numbered 79, almost all being commissioned officers from Starobel'sk, who were, after one year, released from Griazovecky camp. Adding to this number 7 more commissioned officers, who were shipped individually during the winter of 1939-40 from Starobel'sk, the total number of those commissioned officers who were released will make 86 out of 3920 men, i. e., slightly more than 2 percent of the total number of prisoners in Starobel'sk.

The clearing of the camps of Kozel'sk and Ostashkov

It proceeded in like manner. In Pavlishchev Bor we found about 200 commissioned officers from Kozel'sk and about 120 men from Ostashkov. The proportion between the number of people brought to Pavlishchev Bor from these camps and the number of people confined there differed slightly from the proportion relating to Starobel'sk.

¹ According to the numerous letters received in Poland in the winter of 1940-41, we know for sure that nobody was then sent from Starobel'sk, Kozel'sk, and Ostashkov back to Poland.

The camp in Griazovets

After a month's stay in Pavlishchev Bor the whole of the camp, approximately 400 people, was shipped to Griazovets near Vologda, where we remained until the day of [our] release. About 1,250 commissioned officers and enlisted men also arrived there, they were previously interned in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and stayed as internees (not as prisoners of war) in Kozel'sk No. 2 from the fall of 1940 till the summer of 1941.

The camp in Griazovets was known to us as the only PW camp consisting mostly of commissioned officers of the Polish Army, which existed in the U.S.S.R. from June 1940 to September 1941, and the population of which, after their release, almost in full number, joined the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R.

Almost 6 months had passed since the "amnesty" to all Polish PW's and internees was proclaimed on August 12, 1941. Polish commissioned officers and enlisted men, released from confinement to which they were subjected when trying to cross the border after September 1939 or those arrested at places of their residence, were arriving, in groups or individually, to join the Polish Army. But despite the amnesty, inspite of the explicit promise given by the President of the Sovnarkom (Soviet of People's Commissars) Stalin himself, in November 1941, to our envoy Kot that PW's be returned to us, despite of a strict order to locate and liberate the PW's from Starobel'sk, Kozel'sk, and Ostashkov given by Stalin on December 4, 1941, in the presence of the Commanding General of the Polish Army Sikorski and General Anders, inspite of all this not a single prisoner of war appeared from Starobel'sk, Kozel'sk and Ostashkov (except the group from Griazovets mentioned before and a few scores of persons who were separately interned and liberated as early as in September).

No appeal for help from the PW's interned in the camps mentioned above has ever reached us.

Inspite of the interrogation of thousands of persons returning from all the camps and prisons of the U. S. S. R. we shall have not obtained any reliable information on their [the prisoners, in Starobel'sk] whereabouts, except for the following rumors coming from second-hand sources: that from 6 to 12 thousands commissioned and noncommissioned officers were sent to Kolyma via Bukhta Nachodka in 1940;

That more than 5,000 commissioned officers were collected in the mines of the *Frants Iosif Islands*; that there were deportations to *Novaia Zemlia*, *Kamchatka*, and *Chukotka*; that in the summer of 1941, 630 commissioned officers, PW's from Kozel'sk, were working 180 kilometers from *Pestraia Dresva*; that 150 commissioned officers, clad in their uniforms, were seen north from the river *Sos'va* near *Gar'*; that some Polish commissioned officers, prisoners of war, were transported on huge towed barges (1,700-2,000 men to a barge) to *Severnnye Ostrova* and that three such barges sank in *Barents sea*.

None of this information was confirmed sufficiently, although the information on *Severnnye Ostrova* and *Kolyma* seems to be the most probable.

We know that every prisoner of war was registered, and that the "case records" of all us, with the numerous records on interrogations together with the documents, identified and checked photographs, were kept in special files. We know how carefully and exactly this work of the NKVD was conducted, so that none of us, [former] prisoners of war, can believe for a second that the whereabouts of 15,000 PW's of which more than 8,000 are commissioned officers, could be unknown to the higher authorities of the NKVD. The solemn promise of the *Predsovnarkom* Stalin himself and his strict order to ascertain the fate of the former Polish prisoners of war permit us to hope that at least we could know where our brothers in arms are and, if they have perished, how and when it happened.

Number of commissioned officers of the Polish Army, former prisoners of war, who did not return

On April 5, 1940, the day of the beginning of the clearance of the camp of inmates in *Starobel'sk*, the total number of commissioned officers, prisoners of war, with the exception of some civilians and approximately 30 ensigns and cadet-officers was 3,920.

The number of prisoners of war in *Kozel'sk* on April 6, 1940, the day when clearing of the camp of inmates began, amounted to 5,000, among them commissioned officers constituted 4,500.

The number of prisoners of war in *Ostashkov* on April 6, 1940, the day when the clearing of the camp of inmates started, was 6,570; the commissioned officers constituted among them 380. Total 8,800 commissioned officers.

By deducting several scores of civilians from Starobel'sk the number of commissioned officers constitutes 8,700.

Some 300 commissioned officers from *Griasovets*, former prisoners of war from Starobel'sk, Kozel'sk, and Ostashkov, have returned to the Polish Army and furthermore several scores were released from prisons, into which they were sent from the above-mentioned camps, and returned, which makes the total number of returned commissioned officers not more than 400.

Consequently the following figure shows the number of commissioned officers who did not return from Starobel'sk, Kozel'sk, and Ostashkov camps—8,300 men.

All officers of the Polish Army, the number of which as of January 1, 1940, amounted to approximately 2,300 persons, were formerly confined or interned in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, but they were not prisoners of war (with the exception of the above-mentioned 400 persons).

Being unable to define with similar precision the grand total number of all those who did not return, we give solely the figures of the prisoners of war from Kozel'sk, Starobel'sk, and Ostashkov, the majority of which are officers, because we were able to determine their number with relative precision.

Because we were now expanding, by virtue of the decision of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Stalin and of General Sikorski, our army in the south of the U. S. S. R., a continuously growing need is felt for these officers who disappeared; we are losing in them the best military experts, the best commanding personnel.

No special explanation is required to realize the extent to which the disappearance of many a thousand of brothers-in-arms obstructs the work of the creation in our army of confidence in the Soviet Union, which confidence is so much needed for a sound development of mutual relations between the two allied armies in their struggle against the common sworn enemy.

Commissioner for the Affairs of
Former Prisoners of War in the USSR
Captain of the Cavalry JOZEF CZAPSKI

Moscow, February 2, 1942.

Mr. FLOOD. Very well, General.

General ANDERS. When General Sikorski arrived, I informed him of our entire efforts to locate these.

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt: when General Sikorski arrived where?

General ANDERS. General Sikorski arrived in Russia. I went to meet him in Tehran in November of 1941.

Mr. FLOOD. And then you had a conversation with General Sikorski in Tehran?

General ANDERS. To Kuybishev, in Kuybishev during our trip to Moscow.

Mr. FLOOD. Then, as I understand it, when General Sikorski arrived in Teheran, you went to meet him in Teheran, and during your stay in Teheran with General Sikorski, during your trip from Teheran to Kuybishev, during your stay in Kuybishev, during your trip from Kuybishev to Moscow, you discussed this question of the missing Polish officers?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. At Kuybishev you met, I believe, Ambassador Kot?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did Ambassador Kot travel to Moscow with you and General Sikorski?

General ANDERS. Yes, that is right.

Mr. FLOOD. That, I think, brings us to the meeting in Moscow on December 3?

General ANDERS. December 4 was the meeting with Stalin and Molotov.

Mr. FLOOD. At the meeting at Moscow with Stalin, who was present on the Russian side?

General ANDERS. Stalin and Molotov, and I think Mr. Pawlov, the translator; I am not sure.

Mr. FLOOD. On the Polish side who were present?

General ANDERS. General Sikorski, Mr. Kot, and I.

Mr. FLOOD. Were you serving as interpreter for the Poles' side?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you, in your own words, detail for us as best you recollect or by referring to any minutes that you may have, the tenor of the conversation that took place on that date with Stalin and Molotov, and, as you recall, any atmosphere or attitude or conduct that prevailed on either side?

General ANDERS. The Russians, as usual, never give the complete minutes of political discussions. So we prepared our own minutes; that is, General Sikorski, Mr. Kot, and myself. Three copies of these minutes were made. General Sikorski had the first copy, the original; Mr. Kot got the second copy. Excuse me—this was not the 4th. It was the 3d of December. The meeting was on the 3d of December.

Mr. FLOOD. By "the meeting" you mean the meeting with Stalin?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. When you referred to the meeting you meant the meeting with General Stalin that we are discussing; and when you said December 4 a minute ago, after having consulted your notes and the minutes of the meeting, you now wish to change that date and make it December 3; is that right?

General ANDERS. That is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. Now, General, I think you would like to know that at the meeting of the committee and the hearings last night Ambassador Kot was present and he presented us with a copy of the minutes to which you now refer; he confirmed that he had a copy of it, and that is already in the record, it is exhibit 49C. So you can proceed to testify.

General ANDERS. Yes, that is right. This is No. 3 [indicating a carbon copy document]. The most important thing as far as the missing Polish officers are concerned during this conference was when General Sikorski personally inquired about these missing officers. Stalin replied that he does not need to detain these officers and that he does not have them. We inquired, "Well, where could they have gone?" To this Stalin replied: "They escaped." I inquired where could they have escaped? And Stalin replied: "To Manchuria." I said that this was impossible. This already was a great disturbance for us because we started becoming convinced that if Stalin says that these men had been transferred to the far north and that they escaped to Manchuria, we began to suspect that these men were no longer alive. At that particular time the idea that these men could all have been murdered was inconceivable. General Sikorski handed Stalin a list of some 4,000 names.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you know from what source or from whom General Sikorski had received that list?

General ANDERS. From me.

Mr. FLOOD. Proceed.

General ANDERS. We were under the impression at that time that these men had been taken to camps in the far north and that most probably the larger number of these people are no longer alive, but

that it is possible that a portion of these men will be found. At General Sikorski's departure——

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. Now, that was the gist of the conversation at the meeting with Stalin on December 3?

General ANDERS. Yes, it was the gist. It was a long meeting and there were other things but I am not going into those at this time.

Mr. FLOOD. If you recall anything of interest, the committee is also interested in the attitude of Molotov and Stalin, their manner, attitude, conduct, and the atmosphere among the parties?

General ANDERS. During the moments when we made these specific enquiries regarding these missing Polish officers, they appeared very unclear. After General Sikorski's departure, we kept revising and improving and compiling more names to that list.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that now you have returned to your headquarters—where?

General ANDERS. To Buzuluk. After I escorted General Sikorski back to Teheran, I returned to Buzuluk.

Mr. FLOOD. And continued your directions to others in your command and your own efforts to discover the whereabouts of the missing officers?

General ANDERS. Yes, that is correct; and I also urged Ambassador Kot to continue his efforts from the diplomatic front to get some information of these missing officers.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you at some subsequent date, after December 3, attend any conference with Stalin on this same subject?

General ANDERS. I was at subsequent conferences with Stalin, and this came about when I was at Jengi-jul and I had already some 70,000 soldiers. At that time I received instructions and orders or I was advised by the Russians that they are reducing my rations to provide for only 26,000 men. The Russian food portions were extremely small—you had to feed not only 70,000 soldiers, but also 40,000 women and children, because you could not buy any rations in Russia. This, therefore, was an effort to starve out the entire group of Poles. I had sent two telegrams to Stalin on this matter.

Mr. FLOOD. What were the dates of the telegrams to Stalin?

General ANDERS. I do not recall the dates of those telegrams, but I have in my possession here the original reply from Stalin to my telegrams. I received that telegram on the 9th of March.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you tell us in your own words the substance of the first and second telegrams to Stalin?

General ANDERS. My telegram stated that the situation is impossible, that these people will starve, that this is not consistent with our agreement, and that I urge him to investigate this matter; and if this cannot be done, I am prepared personally to come to see him to explain and describe the situation.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you let me see the reply? [The witness handed the document to Mr. Flood.]

General ANDERS. Here is the original. Here is a translation.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you mark for identification as exhibit No. 51 this document which is the original reply from Stalin as well as the translation in English. (The document was accordingly marked by the stenographer.) General, I show you marked for identification exhibit 51 and ask you whether or not that is the original reply of Stalin to your telegrams as just described by you, as well as the translation in English?

General ANDERS. Yes, it is.

Mr. FLOOD. And do we understand that you will arrange as soon as possible that the committee may have photostatic copies of this document?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Pucinski, when received will you see that they are inserted as exhibit No. 51A. At this time we will ask the Investigator to read the English translation of the Stalin replies.

ORIGINAL RUSSIAN TELEGRAM MARKED AS EXHIBIT 51A

ТЕЛЕГРАММА	
Время приема	Особые отметки
ИЗ МОСКВЫ НР 2806 ТАШКЕНТ ИЖВЛ	
Кому, кому адресован	

ПРЕДУ НАРОЧНОМУ НЕПРЕДЕЛЬНО ПЕРЕСЛАТЬ В ЯНГН-ВНБ
ВОДОБОИНСКОМУ НИИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЮ ТЕЛЕГРАММУ ТОТАИИИ СТАЛИНА
НА ИИИ КОМАНДУЮЩЕГО ПОЛЬСКОЙ АРМИЕЙ ГЕНЕРАЛА АНДЕРСА
ДЛЯ НЕПРЕДЕЛЬНОГО ВРУЧЕНИЯ АРСЕАТУ

УЗБЕКСКОЙ ССР ГОР. ЯНГН-ВНБ КОМАНДУЮЩЕМУ
ПОЛЬСКОЙ АРМИИ В СССР ГЕНЕРАЛ-ЛЕНТЕНАНТУ АНДЕРСУ
ВРУЧИТЬ ВСЕ СЛОВА ТЕЛЕГРАММЫ О ПРОДОЛЖИТЕЛЬНОСТИ
ПОЛОЖЕНИИ ПОЛЬСКОЙ АРМИИ И РАСПОЯЖЕНИИ ГЕНЕРАЛА
ЛЕНТЕНАНТА ХРУЛЕВА. ИЗУЧИВ ВСЕ МАТЕРИАЛЫ, Я ПЕРВЕ
ЗНАЮ, ЧТО ПРОДОЛЖИТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ВОДОБЕЖИТЕЛЬНОСТИ
УСЛОЖНИЛОСЬ В СВОЕЙ О НАПАДЕНИИ ЯПОНИИ НА АНГЛИЮ И В
ВОИНА НА ДАЛЬНЕМ ВОСТОКЕ ПРИТЕЖИТЕ ТОМУ, ЧТО ЯПОНИИ
ОТКАЗЫВАЕТСЯ ПРОПУСКАТЬ ХЛЕБ В СССР НА АМЕРИКАНСКИ
ПАРОВОЗАХ, А НАС СОБСТВЕННОМУ ТОИНА ОГРАНИЧЕН. НИ АЗРА
ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗ СССР БОЛЕЕ ОДНОГО МИЛЛИОНА ТОНН ПШЕНИЦЫ
А ПОЛУЧАЕТ НЕБОЛЕЕ 100 ТЫСЯЧ ТОНН. ВКАУ ЭТОГО ПРИТЕЖИ
ПЕРЕСМОТРЕТЬ ПЛАН СПАВЛЕНИЯ АРМИИ В ПОЛЬЗУ
ВОИНИИ ИИИИИИ ЗА СЧЕТ АРМИИИИ НЕВОДОБЕЖИ

Передан: Принята:

СЕКРЕТНО

ТЕЛЕГРАММА

Время приема	Особые отметки	
	Откуда, число дня, № теле- граммы	
	Куда, кому адресована	

Я все же не могу не отметить добился того чтобы
сохранить внутреннюю угрозу, слабости польской армии в СССР
до 20 марта, после чего придется сообразить, доминировать
над польской армией до апреля, пере до 20 апреля.
Единственный способ, телеграфировать, чтобы
перенести в Москву, - в виду того, что выслать нас с
уверенностью, что мы не сможем, С. Т. А. Л. И. Н.

Вукава јави јед Јану. 1942
9. 12
1

Передан:

Принят:

(NOTE.—Translation follows:)

Mr. PUCINSKI (reading):

Translation from Russian from Moscow No. 2806 to Tashkent NKDV. Please send immediately by special courier to Jengi-jul to Wolkowyski, the following telegram: "From Comrade Stalin for General Anders, Commander of the Polish Army in U. S. S. R. to be immediately handed to the addressee." Then there is the word "Usibehshaya S. S. R. Jengi-yul. Message for Military General Anders, Commander Polish Army in U. S. S. R.: I received both of your telegrams concerning the food situation of the Polish Army and Lieutenant General Chrulev's decision. After having analyzed all materials I came to the conclusion, that the food situation of the Red army became complicated in connection with Japan's attack on England and the United States of America. The war in the Far East has caused that Japan refuses to let pass grain into U. S. S. R. on American ships and our own shipping tonnage is limited. We hoped to receive from United States of America more than 1 million tons of wheat and we received less than 100,000 tons. In view of the above, we had to reconsider the maintenance plan of the army, favoring the actually fighting divisions at the expense of nonfighting divisions. In spite of that I succeeded, though with great difficulties, to maintain the present level of supplies to the Polish Army in U. S. S. R. up to March 20, after which date it will be indispensable to curtail the quantity of rations for the Polish Army to a maximum of 30,000 rations. If you deem it purposeful, you can come to Moscow, I shall be ready to listen to you with pleasure. Respectfully yours, J. Stalin." Colonel Wolkowyski—the fulfillment of the above to be reported to me immediately—Fiedolof. This telegram was received at Jengi-jul on March 9, 1942, at 0720 hours.

Mr. FLOOD. As a result of these communications, I understand you had another meeting with Stalin?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did that meeting have anything to do with a discussion about the missing Polish officers, or was it concerned only with the question of food supplies?

General ANDERS. I raised both the point of the rations and also the question of the missing officers, and I have in my possession here the minutes prepared by General Okulincki. He was then Colonel Okulincki. He was my chief of staff.

Mr. FLOOD. First of all, tell us the date of this meeting you are now describing with Stalin?

General ANDERS. The 18th of March.

Mr. FLOOD. Where did it take place?

General ANDERS. At the Kremlin.

Mr. FLOOD. In the Kremlin at Moscow?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Who was present on the Russian side?

General ANDERS. On the Russian side, Stalin, Molotov, and a secretary.

Mr. FLOOD. And who was present for the Poles?

General ANDERS. I and Okulincki.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand you have at present in your possession minutes of that meeting; is that correct?

General ANDERS. I have the original minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Made by whom?

General ANDERS. By Colonel Okulincki.

Mr. FLOOD. May I see them? Will the stenographer mark this document as exhibit 52. (The document was marked accordingly.) General, I now show you, marked for identification "Exhibit 52," and ask you whether or not this document is the minutes of the meeting you have now described, with Stalin and the others present?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. And do I understand that you will provide for the committee a photostatic copy of those minutes with particular reference to that part of the minutes having to do with the missing officers only?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Will you now, as you best recall it and by referring to the minutes, tell us of the conversation with Stalin at that date having to do with the missing officers?

General ANDERS. I gave Stalin a new list which was a supplemental list to the original, and I informed him that none of the officers named on that list has as yet reported to me. Stalin to this replied, "Well, what good would they be to us? Why would we want to be keeping them or detaining them?" And here for the first time he told us a new version—that they must have fled and become separated when the Germans invaded Russia.

Mr. FLOOD. At this time and up until this time, General, in any of your conversations with any of the NKVD, with any of the Russian military or with Stalin or any of the diplomatic or civil leaders of Russia, in your requests for information about the missing Polish officers, had anybody at any time said they were German prisoners?

General ANDERS. Never. And this to us was one of the most disturbing factors, because we knew that the Bolsheviks had made very long and lengthy and complete lists of all of their prisoners; we knew that centralization has progressed so far there that everything is assembled eventually in Moscow. If you compare his first statement that possibly these men had fled to Manchuria with the theory that these men had been detained in prison camps which had become overrun by the Germans, the question then becomes apparent: Why were these men denied any correspondence? And the further question is, Why would these men have been concentrated in such large numbers when it is known that the Russians never concentrated such large numbers of any one nation. And why, if it is true that these men had escaped or fled during the German invasion, has not a single one of them reported either to his home in the homeland or to our forces.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, General. We are now on the conversation with Stalin again and talking about the officers. What new explanations did he have?

General ANDERS. Actually, none. He did not want to discuss this subject; they did not want to give us an answer on it.

Mr. FLOOD. Was that the result then of the conversations you are now describing with Stalin?

General ANDERS. Yes; essentially in brief form, that is it. Naturally they accepted our supplemental list, and assured us they would continue searching for these men.

Mr. FLOOD. At that time did you specifically mention to Stalin the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov?

General ANDERS. Yes; at this time I named the three camps, and I had previously mentioned the three camps in my note.

Mr. FLOOD. And as I understand it, General, up till this moment, despite the extensive search made by you and your colleagues of the London Polish Government, and despite all the sources of information coming to your headquarters, and that of the London Polish Government, of which you were advised, at no time and from no one was any

information obtained about any of the missing officers from Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov?

General ANDERS. That is correct. There was absolutely no information about these men.

[Translation copy of Exhibit 52]

MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN GENERAL ANDERS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, J. STALIN, AT THE KREMLIN ON MARCH THE 18TH, 1942

SUMMARY

At 5:30 p. m. punctually at the appointed time Lieut. Gen. W. Anders, O. C. Polish Forces in the U. S. S. R., accompanied by P. S. C. Colonel Okulicki was received by President Stalin in the presence of Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. W. Molotov and a stenographer.

After greetings had been exchanged.

STALIN. You have come to me to inquire why was the number of rations supplied to the Polish Army reduced. I shall tell you quite frankly why: You see—in October when Harriman and Beaverbrook were here we had agreed with America that they would supply us with 2,200,000 tons of wheat monthly. From this source we should have received by now a million tons of wheat and 1,800,000 tons till the end of July 1942. On this wheat we based the maintenance estimates of our army. The deliveries were to be made by American ships as our tonnage is limited. Well, what we received up till now—would make a cat weep. [Translator's note: idiomatic expression meaning practically nothing.] I don't blame anybody, but all that has reached us was barely 60,000 tons. The Japs let through our ships but the American ones which sail without a convoy are being sunk. They have already sunk four. The war with Japan has reshuffled the cards. The American tonnage can be written off as far as our supplies of bread are concerned. That is the reason why we had to revise [pieresmatret] completely the plans of maintenance of our army. We have been forced to form rear-guard units and territorial troops of which you can find proof on the spot. This had to be done in order to provide food for the front-line units which are fighting well. We have also greatly reduced our cavalry. That is why General Chruliew had ordered that you will receive rations for your full establishments only up till the 20th of March and from then only 40,000 rations. I would not like people to say that Soviet authorities do not keep their promises, but until conditions change, your army must be curtailed to three divisions plus one reserve regiment.

General ANDERS. I do understand all that and that is why I have come here. There must be some way out of this situation. After having received General Chruliew's cable, before your telegram had reached me, Mr. President, I did not mention the whole thing to anybody. After your cable was received I informed General Sikorski by whom I have been notified that 2,000,000 rations have been directed to me. The strength of our army amounts today to 75,000 to 78,000 men; I cannot allow those above your official figure to die of starvation. I see the following way out: Give us maintenance for full establishments until British food will reach us. I want to fly to London to discuss this matter. General Sikorski has agreed to it and wants me to be there as soon as possible. At this moment he's on his way to Washington where he will probably discuss the problem of the maintenance of our army in the U. S. S. R. I want to do something really good for Poland and I am trying to find the best possible solution. I hold that to disperse our military efforts would do no good and that is why I endeavor to create the strongest possible Polish Army on U. S. S. R. territory.

STALIN. The men who join your army, are they suitable? Are you pleased with them?

General ANDERS. Yes. On the average they are quite good as far as their morale is concerned. Physically they are exhausted but they swiftly recover. At the present moment we are suffering from an epidemic of typhoid fever. I count greatly on the element from the labor battalions and those from the Red Army. Most of them are young.

STALIN. And do you know what ravages typhoid fever is making in Poland? It should not happen here. We have enough soap and should be able to quench it. How many divisions have you organized?

General ANDERS. Six, but not all of them have full establishments; two are complete but the others will be ready soon—its only the question of the men reaching us because the skeleton regiments and the command framework are ready.

STALIN. Is that possible? What a pity that in present conditions you cannot have more than three divisions—one corps. If you manage to get help in maintenance from America it will be possible to expand.

General ANDERS. General Sikorski is flying to America. I'm sure he will do all he can to get that help.

STALIN. Deliveries of food are only possible through England. The Americans send their ships not in convoys. The Japanese sink them while the British ships sail in convoys and all arrive on schedule. I have raised this matter with Roosevelt but he never answered to my suggestions. If the British won't supply with their own means American deliveries might fail.

General ANDERS. That food I have mentioned already, the 2,000,000 rations promised by Sikorski, will arrive most certainly through Persia. I don't know the date yet. I am also sure that further deliveries will follow.

STALIN. In that case I will give you food for 40,000 men.

General ANDERS. What am I to do with the rest?

STALIN. Perhaps the rest can go to work on the kolchoz farms?

General ANDERS. That is out of the question. All Polish subjects capable of bearing arms should find themselves in the Polish Army. They know about your agreement with General Sikorski and about your promise, Mr. President. We cannot allow it because of the morale of the army. Besides, the kolchozes are also short of food and those remaining on them starve also.

STALIN. Hitherto the Polish troops had been feeding the civilian population from the rations they received. I do not think it to be wrong and I understand that the civilians must be helped somehow.

General ANDERS. I admit that this has in fact taken place; the Polish civilian population is in such a deplorable state that we have to aid her even at the cost of soldiery rations. The initiative to do so came from the soldiers themselves.

STALIN. One cannot allow to reduce soldiery rations; the more so if you receive a physically exhausted element.

General ANDERS. I have already issued orders forbidding it.

STALIN. I cannot do otherwise. You will receive 44,000 rations. This will be sufficient for three divisions and a reserve regiment. You will have plenty of time for organizing and training your army. We do not press you to go to the front. I quite understand that it will be much better to let you enter into action when we shall move closer to the Polish frontier. You should have the honor to cross it first and be the first to set foot upon Polish soil.

General ANDERS. In that case, if nothing else can be done, the rest should be transferred to Persia.

STALIN. I agree—44,000 of your soldiers will remain here and the rest will be evacuated. Can't be done otherwise. Others will say and go on saying that we cheated you. I know—not the soldiers, but, for example, your Kot says so to strangers, and others also say many unkind things about us. If it was not for the war with Japan the things we talk about now would have never arisen. We, Soviet people, have the custom of fulfilling the promises we make.

Colonel OKULICKI. And would not it be possible to supply us the food for the full establishments until we receive the food from the British? This should not last very long.

STALIN. Impossible. We haven't got the food. We cannot reduce the rations supplied to the front. The Germans have famished the country. We have now entered districts which were occupied for a long time and we absolutely cannot count on local supplies; every 1,000 tons of food is of the utmost importance to us and we, therefore, cannot give you more. I decide today, 44,000 rations.

General ANDERS. This is most painful.

STALIN. Can't be otherwise. Bielorrussia, to where the war has shifted now, has been gnawed to the bone by the Germans. The army must be given everything. An army which fights cannot starve. We cannot give you more than 44,000 rations.

General ANDERS. What can be done to transfer to Persia as quickly as possible all those for whom there is no food over here. This cannot be done in the next few days. They must be fed till the time of their departure.

MOLOTOV. How many men have you got?

General ANDERS. The last figures date from March the 8th; they showed 66,000; about a 1,000 to 1,500 arrive each day, which means that we should reckon

with 80,000 today. This figure increases with every day and will increase as much in the future. At the present moment the problem of a speedy evacuation to Persia should receive top priority. A transit base should be set up in Krasnowodsk, to which I have not received yet the consent, and maybe another one in Ashabad.

STALIN. How much food can the British supply to those evacuated?

General ANDERS. To start with 27,000 rations for 7 days subject to sending that food from Pahlewi to Krasnowodsk.

STALIN. Requests to be connected by the telephone with General Chrulev. Where are you located at present? Is there no malaria there?

General ANDERS. Just now there is an epidemic of typhoid fever. Malaria, diarrhea and enteric typhus take more time to break out. Preventive measures have been applied.

STALIN. What about equipment?

(General Anders hands over a list which Stalin studies with interest. General Chrulev rings. Stalin asks him how many rations the Poles receive. After Chrulev's answer Stalin returns to the table and says:)

STALIN. We prolong the supplying of rations for full establishments till the end of March. [Takes his seat.] Which division was armed first?

General ANDERS. The fifth infantry division was equipped first, but later on we divided the arms among all the units for training purposes.

(Molotov asks Anders for the numbers of the other divisions.)

STALIN. We changed the establishments of our divisions. We increased them and we strengthened their fire capacity. Instead of 16 guns they have now 20 and 12 howitzers. We increased the numerical strength of the companies. The total establishment of a division amounts now to 12,700. What guns did you receive?

(Colonel Okulicki hands over a list of arms, type 1939.)

STALIN. Very good arms. Range up to 14 kilometers. Can be used as anti-tank guns. [He looks through the list.] Didn't the second division receive any arms?

General ANDERS. No. In spite of numerous interventions ever since General Sikorski's visit we have received nothing, even though you promised it yourself.

STALIN. Indeed, we did promise you. The second division should be armed forthwith. We produce a lot—330,000 rifles a month and even that is not enough. [He studies the list of equipment once again.] Has the third division been already formed?

General ANDERS. Yes. There are four newly formed divisions practically ready. The organization of the skeleton and commands is complete. The establishments of these divisions are not in full strength, but they grow rapidly.

STALIN. Have these divisions their numbers?

General ANDERS. Yes. from 5 to 10.

MOLOTOV. How many divisions can you have out of the 44,000 men?

General ANDERS. I can't say that. It depends on the establishments. If we take the figure Mr. President quoted just now, it will make up 3 divisions and not much will be left for the reserve regiment and supplementary units.

STALIN. It should be enough for 3 divisions and the reserve regiment. Have you got any airforce units?

General ANDERS. Yes. They are grouped all together and for quite a time now ready to be evacuated.

STALIN. You want to evacuate them?

General ANDERS. According to the agreement with General Sikorski they were to be evacuated together with seamen and 25,000 others.

STALIN. Where will the airmen go?

General ANDERS. To England where they will have favorable conditions for training.

STALIN. By southern or northern route?

General ANDERS. By the southern route through Persia. They are ready for evacuation for a long time but in spite of persistent efforts we cannot get it started.

STALIN. Do we obstruct in any way the sending of your airmen to England?

General ANDERS. I do not know for what reason permission for their evacuation has not been granted till now but it does depend from you. They could have been sent already long ago.

STALIN. Why? Did you communicate in this matter with Panfilov?

General ANDERS. Yes; several times. It even was promised but nothing happened in spite of that. Lately I have been refused permission to set up a base in Krasnowodsk.

STALIN. The airmen will be evacuated. Narkomindiel will attend to it immediately." [He makes a note in his notebook.]

MOLOTOV. It will be done.

General ANDERS. To complete the formalities quickly your authorized representative should be attached to us on the spot otherwise the whole thing will drag on once again without bringing positive results.

STALIN. You are quite right. We shall send you such a man. I think General Zhukov would be the best. Where is Zhukov?

MOLOTOV. Here in Moscow.

STALIN. I thought he was supposed to be in the South.

General ANDERS. He was with me all the time but he returned to Moscow a few days ago. He cooperates with us from the very start and he will surely do all he can to help us.

STALIN. What more do you need?

General ANDERS. First and foremost is the problem of organizing the evacuation and therefore we need the base in Krasnowodsk so as to dispatch immediately those for whom we have no rations.

STALIN. Right. This will be done. What else?

General ANDERS. The next most urgent thing to do is to send drivers and the necessary personnel to take over the trucks and equipment which are already there.

STALIN. [Makes a note.] Anything else?

General ANDERS. I shall fix the technical details of the evacuation with General Zhukov. In view of the new situation which will result I ought to be as soon as possible in London and may I therefore ask for an aircraft which would take me to Cairo and perhaps also for a personal representative of yours who would accompany me—maybe someone authorized to organize A. P.'s.

STALIN. [Makes a note.] Why do you need a Russian to go with you? They will immediately say in London that we have sent a "guardian" from the CHEKA to spy on you. That is how they look at it from over there and you may have more worries than help because of him.

General ANDERS. I'm not afraid of that and anyhow the whole question of the evacuation, maintenance, etc., must be synchronized with the British General Staff.

STALIN. [Interrupting.] All right, but I still do not see of what use would a Russian be there.

General ANDERS. Not there, but on my journey back he could be of great help in Tehran if he will be empowered to make decisions.

STALIN. [Making a note.] Yes, the evacuation through Krasnodarsk may be insufficient. We could arrange it also from Ashabad over Meshed by a land route. [He goes to the map, looks for an atlas, requests another map.] Our troops will help you in that—they know the conditions existing there. [All of a sudden]—"I doubt whether the English will give you any arms at all".

General ANDERS. They already do. [He gives to Stalin a list of the first delivery of British arms.]

STALIN. [Takes the list, studies it, makes some notes.]

MOLOTOV. This comes over through Persia.

General ANDERS. Yes, this transport is already on its way and should arrive shortly. There is also some sanitary equipment, already in Persia, placed at my disposal to establish hospitals. Apart from that there are large stocks of armament equipment in Persia for the use of the Persian Army which could be easily shifted to us if you would give your consent to it.

STALIN. [Making a note.] I do not object to that but most of what they had there were rifles of which we have already taken some. [He asks Molotov.]

MOLOTOV. Yes, a 100,000 rifles.

General ANDERS. According to the informations I have there were from 250,000 to 300,000 rifles and further to that machine guns, antitank and antiaircraft guns. [He produces a list and wants to quote exact figures.]

STALIN. We did not take these and you may have them.

General ANDERS. All those arms are for German ammunition. You must also have captured a lot of German arms. Our soldiers are very well acquainted with such arms; they can be, therefore, temporarily used for training until the British arms arrive.

STALIN. [Making a note.] This is quite possible. [After a short silence he suddenly says:] A lot of Poles act as interpreters attached to German staffs.

General ANDERS. Every community and every nation has a certain number of worthless individuals. You have them also among you. [Stalin nods.] But no

conclusion should be drawn from this fact. We have a way of dealing with such people. [Stalin nods. A map is brought. Stalin studies it. All gather around him.]

STALIN. There is a route along the coast of the Caspian Sea which could be also used. [He points it out on the map.]

General ANDERS. I do not know this route, I only know about the one running through Meshed. [They return to their seats.] I would like to be in London in the first days of April, to be there when Sikorski returns from Washington. The matter is urgent.

STALIN. You want a plane for Cairo. [Makes a note] You'll get it. Is that all?

General ANDERS. Please return to the Polish Army all Poles from the labor battalions and from the Red Army in accordance with your promise, Mr. President.

STALIN. We can return them but they must be fed and you haven't the food for it.

General ANDERS. There's plenty of excellent, young, soldiery element among them. I'll retain the strongest within the frames of the 44,000 and I will evacuate the rest.

STALIN. [Makes a note.] All right. We will return them to you.

General ANDERS. Moreover, many of our people are still in prisons and labor camps. Only recently released prisoners are reporting all the time. So far not a single officer removed from Kozielsk, Starobielsk or Ostashkov has turned up. You certainly must have them. We have collected additional information about them. [He hands over the lists of names which are taken by Molotov.] Where can they be? We have traces which point to them being on the Kolyma River.

STALIN. I have already given all necessary orders that they are to be freed. They say they are even in Franz Joseph Land, but there is no one there. I do not know where they are. Why should we retain them? Perhaps they were in camps in territories which have been taken by the Germans and were dispersed.

Colonel OKULICKI. Impossible—we would have learned about it.

STALIN. We have detained only those Poles who were spying for the Germans. We even freed those who later on crossed over to the Germans as for example, Kozłowski.

General ANDERS. Kozłowski has been sentenced to death by a field court martial. I approved the verdict and it will be most certainly carried out, maybe even by our own men in the country.

STALIN. Where is Beck?

General ANDERS. Interned in Rumania.

STALIN. Well, the Germans will not hurt him, he is a friend of theirs. And where is Śmigły?

General ANDERS. According to informations which have reached us from the country he is in Warsaw allegedly very ill. He's got angina pectoris.

STALIN. He's hiding most surely.

General ANDERS. Of course.

STALIN. Well, Rydz-Śmigły is not a bad commander. In 1920 he did well in the Ukraine.

General ANDERS. Yes, but in this war as commander in chief he let the reins out of his hands already after a few days.

STALIN. The reason for your defeat was your lack of good intelligence service.

General ANDERS. That is not true—our intelligence was quite good, the informations were very correct but there was no one who knew how to make use of them. I was stationed before the outbreak of hostilities on the Prussian frontier and I knew in every detail what I had before me. I also knew very well about the German concentration in Slovakia.

STALIN. Well, yes. For you Poles the work of agents on German territories should not be very difficult. There are scores of Poles over there.

General ANDERS. Quite so. I, for example, was informed by the Mazurians inhabiting East Prussia.

STALIN. The Mazurians are still holding out. That is excellent.

General ANDERS. Yes, they still hold on and they will do so most certainly till the end. There is one more thing which General Sikorski instructed me to repeat to you, Mr. President, namely that enormous stocks of winter clothing which had been collected at the fall of winter all over the Reich, were burnt to the ground in Poznań. This should be a serious contribution to the cause of victory.

STALIN. That's not bad.

General ANDERS. General Sikorski was supposed to fly on the 15th of March to Washington; he requests from Churchill and Roosevelt the launching of a major operation on the western front. He claims that the formation of one division in 1942 is worth more than the raising of three in 1943. Everything on our part does prove of our friendly attitude towards the U. S. S. R.

STALIN. Hitler is a confirmed enemy of the Slavs. He's afraid of the Slavs. [Quite suddenly and casually.] Our airman Lewoniewski, a hero of the U. S. S. R., a magnificent character, obstinately and against advice pursued his aim. When he was killed we sent money to his mother. We would like to raise a monument to his memory in his birthplace.

Colonel OKULICKI. His brother, a very good airman of ours also got killed.

STALIN. Yes, I know about it.

General ANDERS. Hitherto the cavalry was the most important of arms. Especially our hussars who today have passed on their wings to the air force, and their armor to the tanks. But the spirit of the cavalymen has remained. The Slavs are especially talented for the air force. Your airmen, for example, are magnificent and our pilots hold first place in Great Britain.

STALIN. Yes, you are right. Everywhere the cavalry has a gallant spirit. Have you any other problems?

Colonel OKULICKI. There is very little time left for the evacuation. It would be best to direct it through the base in Krasnowodsk, but instructions should be dispatched forthwith otherwise the whole thing may be postponed and the food will come to an end on the 31st of March.

STALIN. Quite right. We must speed it up. I shall issue the appropriate orders.

General ANDERS. So as not to take up your time, Mr. President, I shall discuss the technical details with General Panfilov, if you empower him to deal with these matters.

STALIN. All right. Let Panfilov handle them.

General ANDERS. Will you allow me, Mr. President, to recapitulate our conversation. [Stalin nods his approval.] We can then rely that the whole surplus for whom there is no food will be quickly evacuated onto Persian territory.

STALIN. Yes.

General ANDERS. In connection with the evacuation and the reduced 44,000-strong army the recruitment will not be stopped and Poles from the labor battalions and from the Red Army will be released and directed to the Polish Army.

STALIN. Yes.

General ANDERS. We can count on the armament lying now on Persian territory. You have no objections to that. Can I announce that to General Sikorski and to the British?

STALIN. Yes; I have no objections.

General ANDERS. In connection with my journey to London I can count on a Soviet aircraft to take me there and back to Cairo?

STALIN. Yes; I will order that an aircraft be given to you but I am not going to send anyone with you; there are people among you who do not trust us—they would say that the Cheka is sending a supervisor.

General ANDERS. I am not concerned with the opinion of fools of whom there are plenty everywhere. Positive work is important. I thought that your representative might be of help in Tehran.

STALIN. There are not only average stupid people among yours who think so; lately the chairman of your National Council, Grabski wrote a very unpleasant article about us.

Colonel OKULICKI. Today, our hopes about forming here the strongest possible army which would fight its way through by the shortest route to Poland have been shattered.

STALIN. It's hard—but it can't be otherwise. If it was not for the Japanese, you could have done it—we keep our promises. Things have changed through no fault of ours.

General ANDERS. We want our thrust to be a strong one. Only then will it bear full fruit, not only among our soldiers but, most of all, in the country itself. Maybe it will be possible to organize part of them on Persian territory who, later on, together with those who will remain in the U. S. S. R., would go to the front.

STALIN. (Nods approvingly.) Then you will get rations same as all our front-line divisions do.

General ANDERS. We want to be the first to enter upon Polish soil; we know that that is our duty toward our country and that our brethren over there await us with impatience. At the present moment, following the decision you have

taken, Mr. President, the most important thing is the evacuation which should start as quickly as possible.

STALIN. Yes, indeed. I shall issue instructions to check the conditions of the rail and sea transport involved and the military conditions, after which I shall issue the appropriate orders. When will you fly off?

General ANDERS. I don't think I can manage tomorrow, I must talk things over with Panfilov, but I would like to start the day after tomorrow. I think that that is about all. (Stalin gets up and bids farewell. He shakes hands several times with the Polish C in c. Molotov also bids them farewell very warmly.)

STALIN. I wish you luck. (To a military bow he waves his hand in a friendly way.)

End of conversation at 7 p. m. The pace of the conversation very brisk, the whole atmosphere—friendly.

OKULICKI,
Colonel, Recorder.

Mr. FLOOD. Did you have any subsequent dealings with Stalin in which this particular subject was discussed?

General ANDERS. No. I did not have any further or subsequent conferences with Stalin, but the results of this conference with Stalin started the movement of the first evacuation of my troops from Russia into the Middle East.

Mr. FLOOD. Then, as I understand the situation at this point, General, you have now evacuated your troops out of Russia—a certain number of them—into Iraq, and ultimately into the Middle East, and eventually with the famous Second Corps under your command into combat in Italy. Now during all that period of time between the date of the last conversation you had with Stalin, and until you heard of the Katyn massacre as disclosed by the Germans, you continued your efforts in every way possible to find the missing officers?

General ANDERS. Yes. At this conference we decided on the first evacuation. I remained further in Russia, but the Russians at that time had completely cut off the flow of new people to our headquarters, to our camps. I had thousands of people who had already starved to death; there was no medicine; they did not give us any arms. We were in an impossible situation. Then I continued my efforts to evacuate my entire forces, and I received a message from the Russian Government—I do not have it here, but I do have the original—

Mr. FLOOD. Just a moment. What did that communication say?

General ANDERS. That the Russian Government, in deference to the efforts of General Anders, agrees to permit the evacuation of all the Poles to the Middle East.

Mr. FLOOD. And will you provide the committee, General, with a photostatic copy of that Russian communication to be inserted at this time in the record as exhibit No. 53?

General ANDERS. Yes.

[Translation from Russian]

For Immediate Delivery

From Moscow No. 2651/1224.

Rush. Governmental. Yngi-yul to the Commander of the Polish Army in the USSR, Lt. Gen. Anders.

The Government of the USSR agrees to grant the petition of the Commander of the Polish Army in the USSR, Lt. Gen. Anders, concerning the evacuation of the Polish units from the USSR to the Middle East Theater of Operations, and does not intend to set up any obstacles whatsoever to the immediate carrying out of the evacuation.

COMMISSIONER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE POLISH ARMY IN THE USSR, MAJOR OF STATE SECURITY.

CZUKOV.

The copy is correct. Deputy of the Chief Liaison Officer of the People's Commissariat of the Interior of the USSR, attached to the Polish Army.

[Stamp over the Signature makes it illegible],

Captain of State Security.

[Stamp (referred to above) of the Chief Liaison Officer of the People's Commissariat for the Interior of the USSR, attached to the Command of the Polish Army.]

Mr. MACHROWICZ. One question there, General. Do you remember who was the British liaison officer with the Polish troops at that time?

General ANDERS. Lieutenant Colonel Hulls.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he was the one who went with your troops to the Middle East?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That's all.

Mr. DONDERO. From the very time that you took charge of these officers and the army in Russia, General—from the time you began your negotiations with Stalin till this present hour—these missing Polish officers have never been heard from; is that correct?

General ANDERS. That is right.

Mr. DONDERO. None of them have ever returned alive?

General ANDERS. Not one of them.

Mr. FLOOD. Can we take you now to April of 1943, General, and ask you how you first heard of the Katyn matter?

General ANDERS. Through the Berlin radio on either the 12th or 13th April.

Mr. FLOOD. Where were you?

General ANDERS. I was in Iraq. We all listened to the broadcast.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There is one point I want to get before we go to 1943, General. Did you at any time have any meetings with Mr. Winston Churchill regarding these Polish troops?

General ANDERS. I discussed the matter with Mr. Churchill in Moscow in 1942, some time in August.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would it be about August 22?

General ANDERS. I do not recall the exact date.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was it in Cairo?

General ANDERS. In Cairo, yes; I think it was at the beginning of September.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In the conversation in Cairo, did you discuss with Mr. Churchill your anxiety about the failure of these Polish officers to be returned to you?

General ANDERS. Yes, naturally.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you ask his cooperation?

General ANDERS. I asked him for assistance, not only in the case of these officers, but also in improving the conditions of all the Poles in Russia, and particularly the children.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Could you very briefly recall what Mr. Churchill's answer to you was?

General ANDERS. Actually it was indecisive. He told me that conditions are very difficult at this time—"but if the opportunity arises, why, these questions will be taken up".

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Because of the shortage of time, General, I am going to ask you a direct question: you can answer it "Yes" or "No." Do you remember Mr. Churchill saying he would be the judge himself as to what could be done, and what would be the right moment for making the approach to Stalin?

General ANDERS. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Referring to your conference in August 1942, with Mr. Churchill, and to save time, I am just going to refer to the statements made in your own book, General, and I want you to record whether or not these statements are correct. You state in your book that Mr. Churchill told you that the reason why the officers were not returned was probably because the Russians were averse to letting them go for fear of lies being spread around about their treatment. Do you remember that statement?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That he thought it possible that the Russians were averse to letting them go for fear of the stories they might spread about their treatment?

General ANDERS. That was only part of the statement. It was part of their effort, because during 1939 and part of 1940 they had repeatedly attempted to convert these Polish officers to communism, and in some instances they succeeded—such, for example, as Berling—but in all those cases where they did not succeed in their attempt to convert them, they murdered the men because they realized they were all of them potential foes of Bolshevism.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Again referring to your own statement in the book, General, did Mr. Churchill at that time advise you not to be antagonistic to the Russians because no good could come of such action?

General ANDERS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your personal reaction, General, and what was the general reaction at your headquarters and among your troops and associates when you heard the German announcement from Katyn?

General ANDERS. There was not a single person in my group who did not believe and was not convinced that in this particular case the Germans for once have told the truth.

Mr. FLOOD. When you heard the Russian announcement 2 days later—as I suppose you did?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. What was your opinion then?

General ANDERS. Nobody believed it. The Russian announcement was of such a nature that it was self-evident that there was lie upon lie, and that the entire announcement lacked any logic.

Mr. FLOOD. General, because of your very distinguished career as a military leader of world repute; because of your past experience as an

officer in the Polish army in Russia; because of your many years of residence in Russia; because of your wide acquaintanceship and understanding of Russia and the Russians and the Communists and the Bolshevik section of the Communists; because of the information that you have been in a peculiar position to receive from all sources with respect to the Katyn massacre; in your opinion, as between the Germans and the Russians, who was responsible for the massacre of the Polish officers at the Katyn Forest?

General ANDERS. There is absolutely no question here. The 15,000 Polish officers from those three camps were unquestionably murdered by the Russians. We must remember that when the Russians were retreating under the heavy German advance, they absolutely did not leave any prisoners to fall into the hands of the Germans. They evacuated them through forced marches if necessary, and they shot any prisoners who could not retreat with the Russians during that advance. In many instances they murdered many prisoners in jails, in the prisons, when the Germans were advancing.

Mr. FLOOD. You are aware, General, that in the mass graves at the Katyn Forest were found only some 4,000 and so bodies?

General ANDERS. Yes, I know.

Mr. FLOOD. The records indicate that undoubtedly those were the missing Polish officers from the one camp at Kozielsk; you are aware of that?

General ANDERS. I understand that.

Mr. FLOOD. There are still thousands of missing officers from the camp at Starobielsk and Ostashkov that have not to date been accounted for, or, if they are dead, their bodies have not been discovered; you are aware of that?

General ANDERS. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Is it your opinion that the Russians have disposed of the missing Polish officers at Ostashkov and Starobielsk in some similar way to the manner in which the Russians disposed of the missing officers at Kozielsk?

General ANDERS. Yes. There is no doubt, no question, that in Russia there are many more similar Katyns.

Mr. FLOOD. I have this one final question, General: It has been suggested to the committee (and the committee is examining this possibility) that the massacre of these Polish officers at the three camps was not so much a military atrocity in time of war as it might be part of an over-all extensive conspiracy to remove the reserve officers corps and the intelligentsia and the leaders of the Polish Nation, committing what has come to be known as the crime of genocide. Do you have an opinion on that suggestion?

General ANDERS. I am deeply convinced that the murder of these 15,000 Polish soldiers is only a part of a deliberate and careful plan created over a period of many years toward the extermination of all the people who may oppose bolshevism. I am deeply convinced that what has happened at Katyn and other Katyns is the aim of the Bolsheviks throughout the world.

Mr. FLOOD. Do you have a final warning or a final message to the world, General, as a result of your opinion in this matter?

General ANDERS. I have for many years cautioned and warned the world to understand that bolshevism, whose chief aim is the

complete occupation of the world, will continue in its efforts to achieve that aim through all methods similar to Katyn.

Chairman MADDEN. General Anders, on behalf of the committee I want to thank you for coming here today and testifying. As you know, our committee has taken testimony in Washington and Chicago, and today and during this week in London. Next week we are going to Frankfurt, Germany. As you have probably been informed, General, we have issued an invitation, sometime back, to the Russian Government and to the Polish Communist Government to come before our committee and testify, and they have rejected our invitation.

I want to extend to you, and to the Polish folks here in London, our thanks for the cooperation we have received in holding our hearings this week here in London, and if there is anything further that you have to say to the committee, General, we will be glad to hear it; but if you have nothing to say further, the hearings in London will now be adjourned.

General ANDERS. I would like to say at this time, Mr. Chairman, that not only the Polish people, but the entire world should be thankful and grateful for the work being done by this committee, and particularly to you gentlemen, because this is a matter which concerns not only the Polish people, but one that concerns the whole world.

I would like to add one more observation, if I may. When I was in Italy, and the Nuremberg trials were being held, the defense attorney for Goering communicated with me. The defense attorney for Goering wrote me a letter asking me to testify in behalf of General Goering. This lawyers' name was Otto Stahmer. I replied to him that I cannot be a witness for Goering, but if the military tribunal will request my cooperation, I shall be happy to cooperate with them. I was not summoned by the international military tribunal.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. General, in the letter of Dr. Stahmer to you, he referred to the Katyn matter specifically; did he not?

General ANDERS. Yes; that is correct. He wanted me to testify as to my knowledge of Katyn, and that was the end of that. In 1949, when I published my book, which was translated into the English language, entitled "An Army in Exile," I sent a copy of this book, among others, to Mr. Jackson, who was the United States prosecutor at the Nuremberg international military tribunal; and in a letter written by himself to me, Mr. Jackson states that he has read my book, and that he never received from me my offer to appear before the military tribunal. I have here a copy of the original letter sent to me by Mr. Jackson.

Chairman MADDEN. The committee will now adjourn.

(Whereupon at 12:40 p. m. the committee was adjourned.)

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT 19

Confidential

POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS 1918-1943



Official Documents

Issued by the
POLISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON

By authority of the
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

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Introductory Note

THE POLISH nation's struggle for liberation from Russian rule lasted for one hundred and twenty-six years. It ended with the Treaty of Riga, signed on March 18, 1921, between Russia and the Ukraine on the one hand, and Poland on the other. Despite Poland's victorious defence in 1920 this treaty was based on a compromise. To establish a true peace in Eastern Europe and bring about complete understanding and good neighborly relations with Soviet Russia, Poland advanced no claims during the peace negotiations that might have been difficult of acceptance by the other party, and took no advantage of the defeat of the Soviet forces on the Vistula and the Niemen in 1920.

That the Treaty of Riga was a compromise, found official expression in the preamble which reads: "Poland on the one hand, Russia and the Ukraine on the other, being desirous of putting an end to the war, and of concluding . . . a final, lasting and honorable peace based on a mutual understanding, have decided to enter into negotiations . . ."

In their speeches after the signature of the Treaty of Riga, the Chairmen of the Polish and the Russian Delegations laid great stress on the peace being a compromise peace, based on mutual understanding, and not a peace imposed by force. Mr. Jan Dabski, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Polish Delegation, said:

"By common agreement we have traced the frontiers and have decided that neither party shall interfere in the

internal affairs of the other; we have granted every privilege to national minorities; we offer the greatest possible facilities for the choice of citizenship; we have come to an understanding on many complicated questions concerning economics and the settlement of accounts; we have laid the foundations for future relations both economic and political; we have endeavored to solve all questions in a fair and just manner; we have each made concessions, not only in order to reach agreement, but to render our future relations easier."

Replying to this speech Mr. Adolf Joffe, Chairman of the Russo-Ukrainian Delegation, an experienced diplomat who had previously negotiated the treaties with the Baltic States, spoke in similar terms:

"I have already experienced the importance to any peace negotiations of the atmosphere in which they are carried on. I should like to emphasize that although international conditions changed several times during the Polish and Russo-Ukrainian Peace Conference, the atmosphere in Riga was invariably one that favored the carrying out of negotiations and rendered it easier to reach a satisfactory conclusion."

The conciliatory character of the Treaty of Riga found expression in the practical solution of a number of complicated Polish-Soviet matters, first and foremost in the way frontier and territorial problems were settled. Poland's concessions in this field went very far indeed, it being her sincere desire that the Treaty should provide a basis for good neighborly relations between Poland and Soviet Russia, and not be merely a temporary armistice to be followed in the more or less distant future by retaliatory action or another war. Throughout the world war, the independence of Poland was the principal aim of the subjugated Polish nation, which was firmly resolved to regain its independence. This was recognized by the great Powers taking

part in the war. Already in 1916, the Central Powers adopted the principle of independence for Poland, which was taken up by Prince Lvov after the fall of the Czarist régime. It found its final and most realistic expression in the thirteenth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. At that time the Communist Party, struggling for power in the territories that formerly constituted the Russian Empire, also included in its programme the liberation of all subjugated and enslaved peoples after the world war.

On August 29, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic, under the chairmanship of Lenin, issued a Decree annulling forever all agreements and acts concluded by the former Russian Empire with the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire concerning the partitions of Poland, as being inconsistent with the principle of the self-determination of nations. This Decree, published on September 5, 1918, in No. 191 of the *Izvestia* and again on September 9 of the same year in No. 64 of the *Official Journal of Laws and Decrees* recognized the indisputable right of the Polish nation to be independent and united.

The repudiation by the Soviet Government of all the partition treaties and its formal notification to the Governments of Germany and Austria, constituted as far as Russia was concerned a legal and political return to the *status quo ante* of Polish-Russian territorial relations, that is to the frontier which existed before the first partition of Poland, in other words the frontier of 1772.

But the Polish Government never claimed this historical frontier of Poland, either during the Polish-Soviet war of 1918-1920, or in the course of the peace negotiations at Riga. Poland's territorial claims were exceedingly moderate and restricted to territories essential to safeguard her economic and strategic independence, to territories where Poles had lived for centuries in close harmony with other peoples, notably Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Jews, Lithuanians and Tartars, amongst

whom the Poles had always formed a numerical majority. Polish culture, based on the concept of individual liberty, always predominated and still predominates in those regions and in such centres as Lwów, Wilno, Nowogródek, Krzemieniec, Pińsk.

The Eastern frontier of Poland as agreed upon in the Treaty of Riga, left to Soviet Russia 120,000 square miles of land which belonged to Poland in 1772. According to Soviet statistics 1,500,000 Poles remained on that territory, the descendants of families who had lived there for centuries as farmers or craftsmen. These Poles were deeply attached to their traditions, faith and language, and had fought for more than 100 years against the policy of russification pursued by the Czars, who spared no pains to stamp out their nationality. The number of Russians on Polish territory did not exceed 150,000; they formed an alien element composed mostly of former Czarist officials and their descendants who, after the fall of the Russian Empire, preferred to remain in Poland rather than return to their own country, although they had the right to do so.

Finally the frontiers agreed upon in the Treaty of Riga were more favorable to Russia than those proposed by the Soviet Government in their declaration of December 22, 1919 concerning peace conditions, and by the Council of People's Commissars in their declaration of January 28, 1920. The latter gave unrestricted recognition to the independence and sovereignty of Poland and formally defined an armistice line which the Soviet forces would not cross. It added: "There is not a single question, territorial, economic or other, that could not be solved in a peaceful way through negotiation, mutual compromise or agreement." However it left no doubt that the armistice line proposed by the Soviet Government was regarded by it as the future frontier between Poland and Soviet Russia.

In its North-Eastern sector this line runs from 60 to 90 miles and in its South-Eastern sector from 30 to 50 miles to the East of the frontier established by the Treaty of Riga.

That the Polish-Soviet frontier was settled in a spirit of mutual agreement and conciliation is plain from Article III of the Treaty of Riga, which reads: "Russia and the Ukraine abandon all rights and claims to the territories situated to the West of the frontier laid down by Article II of the present Treaty. Poland, on the other hand, abandons in favor of the Ukraine and White-Ruthenia all rights and claims to the territory situated to the East of this frontier . . ."

From the moment the Treaty of Riga was signed until Germany attacked Poland on September 1, 1939, no territorial claim was ever made against Poland by Soviet Russia. On the contrary, the Soviet Government repeatedly declared that the Treaty of Riga, including Article III, constituted the foundation of mutual relations between the two countries. From 1921 to 1939 those relations developed normally and were gradually extended and improved. Thus, during the years that followed the signing of the peace treaty, a number of conventions were concluded in a spirit of good neighborhood. Railway, postal, consular and passport conventions were signed, as well as a number of commercial agreements. Various other agreements of a political nature were concluded with the object of strengthening the peace ties between the two countries, and maintaining peace in Central-Eastern Europe. On February 9, 1929, a Protocol was signed repudiating war as an instrument of national policy; on July 25, 1932, a Pact of Non-Aggression; on July 3, 1933, a Convention for the Definition of Aggression; on May 5, 1934, the validity of the Pact of Non-Aggression was extended until December 31, 1945. Both the Protocol of 1929 and the Convention for the Definition of Aggression were of multilateral character and signed not only by Soviet Russia and Poland but also by Russia's other neighbors, notably by the Baltic States and Rumania. Finally, on November 26, 1938, a joint Polish-Soviet declaration was issued to the effect that relations between the two States would continue to function with the fullest respect for

all agreements and treaties concluded by both parties and that commercial relations were to be extended. On the strength of this Protocol, a commercial treaty was signed on February 19, 1939.

On September 17, 1939, while the Poles were resisting the overwhelming onslaught of the German army, the Government of the U.S.S.R. unexpectedly declared that the Polish State had ceased to exist and, without declaring war on Poland, ordered the Soviet army to enter Polish territory, on the pretext of taking "under their protection the lives and property" of the Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian population. A deliberate violation of the Polish-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression.*

One result of the joint Soviet-German action against Poland was the treaty concluded on September 28, 1939 between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Reich in which both contracting Parties implied that the Polish State was non-existent, by using the expression "former Polish State." They partitioned Poland's territory, recognized as final the frontiers drawn by them to suit their mutual interests, and declared that they would resist any interference by other Powers.

In a communiqué issued in Kutu, on Polish territory, on September 17, 1939, the Polish Government solemnly protested against the unilateral violation by Soviet Russia of the non-aggression Pact, against the entry of Soviet troops into Polish territory and against the motives advanced by the Soviet Government to justify its action. Subsequently similar protests were made by the Polish Government, forced to leave Polish terri-

* There is a striking analogy between the arguments employed by Catherine the Great who justified the partition of Poland in the XVIIIth century as necessary for the protection of followers of the Greek-Orthodox Church in Poland, and those employed by the Soviet Government which, although it condemned in 1918 the criminal policy of the Czarist governments regarding Poland and annulled the partitioning treaties, 21 years later endeavored to justify its action against Poland in the eyes of the world by putting forward a pretext similar to that used by the Empress of Russia.

tory by the advance of the Soviet forces, against the Soviet-German agreement of September 28, 1939; the cession of Polish territory to Lithuania by an agreement signed on October 10, 1939; and against various Soviet regulations introduced in occupied Poland for a census of the population, the forcing of Soviet citizenship on Polish citizens, elections to so-called national assemblies, conscription of Polish citizens for service in the Soviet army, all flagrant breaches of the general principles of international law, and specifically of the provisions of the IVth Hague Convention of 1907.

The Soviet Government must have been aware of the negative value of such an arbitrary extinction of a nation of 35,000,000 inhabitants, whose Government was fighting side by side with the Allies,—an act of violence against a nation which had a legal Government recognized by all world Powers except the Axis.

So now the Soviet Government seeks a new argument: the “freely expressed will of the people” to justify the incorporation of Polish territory in the Soviet Union. This has been extensively used in the Soviet press and set out in official notes to the Polish Government.

It is therefore necessary to throw light on the circumstances in which the people of Poland’s eastern territories occupied by the Soviet troops “expressed their free will.”

To provide an *ex-post facto* excuse and some semblance of justification in international law for the stipulations of the Soviet-German agreement, General Timoshenko, commander-in-chief on the Ukrainian front, and the members of the Soviet Military Council of the Ukraine, announced on October 6, 1939, *i.e.* eight days after the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement, “the date of elections to the National Assembly” and the “date of the convocation of the National Assembly of the Western Ukraine.”

Pressed as it was for some legal excuse to justify in the eyes of the world the partition of Polish territory by Germany and the

U.S.S.R., the Soviet Government did not at first realize that the decrees of the military authorities of occupation, being of a strictly political character, — exceeded the limits of their authority and were *ultra vires* in international law. When this was discovered, the search for a suitable legal excuse was renewed and it was finally decided to make it appear that the initiative for the elections emanated from the local population and not from the military authorities of occupation.

On October 11, 1939, *i.e.* four days after the promulgation of the "Decision of the Military Council of the Ukrainian Front on the date of elections to the National Assembly" and "the date of the convocation of the National Assembly of Western Ukraine," the official organ of the Soviet Government, *Izvestia*, published a despatch of the Soviet Press Agency Tass dated October 10. It reported that "the Temporary Administration of the City of Lwów had issued a proclamation to the people of the Western Ukraine calling upon them to elect a People's Assembly of the Western Ukraine by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, to decide the problem of the existence of the Western Ukraine as a State." On the following day the "Temporary Administration" of the city of Bialystok was also reported to have made exactly the same announcement to the people of Western White-Ruthenia.

Before any attempt to decide whether the proclamations of the "Temporary Administrations" of both cities, as reported by Tass, were a real expression of local public opinion, it must be stated that as soon as they had occupied Eastern Poland the Soviet authorities removed all members of the State and local government administrations from office, placed most of them under arrest and appointed so-called "temporary administrations" in their place, all in violation of the Hague Conventions. Contemporaneous reports published in the Soviet press show that these "temporary administrations" were in the majority composed of Red Army officers appointed by the military authorities, of

Soviet officials accompanied for the sake of appearances by so-called "representatives of the local working class,"—not selected by that class but appointed by the Soviet military authorities.

The Soviets were also well represented on the two committees set up in Lwów and Bialystok "for the organisation and conduct of the elections." According to a Tass communiqué, these committees approached the Presidiums of the Supreme Councils of the Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republics with a request for delegates to these bodies. In response the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic sent as its representatives to the Lwów committee M. S. Gretchuha, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and A. E. Korneychuk, then member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, later appointed Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in February, 1944, appointed Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the White-Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic was represented on the Bialystok committee by N. J. Natalevitsh—chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the White-Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic, N. G. Grekhova, chairman of the Supreme Council of the White-Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic, and L. P. Pankov.

In the "Election Procedure" published on October 7, with no indication whatever of the authority responsible for its issue, the date of the election was fixed as October 22. Thus the whole election procedure, *i.e.*: the compilation of a list of voters in a war-torn country where part of the population had been mobilized and large-scale migrations had taken place,—the checking of this list and dealing with complaints of persons not included as voters, the organization of 11,967 electoral zones and 2,424 constituencies, the choice of candidates, the printing of election ballots, etc., etc. — was all accomplished in a fortnight, while in

peacetime any European country, where the political organization already exists, normally requires from six to eight weeks to prepare for an election. Yet despite the short time available, 96.71% of the total electorate was said by the Soviets to have voted in the election to the Assembly in Lwów, and 92.83% to the Assembly in Bialystok.

According also to Soviet sources, a total of 2,411 persons were elected to the two Assemblies, votes from thirteen constituencies not having been returned. As the number of candidates equalled the number of persons to be elected, the voter had no choice between several candidates and was obliged to vote for a single candidate officially accepted by the election committee.

Furthermore the names of all the persons elected were never made public by the Soviet authorities, so it has been impossible to ascertain how many of the "local citizens" elected were Polish and how many were Soviet citizens.

Despite the physical impossibility of compiling electoral lists in two weeks, the Polish Government is in possession of proof that Soviet citizens organized the elections, sat on all election committees and voted in the election. As a matter of fact Soviet citizens were actually elected to the National Assemblies in Lwów and Bialystok, as reported by the Soviet press.

On October 15, 1939, No. 286 of *Pravda* reported that among candidates for the National Assembly of Western White-Ruthenia were the following: Ponomarenko, a member of the Military Council of the White-Ruthenian Front, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of White-Ruthenia; General Kovalev, C.-in-C. on the White-Ruthenian front, and Gaysin, chairman of the Temporary Administration of Bialystok. The same paper on October 19, 1939, announced that in constituency No. IV, that is in Krzemieniec, the following were candidates to the Lwów Assembly: V. Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and

K. Voroshilov, Marshal of the U.S.S.R. A Tass dispatch published on October 16, 1939, in the *Soviet Voice* reported that in a Grodno constituency, one of the candidates to the Bialystok Assembly was a woman, N. G. Grekhova, chairman of the Supreme Council of the White-Ruthenian S.S.R., and, as has already been said, delegate of White-Ruthenia to the Election Committee.

The above facts, emanating from Soviet sources, show the conditions under which the elections to the Lwów and Bialystok National Assemblies took place. They were carried out under the eyes of 700,000 Soviet troops who—as the Soviet press pointed out—took an active part in canvassing voters. Disregarding the illegality of this procedure in the light of international law, and in particular the flagrant violation of the IVth Hague Convention of 1907, this is further proof that these elections were not “a free expression of the will of the people” as the Soviet Government would have public opinion believe. For these reasons the resolutions for the incorporation of the Eastern Polish territories in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as passed by the National Assemblies in Lwów on October 27, and in Bialystok on October 29, are null and void.

Since Germany's attack upon the Soviet Union in June, 1941, Soviet politicians and the Soviet press have frequently pointed out that the entry of Soviet troops into Polish territory on September 17, 1939 was an act of self-defence on the part of the Soviet Government, since it resulted in the German army establishing positions at a fairly considerable distance from the Soviet frontiers. Thus a sort of foreground was created for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which it was alleged would greatly facilitate fighting conditions for its troops, who would now be operating outside their own territory. This “foreground” thesis ultimately gave birth to the claim that to eliminate any danger from the West the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics must possess strategic frontiers and that such “security frontiers”

should follow a line considerably west of the Polish-Soviet frontier agreed upon in the Treaty of Riga.

These "foreground" and "strategic frontier" theories, intended to guarantee the security of the Soviet Union, were disproved entirely by the Russo-German campaign. Although very substantial Soviet forces and vast quantities of war material were massed in the occupied Polish territories, Soviet resistance in this area lasted but a few days and the Soviet army sustained serious losses in killed and prisoners.

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the initiative for the re-establishment of relations came from the Polish Government on whose behalf the Prime Minister, General Sikorski, declared in a speech on June 23, that the Polish Government and nation were ready to forget the recent past and the injuries inflicted by the Soviets on Poland when the latter was engaged in a deadly struggle with the German armies. By this conciliatory move Poland contributed to the establishment and maintenance of a common front of all the nations united in the struggle against Germany, and thus helped to frustrate German efforts to represent the Soviet-German war as a war in defence of European culture and civilization threatened by communism.

The Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, concluded in London through the good offices of the British Government, restored diplomatic relations between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which had been broken off by the Soviets when their forces entered Polish territory on September 17, 1939.

Even before this Agreement between Poland and the U.S.S.R. was signed and political as well as military collaboration established, Soviet forces were hurriedly evacuating the Eastern territories of Poland under pressure of the German onslaught. The Polish-Soviet Agreement provided for friendly collaboration of the two States during the war, and for their political rela-

tions after the war. The Soviet Government recognized the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 concerning the partition of Poland as having lost their validity; the two Governments mutually agreed to render one another aid and support of all kind in the war, and furthermore the Soviet Government

- 1) undertook to release from prison and labor camps all Polish citizens, military and civilian,
- 2) agreed to the formation of a Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

As virtually the whole of Polish territory was in German hands when the Treaty was signed, the only stipulations of the Agreement that could be put into effect were (a) those affecting the masses of Polish citizens deported from Poland to the U.S.S.R., Polish prisoners of war and such Polish citizens as had been conscripted for service in the Red Army during the occupation; and (b) the formation of a Polish Army in Russia.

The Polish Government attached the greatest importance to a satisfactory settlement of these matters, to which the Prime Minister, General Sikorski, gave special prominence in the negotiations preceding the signature of the Agreement of July 30, 1941. The Polish Government also showed the utmost good will in facilitating the execution by the Soviet Government of the obligations it had undertaken. In spite of the war, the Soviet Government had it within its power to fulfill its obligations if it had sincerely desired to do so.

* * *

The present publication is divided into two parts. The first contains six chapters dealing in detail with various aspects of Polish-Soviet relations after September 17, 1939. The second part comprises official documents, many of which have never yet been published, arranged in eleven chapters and covering all issues of importance that have arisen between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the quarter of a century from 1918 to 1943.

Part I

CHAPTER 1

Mass Deportations from Poland by the Soviet Authorities

Soviet Forces entered Polish territory on September 17, 1939, and soon afterwards a Soviet administration was set up in the occupied districts. Its first and perhaps most important object was to deprive of their freedom such Polish citizens as the Soviet authorities looked upon with suspicion. A considerable number of persons were arrested during the first weeks, especially just before the elections to the so-called "National Assemblies" in Lwów and Białystok, which took place on October 22, 1939. Those arrested were principally social workers and politicians of all shades of opinion, including the Left; civil servants and local-government officials, especially judges, attorneys and policemen; university professors, priests, businessmen and farmers. Relatively few of them were deported at once, except members of the Polish armed forces, demobilized officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks. In this initial period deportation occurred in the form of the forced recruiting of more than 30,000 men of the working class who were sent to the industrial establishments and mines in the Donetz Basin.

Mass-deportation of Polish citizens began on the night of February 8, 1940, and continued until the Autumn of that year.

It involved both the urban and rural population throughout the entire area occupied by the Soviets. In February, farm settlers, private and state forestry employees and members of the police force were chiefly affected. Not only men but also their wives and children were deported. The Polish Government is in possession of proof that during February 1940 alone, 70,000 persons from the three provinces of South-Eastern Poland and 30,000 persons from the province of Wilno were deported to Russia.

From some villages all the inhabitants without exception were deported, whether Poles or Ukrainians. This occurred for instance in Strzalkowice, Biskupice, Wojszyce and Nadyma in the district of Sambor, Grzymalów and on the Rumanian border. Persons already imprisoned were deported as well as social workers, judges, public prosecutors, and local-government officials, who had so far been left at liberty. Between March 4 and March 6 there passed through the station of Baranowicze alone ten train-loads of these unhappy beings, torn from their homes and hearths to face an unknown and tragic future.

Again in April, the Soviet authorities organized mass-deportations from the entire territory. On this occasion the principal victims were families of persons who had gone abroad or were missing, of Polish prisoners of war in Germany and of soldiers, policemen, officers, workers, members of the educated classes, farmers and tradesmen previously imprisoned or deported. Former deportations had mainly affected Poles, but this time a number of Jews, Ukrainians and White-Ruthenians were also included. Although inhabitants of the towns were principally affected, the rural population was also involved in the persons of small farmers and laborers from confiscated estates. From Lwów and its neighborhood some 30,000 were deported, from Drohobycz 5,000, from Boryslaw 2,000, from Stanisławów 4,000. Large numbers were also deported from the city of Pinsk, from the whole of Polesie and from the district of Braslaw. Seven hundred families were deported from

Lida. In addition to the mass-deportations carried out in April, the Soviet authorities continued to arrest large numbers of the inhabitants of the territories under their occupation. In Lwów alone, some 25,000 persons were arrested in four days, from April 12 to April 15.

In May, the number of deportations was smaller than in the preceding months, and affected the North-Eastern regions, in particular the Bialystok, Lida and Grodno districts. Besides Poles and Jews, considerable numbers of White-Ruthenians were deported. During this period 250 high school boys were deported without their families from Drohobycz in the South-East.

In June and July 1940, a fresh wave of large-scale deportations took place throughout the entire territory under Soviet occupation. In addition to permanent residents, war refugees from other parts of Poland, who had sought shelter in the Eastern provinces, were also taken. The Soviet authorities had already carried out a registration of these persons and now deported 85,000 of them from Lwów and its neighborhood, other thousands from Volhynia and, following its reoccupation by the Soviet armies, further thousands from the city and district of Wilno. Here a very considerable number of small merchants, professional men and women, intellectuals and teachers were deported.

The fourth and last wave of deportations occurred just before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. It affected chiefly political prisoners and what social workers and educated persons had remained free, as well as children from summer camps and orphanages. Many train-loads of deportees left Wilno, Bialystok, Lomza, Czortków, Lwów and other stations throughout the entire occupied area. Eight hundred prisoners were driven on foot from Wilejka to Borysów. When so exhausted that they could no longer walk, they were shot by the Soviet military escort. Three hundred of them thus met their death.

To sum up, persons affected by the four mass-deportations may be classified as follows:

I. February 1940: From towns: civil servants, local government officials, judges, members of the police force; from the country: the forestry service, settlers and small farmers—Polish, Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian (several entire villages were thus bereft of their population).

II. April 1940: Families of persons previously arrested, families of those who had gone abroad or were missing, tradesmen (mostly Jews), farm laborers from confiscated estates and more small farmers of the three nationalities.

III. June 1940: Virtually all Polish citizens from Central and Western Poland who had sought refuge in Eastern Poland from the horrors of the German invasion; mostly Jews, small merchants, professional men and women, intellectuals, teachers, etc.

IV. June 1941: All of the above mentioned groups who had so far evaded deportation; prisoners; children from summer camps and orphanages.

Deportations ceased with the German attack on the Soviet Union, but that further deportations on a vast scale were contemplated is apparent from an article in the Russian daily *Sovietskaya Ukraina* No. 69 of March 23, 1941, which stated that the plan for deporting agricultural laborers from South-Eastern Poland to the interior of the Soviet Union would be carried out on a larger scale in 1941 than in 1940. Deportations were planned to the districts of Khabarovsk, Altay, Chelabinsk, Novosibirsk and Omsk in Siberia, and to the Yakut, Kirghiz and Kazakh Republics.

It is thus evident that deportation plans for 1941 had been carefully prepared. They were only frustrated by the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, and not by any change in the policy of the Soviet authorities towards the population of the occupied territories.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of people deported, but it undoubtedly exceeded 1,000,000, or more than 7 or 8% of the total population of that part of Poland occupied by the Soviet armies. Of those deported 50% were Poles. Deportation figures for the various Polish regions are estimated approximately:

- 1) from the provinces of Bialystok, Lida, Grodno and Wilno, more than 300,000 persons;
- 2) from Polesie and the province of Nowogródek, more than 200,000 persons;
- 3) from Volhynia, about 150,000 persons;
- 4) from South-Eastern Poland, about 400,000 persons.

Deportations were carried out under extremely drastic conditions. The victims were rounded up at night and allowed only one hour to collect such baggage as they could carry themselves. Transportation was usually in unheated freight cars crowded without regard to the number they could reasonably accommodate. In these circumstances many of the weak and ailing, especially children, died in the cars of exposure and starvation. Their bodies were removed from time to time by Soviet guards, either while the trains were standing in stations, or were simply thrown out on to the track, en route. When at long last the deportees reached their destination, some were placed in prisons, others in labor camps, the remainder in settlements that afforded them neither shelter nor work, or else on collective farms (kolkhozes) where they were housed in abandoned cabins with no stoves, no windows and no floors, or simply in sheds or stables, and compelled to labor long hours in return for most inadequate food. These people, torn from their homes, insufficiently clad, unaccustomed to the severe Russian climate, and forced to perform heavy work irrespective of their qualifications or education—died in vast numbers. The Polish Government has proof that the death-rate among the deportees and in particular among the children and the young amounted to at least 20%.

CHAPTER 2

Release of Polish Deportees in the U.S.S.R.

By the Protocol attached to the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Soviet Government undertook to "grant amnesty to all Polish citizens who are at present deprived of their freedom on the territory of the U.S.S.R. either as prisoners of war or on other adequate grounds." The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics complied with this obligation by issuing a formal Amnesty Decree on August 12, 1941.

Both the international obligation contained in the above Protocol, and the Soviet Decree of August 12, 1941, were of a general and unconditional character. They granted freedom to all Polish citizens deprived of their liberty by the Soviet authorities, the only requirement for the release of any given person being that the person in question was a Polish citizen, irrespective of the reasons for which such person had been deprived of his or her freedom. The Soviet Government acknowledged the general character of the amnesty and in a conversation with the Polish Ambassador on November 14, 1941, Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., declared that the amnesty granted to Polish citizens extended to all without exception.

The liberation of Polish citizens from prisons, labor camps and exile was begun at the end of August 1941. However, those who were then set free immediately drew the attention of the Polish Embassy in Moscow to the fact that the Soviet authorities were still detaining many Polish citizens in various camps and

prisons. In view of this and of the necessity to set up a suitable relief organization, the Polish Embassy asked the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs early in September 1941, to furnish a list of all Polish citizens still detained by the Soviet authorities, and to inform the Embassy each time a person was released. This request was renewed in conversations that the Polish Ambassador, Professor Kot, had with Mr. Vishinsky, the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on September 20, October 7 and October 14, 1941. Despite a definite promise that this list would be furnished and reiterated requests, although Commissar Vishinsky assured the Polish Ambassador on November 2, 1941, that the Soviet authorities possessed lists of all Polish citizens, whether dead or alive, who had been deprived of their freedom, the Polish Embassy never received any such list.

In a Note of October 13, 1941, addressed to Commissar Vishinsky, the Polish Ambassador pointed out that Polish citizens, a list of whom was appended to the Note, were not being set free from the camps and prisons. Speaking to Commissar Vishinsky on November 12, 1941, Ambassador Kot returned to this subject and again received the reply that if for technical reasons certain persons could not be immediately located it might be advisable for the Embassy to supply lists of missing persons to be located and set free in the first instance. Such lists, containing the names of hundreds of prominent scientists, politicians, civil servants, judges and lawyers, priests and rabbis, social workers, artists, writers, journalists, whom the Polish authorities knew had been deported to the Soviet Union — were presented in vain to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on various occasions in September, October and November, 1941.

As the Polish Embassy in Moscow was never given this information concerning citizens detained or liberated, it was compelled to undertake the difficult task of collecting from those already released information about Polish citizens still deprived

of their freedom. On the basis of data thus obtained the Polish Embassy sent several Notes to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, giving the surnames and christian names of Polish citizens still under detention, the names of the camps or prisons in which they were detained and in some cases even the exact cell or hut within the prison or camp itself. During the first six months of 1942, the Polish Embassy intervened in this way in respect of 4,514 Polish citizens, but received replies in respect of only 1,547 persons, of whom, according to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, 1,026 had already been set at liberty, although the date and place of their release were not indicated; 196 could not be traced and 325 were still detained. This last group included 286 Polish citizens mostly with Jewish names, whom the Soviet authorities claimed as their own citizens, refusing to acknowledge the Polish Embassy's right to intervene on their behalf.

Including interventions in individual cases in 1941, the Embassy approached the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in respect of 5,500 Polish civilians still detained. This figure does not include any of the 8,000 officers taken by the Soviet authorities in the Spring of 1940 to an unknown destination from the prisoners of war camps in Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov. The Embassy knew the names of 65 camps and prisons on Soviet territory, besides groups of camps and centres where Polish citizens were still detained. At a most conservative estimate, the number of Polish citizens deprived of their freedom and known to the Polish authorities by name, did not exceed 5% of the total number of Polish citizens detained.

The Soviet Government's unwillingness to execute the provisions of the Protocol attached to the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and of the Amnesty Decree, found expression as early as November 8, 1941, in a note in which Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, informed the Polish Government that all Polish citizens who had been detained by the

Soviet authorities as prisoners of war or on other adequate grounds had now been released in conformity with the Amnesty Decree. However, in later notes, sent in reply to Polish Embassy interventions, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs announced the liberation of a further number of Polish citizens in November and December 1941, and in January, February and March, 1942. Thus, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs officially disproved the statement contained in Mr. Molotov's Note of November 8, 1941.

However, even as late as 1943, Polish citizens are known to have been released from prisons and camps. The Polish Government has indisputable proof of this in the form of certificates issued by the Soviet authorities to the persons released.

Having failed to reach an understanding on the subject of a quicker and more complete execution by the Soviet authorities of the Protocol attached to the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and of the Amnesty Decree of August 12, 1941, the Polish Embassy on May 19, 1942, summarized the results of its interventions in a Memorandum presented to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, emphasizing the failure of the Soviet Government to carry out their obligations in this matter. Besides arguments of a general nature, the Memorandum referred by name to 39 representatives of Polish learning and culture, 36 former senators, members of the Diet and prominent local government officials, and 84 high officials of the civil service and of the judiciary—who had not been set free by the Soviet authorities, and about whom these authorities had failed to supply any information whatever. The reply of the Soviet authorities, received on July 10, 1942, was purely formal and did not give the problem the attention it deserved. It threw no light upon the fate of any of those whose release the Polish authorities had so frequently demanded. In this memorandum of July 10, the Soviet authorities for the first time referred to the death in Soviet prisons and camps of some of the persons the Embassy was endeavoring to locate.

CHAPTER 3

Polish Army in the U.S.S.R.

When the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, was signed and after the conclusion of the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, the Polish Government hoped to form in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a Polish Army of about 300,000 men.

This was based on the following facts:

1) According to figures published in the newspaper *Red Star* on September 17, 1940, there were 181,000 Polish soldiers in Soviet prisoner-of-war camps, including 12 generals, 58 colonels, 72 lieutenant-colonels, 5,131 regular officers and 4,096 reserve officers.

2) About 100,000 Polish citizens of the 1917, 1918 and 1919 classes, conscripted for the Red Army by the Soviet Government in the Spring of 1941, were serving with the Soviet Forces.

3) The Military Agreement provided not only for voluntary enlistment in the Polish Army, but also for conscription of Polish citizens deported to the U.S.S.R. This was to be carried out by Polish draft boards with the participation of Soviet authorities (Article 6 of the Military Agreement) and the numerical strength of the Polish Army was to depend solely on the manpower and supplies available (Article 4 of the Military Agreement).

When in August, 1941, the Soviet authorities began to discharge Polish officers and other ranks from prisoner-of-war camps, these men reported en masse to the Polish Army, then in the process of formation. The influx of volunteers, despite transport difficulties due to the vast distances in the U.S.S.R. and to the war, was so great, that before the end of October 1941 the number of officers and other ranks exceeded 46,000. Nevertheless as early as November 6, Major General Panfilov, in the name of the Supreme Command of the Red Army, informed General Wladyslaw Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that the Soviet Government contemplated the supply of equipment and food rations for only 30,000 men, and that therefore all soldiers in excess of that number must be discharged. An identical declaration was presented to Ambassador Kot by Commissar Molotov.

Although Premier Stalin told Ambassador Kot on November 14, 1941, that the Soviet Military Authorities had no right to take such a decision, it remains an indisputable fact that the Polish Army in process of formation received a severe blow by the reduction of its food rations, which not only forced the Polish Military Authorities to stop voluntary enlistment for the time being, but also to discharge 16,000 men from the ranks of the Army.

It would have seemed that the problem of the numerical strength of the Polish Army was finally and definitely settled at the time of General Sikorski's visit to Moscow, in December 1941. In the course of the conversation he had with Premier Stalin, the strength of the Polish Army to be formed on Soviet territory was established at 6 divisions, each of 11,000 men, with a reserve of 30,000 men, thus bringing the total to 96,000 men. It was moreover decided that 25,000 men would be evacuated to the Middle East to reinforce Polish units fighting in Libya and that 2,000 airmen and sailors would be sent to Britain. The

total number of Polish soldiers to be recruited on Soviet territory was thus 123,000 men.

However, immediately after General Sikorski's visit the organization of the Polish Army encountered new and unforeseen obstacles. The Soviet authorities adopted the attitude that Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin from the Eastern half of Poland occupied by the Soviets in 1939, were not Polish but Soviet citizens, and that only persons of Polish origin could, by way of exception, be regarded by the Soviet authorities as Polish citizens. This attitude of the Soviet authorities restricted both the number of volunteers for the Polish Army and the number of persons subject to conscription. Moreover several weeks later the Soviet authorities acted inconsistently with the principle of Article 6 of the Military Agreement by setting up, in certain districts, recruiting boards composed of Soviet members only, excluding the Polish military authorities—although Article 6 laid down that the Soviet authorities were merely to “participate” in these recruiting boards. This move provided unlimited opportunities to prevent the recruiting of Polish citizens even of Polish origin for the Army on various pretexts, as for instance physical unfitness.

Moreover, according to the Polish Government's information, many Polish citizens were called up for “work behind the lines” and placed in so-called Labor Battalions.

In the Spring of 1941 the Soviet authorities had conscripted for the Red Army the 1917, 1918 and 1919 classes of men on the territory of the Republic of Poland. These men were taken to the interior of the U.S.S.R. From the population of the Polish territories occupied by the Soviet armies, it may be assumed that these conscripts numbered more than 100,000 men. In August and September 1941, part of the Polish citizens recruited on Polish territory were discharged from the ranks of the Red Army following an order of the Soviet authorities, and transferred to these Labor Battalions.

On August 16, 1941, General Anders approached Major General Panfilov, the Representative of the Supreme Command of the Red Army, with a request that all Polish citizens conscripted by the Soviet Government for military service be transferred to the Polish Army. On August 19, General Panfilov replied to General Anders that "wishing to satisfy the Polish Command, the Command of the Red Army is complying with its request for a voluntary transfer to the Polish Army of Poles serving with units of the Red Army."

However, from many letters received by the Embassy it was clear that the transfer of Polish citizens from the Red Army and from Labor Battalions was never put into effect, that repressive measures were even taken against soldiers who applied for transfer on hearing that a Polish Army was being formed in the U.S.S.R.

Thus, only a limited number of men, from the conscripted classes of 1917, 1918 and 1919, managed to get themselves transferred to the Polish Army. Moreover the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of December 1, 1941, clearly stated that Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin, were being retained in the Labor Battalions, which already limited the numerical strength of the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Despite repeated oral and written representations by the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev on April 16 and May 4, 1942, and by the Polish military authorities on January 21, February 28 and April 13, this matter was never satisfactorily settled, although in its Note of May 14 the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs repeated its assurance that only Soviet citizens were enrolled in the Labor Battalions.

All these factors greatly limited the strength of the army in formation and moreover up to the middle of March 1942 the Soviet authorities had taken no steps to evacuate the 25,000 men

agreed upon in General Sikorski's conversation with Premier Stalin.

On March 18, 1942, Premier Stalin informed General Anders that on account of difficulties in providing supplies, the Soviet Government was obliged to limit the strength of the Polish Army to 44,000 men. This decision reduced the agreed strength of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. by 52,000 men and constituted a breach of the bilateral understanding of December 3, 1941, which fixed the strength of the Polish Army on Soviet territory at 96,000 men. As a result of this unfortunate decision the surplus over and above the 44,000 soldiers, which then amounted to 30,000, was evacuated to the Middle East with the agreement of the British Government.

Although in the course of a conference with General Anders, Premier Stalin had agreed to the continuation in the U.S.S.R. of normal recruiting for the Polish Army, it was to be feared that unless the Soviet authorities changed their attitude, the existing strength of the Polish Army could not be increased because: 1) recruiting was limited to persons of Polish origin only; 2) recruiting was carried out by the Soviet authorities alone; 3) 8,000 Polish officers were missing, and 4) on the pretext of preventing unnecessary travel, a ban had been placed on the sale of railway tickets to Polish citizens, who were thus forced to remain in their temporary residences. This prevented volunteers from reaching the Polish Army.

In view of the unsatisfactory news from the Soviet front, General Sikorski sent a message to Premier Stalin on April 9, 1942, to inform him that the Polish soldiers evacuated from the U.S.S.R. would be immediately attached to Polish units in the Middle East, and employed in the struggle against Germany in which Poland was engaged with the other Allies and the Soviet Union. General Sikorski emphasized the importance he attached to the increase of the fighting strength of the Polish forces and said that he relied on continued recruiting of Polish

citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the Polish Army, and the evacuation of further surplus men to the Middle East, in view of the limitation of the numerical strength of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. to 44,000.

As the Polish Government attached the greatest importance to the organization and development of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., it returned again and again to the problem of recruiting. Thus, independently of the above message, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs sent an Aide-Mémoire to Ambassador Bogomolov on May 1, 1942, and a Note on June 10. In addition, Ambassador Kot presented a Note to M. Molotov on May 4, 1942.

Ambassador Kot's Note began by recalling the understanding arrived at by General Sikorski and Premier Stalin on December 3 of the previous year, concerning the strength of the Polish Army, and Premier Stalin's subsequent decision, imparted to General Anders, concerning the limitation of the number of Polish soldiers in the U.S.S.R. to 44,000. This had been accompanied by Premier Stalin's assurance that recruiting for the Polish Army would be continued, that Polish citizens serving in the Red Army and in Labor Battalions would be transferred to the Polish Army, and that the surplus number of soldiers would be evacuated to the Middle East. The Note continued by stating that after the evacuation of 30,000 Polish soldiers to the Middle East recruiting had in effect stopped, that Polish feeding and registration centres had been closed, that cases of Polish citizens being conscripted to the Red Army or Labor Battalions were becoming increasingly common. The Note ended by expressing the hope that the Soviet Government would issue adequate instructions to enable recruiting for the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. to be continued and soldiers over and above the fixed contingent to be evacuated, in the interest of the war that Poland and the U.S.S.R. were waging in common against Germany.

Replying, on May 13, 1942, to General Sikorski's message asking that the recruiting and evacuation of Polish soldiers be continued, Premier Stalin said that he felt obliged to recapitulate the reasons he had given General Anders, which were that the reduction of the contingents fixed for the Polish Army resulted from the necessity to reduce supplies to units that were not taking part in the fighting. As conditions remained the same, it was not possible to make any change in the contingents fixed in March, 1942, for the Polish Army.

Mr. Molotov's reply on May 14, 1942, to Ambassador Kot's Note went much further than Premier Stalin's message. Mr. Molotov asserted that: 1) in the course of Premier Stalin's conference with General Anders the number of Polish soldiers was reduced to 44,000 and all soldiers in excess of that number were to be evacuated within a fixed period, so evacuation must now be considered to have ended; 2) further recruiting or voluntary enlistment for evacuation to the Middle East was impracticable for the same reasons that had dictated the establishment of the numerical strength of the Polish Army at 44,000; 3) Ambassador Kot's reference to a declaration Premier Stalin was said to have made during his conversation with General Anders, to the effect that the recruiting of Polish citizens would be continued and that Polish citizens serving in the Red Army and the Labor Battalions would be transferred to the Polish Army and subsequently evacuated, must have been based on a misunderstanding, as Premier Stalin had never touched upon these questions with General Anders; 4) this being the state of affairs, the Soviet Government considered further recruiting for and voluntary enlistment in the Polish Army for subsequent evacuation, purposeless—as would also be the resumption of the activities of Polish military institutions, such as feeding centres, medical centres, registration officers' posts, etc. set up in connection with recruiting for the army; 5) as regards the conscription of Polish citizens for the Red Army or Labor Battalions, the

Note asserted that only Soviet citizens were liable for service in the Red Army and in the Labor Battalions.

It is obvious from the above that the decision of the Soviet Government to curtail the strength of the Polish Army and prevent further recruiting was utterly inconsistent with the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, and the understanding reached on December 3, 1941, between General Sikorski and Premier Stalin. The stopping of voluntary and conscripted enlistment from all parts of the U.S.S.R. to the Polish Army was proof that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wished neither the expansion of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. nor of the Polish Army in the Middle East.

On June 13, 1942, the Polish Government issued a statement to the effect that Poland was not responsible either for the failure of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. to attain the strength laid down in December 1941, or for its not being properly armed and equipped to go into action. The statement emphasized, moreover, that the Polish Government was unanimous in their desire that the Polish Army should remain in the U.S.S.R. and fight side by side with the Red Army.

However, several weeks later without consulting the Polish Government the Soviet Government decided to evacuate from the U.S.S.R. the remainder of the Polish Army, which then numbered 42,000 men. The Soviet Government informed the British Government of this decision and the latter notified the Polish Government of the Soviet move on July 2. Taken unawares by this entirely unexpected decision, the Polish Government, in cooperation with the British Government, evacuated its remaining troops to the Middle East.

Before the remainder of the Polish Army left the U.S.S.R., General Anders was instructed by the Polish Government to insist that a recruiting staff be left on Soviet territory to continue the enlistment of Polish citizens for the Polish Army.

The Soviet authorities refused General Anders' request because, they asserted, the Polish Government not having found it possible to employ the Polish divisions formed in the U.S.S.R. on the Soviet-German front, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could not permit the recruiting or formation of any Polish units whatever in the U.S.S.R. Thus recruiting for the Polish Army was *de facto* stopped by the Soviet authorities in March 1942, though this was not officially confirmed by Mr. Molotov in his Note of May 14, 1942, to Ambassador Kot.

The evacuation of the Polish Army from the U.S.S.R. was entirely and exclusively initiated by the Soviet Government. The assertion that the Polish Army was unwilling to fight side by side with the Soviet Army was without the slightest foundation. The Soviet Government was not only informed of the importance attached by the Polish Government to the formation of a Polish Army on Soviet territory, but was told that the Polish Army would fight side by side with the Red Army on U.S.S.R. territory against the German forces. This was expressly stated in the Declaration made by General Sikorski and Premier Stalin on December 4, 1941, which established the principle of cooperation between the Polish Army and the Red Army, and in frequent public declarations by General Sikorski.

Moreover the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated in his Note of June 10, 1942, addressed to Ambassador Bogomolov, that "it is possible that the Polish Army formed in the Near East may, after it is equipped and trained, also be used on the front of the U.S.S.R. in case the military situation should so require." That is why the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his Note of August 27, 1942, to Ambassador Bogomolov, declared that the Polish Government considered the allegation made to General Anders that the Polish Army declined to fight side by side with the Soviet Army as entirely unfounded and inconsistent with the true state of affairs, and that they could not take into cognizance

the motives alleged for the refusal to allow further recruiting for the Polish Army.

Replying to this Note on October 31, Ambassador Bogomolov admitted that the organization of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. had encountered a number of difficulties and that the initiative to reduce the strength of the Polish Army had come from the Soviet Government; at the same time he accused the Polish High Command of showing no desire whatever to send any units of the army to the Soviet-German front, and of continuing to keep all units far behind the lines. In the same Note Ambassador Bogomolov stated that "the Soviet Government did not consider it possible to press the Polish Command in this matter but . . . in February 1942, the Soviet Government enquired when the Polish formations would begin to fight against the Hitlerites. Mention was then made of the 5th Division which had completed its training."

These passages from Ambassador Bogomolov's Note might justify the supposition that the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., particularly its 5th Division, was fully trained and equipped, and that fully armed units were kept far behind the lines because the Polish Government or the Polish High Command did not wish to use them on the Russian front.

Ambassador Bogomolov's statement concerning the equipment and training of the Polish Army or any one of its divisions in the U.S.S.R. was contrary to the true state of affairs. In the Note that the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs addressed to the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in London on December 18, 1942, detailed information was given as to the equipment of the Polish Army. In this Note the Minister of Foreign Affairs recalled that uniforms for the army were sent from Great Britain shortly after the signing of the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement, but that they had only reached the Polish Army on October 23, 1941, until which time only 40% of the soldiers were issued with boots. In the initial period of its formation,

the Army was to be supplied with arms by the Soviet Government. It was not until October 22, 1941, however, that Mr. Molotov notified Ambassador Kot, that the Soviet Union was experiencing certain difficulties with regard to the supply of arms and inquired whether the Polish Government could not obtain equipment from the United States and Great Britain. A similar declaration was made by Ambassador Bogomolov to General Sikorski on October 25, 1941. On learning of these difficulties, the Polish Government immediately approached the Governments of Great Britain and the United States with a request for arms and equipment. However, transport difficulties over long distances, the necessity of supplying the U.S.S.R. itself, and of accumulating arms and equipment in the Near East had all made it impossible to equip the Polish Army.

Despite all these difficulties, only the 5th Division was partly armed and equipped—but even this unit was lamentably deficient in comparison with a Soviet infantry division, and it was in no way prepared for action. The Note of December 18, 1942, sets out that the 5th Division was equipped as follows: it had not a single 45 mm anti-tank gun (though it was to have 18), not one 76 mm anti-aircraft gun (the establishment stipulated 4), no synchronized anti-aircraft machine-guns (establishment 18), no 12.7 mm machine-guns (establishment 9). Furthermore, the 5th Division had never received the 76 mm infantry guns (establishment 18) or the ammunition carriers for these and for the 104 mm howitzers. The 5th Division was also sadly deficient in other equipment.

As regards the other divisions, it would be pointless to speak of their equipment, as in all they had only 200 rifles, a fact that obliged General Anders, who did not wish his men to remain idle, to divide part of the 5th Division's equipment among the remaining units for training purposes.

As far back as March 18, 1942, General Anders had given Premier Stalin detailed information of this state of affairs and

handed him a statement of the amount of arms possessed by the Polish Army and the amount required to complete its equipment.

This proves beyond doubt that the Polish Army as a whole and the 5th Division in particular did not go into action on the Russian front, not because of any alleged reluctance on the part of the Polish Government, but because no single unit of that army was suitably trained or equipped, none was ready for action.

Prohibition by the Soviet authorities of conscription and voluntary enlistment, the reduction of the strength of the Polish Army by unilateral decision, the evacuation of that Army without previous consultation with the Polish Government, the refusal to allow depots for recruiting to be left on Soviet territory, and finally the refusal to transfer to the Polish Army, Polish nationals who had been forcibly conscripted in Poland by the German army and were now Soviet prisoners of war, all lead to the conclusion that the Soviet Government, contrary to the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941 and the Moscow Declaration of December 4, 1941, had no desire to see a Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. participate in the fighting on the Eastern Front side by side with the Soviet Army.

CHAPTER 4

The Missing Polish Officers

According to official figures given on September 17, 1940, in the *Red Star*, published by the People's Commissariat for Defense of the U.S.S.R., the number of Polish officers taken prisoner on Polish territory by the Soviet forces after September 17, 1939, amounted to 9,369, including 12 generals, 58 colonels, 72 lieutenant-colonels, 5,131 other regular officers and 4,096 reserve officers.

This number was increased by several hundred officers arrested by the Soviet authorities during their occupation of Polish territory after actual fighting had ceased, and by 900 officers interned in the Baltic States, when the latter were occupied by the Soviet armies in June 1940. Thus the total number of Polish officers who became Soviet prisoners of war amounted approximately to 11,000.

The Polish officers were placed in some ten prisoner-of-war camps, of which the three largest were: 1) Kozielsk, to the East of Smolensk, 2) Starobielsk, near Kharkov, and 3) Ostashkov, near Kalinin.

The officers interned in these three camps were permitted to correspond with their families in Poland through the Polish Red Cross. Early in 1940 many of them notified their families that the camp authorities had informed them that all three camps would soon be broken up, and they would be able to

return home. During this period the Soviet authorities compiled detailed lists of the prisoners, presumably to ascertain where each of them wished to go on being released.

According to information in possession of the Polish Government the number of prisoners interned in these three camps early in 1940 was as follows:

1) in Kozielsk: 5,000 prisoners including 4,500 officers of various ranks;

2) in Starobielsk: 3,920 officers, including 8 generals, about 100 colonels and lt.-colonels, about 250 majors, 1,000 captains, approximately 2,500 lieutenants and second-lieutenants, and 30 cadets. Apart from these there were also 380 doctors, some of them eminent specialists, several university professors, judges, officials and army chaplains;

3) in Ostashkov: 6,570 persons, mostly judges, public prosecutors, civil servants and policemen, with 380 officers of the police, frontier guard and six regiments of Frontier Defence Corps.

The total number of Polish citizens interned in these three camps was 15,490, including some 8,700 officers.

The breaking up of these camps began early in April 1940. Every few days, until the middle of May, groups of 60 to 300 persons were transferred from the three camps to an unknown destination. Only the prisoners from Kozielsk were transported in the direction of Smolensk. The last group from the three camps consisted of only 400 men who were assembled at the camp at Yuchnowsk in Pavlischchev Bor near the military station of Babynino and later in June 1940 transferred to Griazovetz in the district of Vologda. However, at a later date more than 1,000 officers and civilian prisoners arrived at this camp from smaller prisoner-of-war camps, with some 900 officers who had previously been interned in the Baltic States.

In May 1940, correspondence between the officers interned in the three camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov and

their families in Poland ceased abruptly, and officers interned in Griazovetz were forbidden by the Soviet authorities to mention names of their former colleagues in the letters they wrote home.

When after the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, the Polish Government proceeded to form a Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. they expected that officers from these three camps would constitute the command of the army. By the end of August 1941, the officers from the camp in Griazovetz, some 2,300 in all, had reported to the Polish units stationed in Buzuluk, but not a single one of the officers transferred from Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov to unknown destinations, appeared or gave any sign of life. So the Army was short of more than 8,000 officers, 7,000 non-commissioned officers and other ranks who would have been of the utmost value in fighting the Germans, to say nothing of the civilians also interned in the three camps.

This alarming state of affairs led the High Command of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. and representatives of the Polish Government in Kuybyshev and London to make frequent representations to the Soviet authorities for the release of the missing officers. To Ambassador Kot, Mr. Vishinsky declared that all Polish prisoners of war had been released from the camps and must therefore be free.

As there continued to be no sign of the missing officers, in October and November 1941, Ambassador Kot made frequent reference to them in the course of his conversations with Premier Stalin, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Vishinsky, insisting that detailed lists of all officers who had been interned by the Soviet authorities be furnished him, as he knew that such lists had been compiled by the Soviet authorities.

At the same time, on October 15, General Sikorski, in a letter to Ambassador Bogomolov, drew the Soviet Government's attention to the Polish Government's anxiety as "to the fate of

several thousand Polish officers who have not returned to Poland and have not been found in Soviet military camps." Replying on November 14, Ambassador Bogomolov assured General Sikorski that "... all Polish officers on the territory of U.S.S.R. have also been set free. Your supposition, Mr. Prime Minister, that a large number of Polish officers are dispersed throughout the Northern regions of the U.S.S.R. is obviously based on inaccurate information."

When visiting Premier Stalin in Moscow in December 1941, General Sikorski again intervened for the release of all Polish prisoners of war, and as the Soviet authorities had not supplied a list of their names, he took the opportunity to present to Premier Stalin a list of Polish officers, compiled by their former fellow-prisoners and containing 3,845 names. Premier Stalin then assured General Sikorski that the amnesty was of a general and all-embracing character and included military personnel as well as civilians. In the same conversation with General Sikorski, Premier Stalin while declaring that all the prisoners of war had been released, expressed the belief that they might have escaped to Manchuria. It is obvious that the trip across the entire territory of the U.S.S.R. of men in Polish uniform was something that could not possibly have taken place.

On March 18, 1942, General Anders delivered to Premier Stalin an additional list containing the names of some 800 other officers.

The question of the missing officers was also dealt with exhaustively in the Note of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs to Ambassador Bogomolov of January 28, 1942. After calling attention to the fact that the administrative authorities of the Soviet Union had not fully applied the provisions of the Amnesty Decree of August 12, 1941, the Note laid special emphasis on the failure to release many thousands of senior and junior officers.

In this Note the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs emphasized that "investigations carried out in Poland and in the Reich have made it possible to establish definitely that these soldiers are not at present in occupied Poland nor in prisoner-of-war camps in Germany." The Note specifically requested that all the arrested officers be released from the prisons and camps in which they were interned, adding that the Polish Government attached the greatest importance to the loyal execution of the provisions of the Agreement of July 30, 1941 and to the development of friendly relations between both countries in the interest of the common struggle against the aggressor.

Ambassador Bogomolov's reply on March 13, to the note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, introduced no new elements to throw light on the question of the 8,000 missing officers. Ambassador Bogomolov referred to Mr. Molotov's Note of November 8, 1941, and to the Aide-Mémoire of November 19, presented to Ambassador Kot, containing the assurance that the amnesty had been fully carried out in respect of all Polish citizens, civilian and military. In regard to the Polish Government's assertion that many Polish officers were to be found near the River Kolyma, on Franz Joseph Land and in Nova Zembla, Ambassador Bogomolov considered this devoid of all foundation.

In view of the utter failure of his frequent verbal and written demands for an elucidation of the whole question, Ambassador Kot, on May 19, 1942, submitted a Memorandum to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in which he expressed regret at the Soviet authorities' refusal to supply a list of prisoners as the Polish Government had repeatedly requested for several months, and he gave expression to his great anxiety about the fate of these officers.

When, in April 1943, foreign news agencies published a report issued by the German military authorities that a mass-grave containing the bodies of Polish officers had been discovered at Kozia Gora near Smolensk, and when the Soviet Govern-

ment stated in a communiqué published by the Soviet Information Bureau in Moscow on April 15, that in 1941 Polish prisoners of war were employed on fortification work to the West of Smolensk where they fell into German hands after the Soviet forces withdrew from that region, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a new Note to Ambassador Bogomolov on April 20.

Beginning with the statement that in a public declaration made on April 17, the Polish Government had most emphatically condemned the attempts of the Germans to exploit the tragedy of Polish prisoners of war to further their own political ends, the Note recalled the repeated representations made since October 1941 by the Polish Government to the Soviet Government concerning the missing officers from Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov. The Note went on to say that the Polish Government had never received a list of the prisoners nor any detailed information as to where they were, while the verbal and written declarations of representatives of the Soviet Government were confined to general assurances that all Polish officers had been released from prisoner-of-war camps. The Polish Government, as shown by its frequent interventions, had never considered the question of the missing officers closed, and as it appeared from the communiqué of the Soviet Information Bureau, that the Soviet Government was in possession of fuller information concerning the missing Polish officers than had earlier been communicated to the Polish Government, it renewed its request to the Soviet Government for detailed and accurate information concerning the fate of the prisoners of war and civilians at one time detained in the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov. The Note ended by stating that Polish public opinion was so justly and deeply stirred that only irrefutable facts could outweigh the detailed German statements about the discovery of the bodies of many thousand Polish officers in the vicinity of Smolensk.

The correspondence between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government and the series of verbal interventions by representatives of the Polish Government proved: (1) that from the very moment diplomatic relations were re-established in July 1941, the Polish Authorities had considered the question of the missing officers one of the fundamental problems, a thorough elucidation of which was not only in the interest of Polish-Soviet relations, but also in the interest of the United Nations; (2) although they possessed lists of persons interned in prisoner-of-war camps, the Soviet Government never presented them to the Polish Authorities for examination; (3) the Polish Authorities, to facilitate the search, supplied the Soviet authorities with a list containing the names of more than 50% of the missing officers; (4) despite Soviet Government assurances that the officers interned in Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov had been released, their correspondence with their families in Poland had ended abruptly in the Spring of 1940, and they were not to be found either in the Soviet Union, in Poland or in German camps; (5) furthermore the Soviet Government never informed the Polish Government that Polish officers were working on fortifications near Smolensk and there fell into German hands. This the Polish Government first learned from a communiqué of the Soviet Information Bureau on April 15, 1943.

The Soviet Government made the question of the missing officers their reason for severing diplomatic relations with Poland. In his Note of April 25, 1943, which Ambassador Romer did not accept, Mr. Molotov omitted all reference to the frequent interventions concerning the missing officers and with complete disregard of the above mentioned facts and Polish representations, expressed his astonishment that the Polish Government did not consider it necessary to approach the Soviet Government for an explanation of the whole case. He also alleged the Polish Government's connivance with the German

Government in a common campaign of defamation of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government made the case of the missing officers a political question, and entirely disregarded its human aspect to which the Polish Government attached the greatest importance.

The total number of soldiers and civilians interned in the three camps in question exceeded 15,000. In addition to regular army officers, there were thousands of reserve officers from all professional groups in Poland, the very elite of the Polish educated class, that class which has been so ruthlessly exterminated by the Germans in the course of this war. The fate of these 15,000 persons was therefore the object of intense concern not only to their relatives in Poland, dispersed throughout the world or else serving in the Polish Army, but also to the entire Polish nation which for the last four years has fought so well and sacrificed so much in its occupied homeland for the future victory of the Allies.

Faithful to these principles the Polish Government for nearly two years made repeated demands on the Soviet authorities for an explanation of the fate of the missing prisoners of war. Not only did the Soviet Government fail to acknowledge the natural right of the Polish Government to concern themselves with the fate of missing Polish citizens, but despite their responsibility for the life and safety of prisoners of war they constantly refused to supply any kind of relevant information that might have thrown light on this tragic affair.

CHAPTER 5

Relief for Polish Citizens in the U.S.S.R.

The conclusion of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, between Poland and the Soviet Union, made it possible for the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R. to organize relief for Polish citizens. However, in the Autumn of 1941 and early in the Winter of 1942 the carrying out of these plans was opposed by the Soviet authorities, who did not agree to the Embassy's proposal that a certain number of consulates be established, and would permit neither organized assistance by the Polish Red Cross, nor the creation of Citizens' Committees elected by the Polish citizens concerned.

Meanwhile the condition of the Polish population released from prisons, camps and places of exile, was rendered more precarious by the approach of winter. The Soviet authorities continued to oppose plans for the settlement of released Polish citizens, and informed the Embassy early in November, 1941, that the transportation of groups of Poles must cease, because the rail facilities were absorbed by the requirements of the front.

The visit of General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, who came to the U.S.S.R. in December 1941, brought about a change in the attitude of the Soviet authorities as regards two fundamental Polish requests, i.e., the admission of Embassy Delegates to Polish settlements throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the granting of a credit to permit assistance to be given to Polish citizens unfit for

work and deported to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against their will.

As a result of General Sikorski's visit an agreement was reached on December 23, 1941 between the Polish Embassy and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and Notes exchanged establishing the "Rules regulating the scope of activity of Delegates of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland." This provided for the appointment of nineteen Embassy Delegates and their staffs on Soviet territory, with the joint approval of both Governments. Some days after this agreement had been concluded, a new agreement with the Soviet Government was signed on December 31, for a loan of 100 million roubles for the relief of the Polish civilian population. Of the nineteen Embassy Delegates, nine were regular Embassy officials with diplomatic status and the rank of secretaries or attachés. In addition to relief work, Embassy Delegates were empowered to extend legal protection to Polish citizens, and in particular to issue them with passports and other personal documents. This was most important as Polish citizens deported to Russia had been made to surrender their personal documents and had received in return either passports as Soviet citizens or Soviet passports as stateless individuals. If in camps or prisons they had been left without any papers at all and on their release received only jail delivery certificates valid for three months. Delegates were under the direct control of the Embassy and supervised the local representatives, whose duties were more restricted and who acted as the regional executives of the Delegates. These representatives were appointed from among responsible Polish citizens in provincial centres.

On December 1, 1942, the Embassy had at its disposal 387 representatives of whom 297 were Poles, 82 Jews, 8 Ukrainians and White-Ruthenians.

The Embassy Delegates began their work in the middle of February 1942, and organized relief for Poles in 46 adminis-

trative districts including 2,600 Polish settlements. The efforts of the Embassy Delegates and representatives soon began to produce substantial results. In addition to distributing financial assistance to those most in need, in one year—by the middle of February 1943—they had established 83 kindergartens for 5,300 children, mostly orphans. This represented 7% of all Polish children in Russian and about 70% of the orphans. They also set up 175 elementary schools, and 176 feeding centres for children. For adults, 58 homes for invalids, 13 hostels, 15 feeding centres and 47 workshops had been organized. Medical aid was supplied in 41 health and hygiene centres as well as in 10 hospitals and convalescent homes. Moreover 43 educational centres for children were set up. In short the Polish Embassy through its Delegates and representatives organized 807 social institutions for deported Polish citizens, both adults and children.

Thanks to the efforts of the Polish and Allied Governments and of charitable institutions in the United States and the British Commonwealth, the first substantial shipments of relief in kind for Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics began to arrive during the winter of 1941. From then till the middle of 1943 these enabled the Delegates of the Polish Embassy to supply Polish citizens with some 5,000 tons of food, clothing and medical supplies, that were distributed chiefly to families having a large number of children.

The generous assistance of the United States Government in extending substantial aid under the Lend-Lease Act to the Polish Government for the families of Polish soldiers inducted into the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. is especially acknowledged and emphasized. Mention should also be made of invaluable relief sent to the deported Polish citizens by organizations of Americans of Polish descent, as well as by numerous Jewish welfare organizations in America.

A principle to which the Embassy and its staff strictly adhered was to grant financial aid and assistance in kind first of

all to persons unfit for work, i.e., children, women and old people, who often made up more than half the Polish population of the various centres because the Soviet authorities had deported en masse the wives and children of Poles who were prisoners of war in Germany or in the U.S.S.R., and able-bodied men had voluntarily enlisted in the Polish Army being formed on Soviet territory.

However relief work of the Embassy and its Delegates was not sufficient to produce any basic change for the better in the material situation of the Polish deportees as a whole, because of the impossibility of reaching many of the more distant localities. Transport difficulties brought about by the war prevented the rapid dispatch of supplies where they were most needed. Yet, thanks to the substantial supplies from abroad, many of the Polish citizens deported to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics received at least clothes or underclothing, shoes and foodstuffs of high quality.

During the initial period the work of the Delegates and their staffs was not hampered to any great extent by the Soviet authorities who, however, as early as March 1942, began to restrict the scope of their activity. It was during this period that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs approached the Embassy with a demand that the Delegates should refrain from intervening with local authorities on behalf of Polish citizens, large numbers of whom were still detained in Soviet camps and prisons in violation of the Agreement of July 30, 1941 and of the Amnesty Decree of August 12, 1941. The Soviet authorities also began to place difficulties in the way of Polish citizens of Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin who were being assisted by the Embassy's relief organization. In so doing, these authorities acted on a unilateral decision of December 1, 1941, declaring that such Polish citizens would henceforth be regarded as Soviet citizens.

As Polish relief increased in volume and the activity of the Embassy Delegates developed, to the benefit of hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens, the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards the Polish relief organization began to undergo a change. Manifold difficulties arose, mainly with local authorities who raised objections in matters that had been already settled with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The usual explanation was that they were without instructions from the central authorities. Numerous conferences held between March and July 1942, between representatives of the Polish Embassy and of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs were almost entirely devoted to these difficulties. Towards the end of May the attitude of the Soviet authorities changed abruptly and they began to put obstacles in the way of the Delegates and representatives who wished to report to the Embassy, and to arrest certain representatives, especially those who had shown initiative and energy. To all Embassy representations, the stereotyped reply was that those arrested were engaged in activities hostile to the Soviet Union.

This hampering of the activities of Embassy Delegates came to a head on June 29, 1942. On that day the Embassy Delegates in Vladivostok and Archangel, although members of the Embassy staff and carrying diplomatic passports and identity cards, were arrested by the State Security Police. The Soviet authorities also arrested the entire staff of the Polish relief office in Archangel and sealed the stores without even informing the Embassy that the Polish diplomats had been arrested. The Embassy only learned of this from another source on July 7, 1942. After the Polish Ambassador had lodged a vehement protest, both diplomatic officials were set free on July 10. The Soviet authorities failed, however, to provide any satisfactory explanation of their action, which was without precedent in international relations, and without producing any evidence

merely stated that the persons in question were carrying on activities hostile to the Soviet Union.

In the course of diplomatic negotiations of the Polish Ambassador and Chargé d'Affaires with Mr. Vishinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, the Soviet representatives gave assurances that the agreed Rules regulating the scope of activities of the Delegates of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland remained in force and that the Soviet Government did not intend to change its benevolent attitude towards the Embassy's relief work. The Soviet authorities demanded, however, that the Embassy either recall its diplomatic officials who occupied posts as Delegates, or else revoke their diplomatic privileges. Having no choice the Embassy recalled all its diplomatic officials to Kuybyshev and officially informed the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that this had been done. How the Soviet authorities respected the principles of international law concerning the personal immunity of diplomats and of the archives of foreign States, may be judged by the fact that, after Mr. Vishinsky, in the presence of the Polish Ambassador, had formally stated that the agreement concerning the relief work of the Polish Embassy remained in full force and effect, all Embassy Delegates, whether enjoying diplomatic immunity or not, and the principal members of their staffs were arrested by the Soviet authorities, and their archives, money and seals seized by the State Securities police.

Following very strong representations by the Polish Government, the Soviet authorities decided to set free the diplomatic officials, nine persons in all, while all the other Delegates, office staff and representatives, totalling 109 persons—remained in prison until the end of October 1942, when 93 persons were released. The remaining 16 persons have never been released.

On July 20, 1942, when all Embassy Delegates had been arrested, their offices closed and their supply stores sealed, Commissar Vishinsky announced to the Chargé d'Affaires of the

Polish Embassy, Mr. H. Sokolnicki, that the Soviet Government would no longer permit the existence of the Delegates' offices, alleging that instead of organizing relief the Delegates were engaged in activities hostile to the Soviet Union and in intelligence work. The Soviet authorities constantly reiterated this accusation in response to all further representations of the Polish Government or the Polish Embassy on behalf of the arrested officials, without furnishing any proof in support of the charge.

However, at the same time the Soviet authorities declared their readiness to accept a new relief organization for Polish citizens, and said that they awaited Polish suggestions. As the most experienced and valuable social workers were under arrest and a feeling of terror was spreading among the Poles who feared further mass detention in labor camps and prisons, the Embassy was unable to set up any kind of new relief organization. Furthermore, the Polish Government could not negotiate under pressure, with more than a hundred Polish officials in prison.

The Soviet Government had other reasons than the allegedly hostile activities of the Embassy Delegates for closing the Embassy's relief offices. Their real grounds may be inferred from the closing in August 1942 of kindergartens and medical centres, which could not be suspected of carrying on activities hostile to the Soviet Union. First, despite their formal promises, the Soviet authorities placed difficulties in the way of the purchase of food rations by these institutions, and then began to participate directly in their administration or to close up orphanages, homes for invalids, feeding centers, etc. For instance, in the districts of Kustanay, Akmolinsk, Southern Kazakhstan, Semipalatynsk and Pavlodar, the Soviet authorities insisted that the Polish children be transferred to Soviet orphanages. These actions constituted a flagrant breach of the assurances given by the Soviet Government to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev and to the Polish Government in London by Ambassador Bogo-

molov, who emphasized that the Soviet Government had no wish to obstruct the work of relief to Polish citizens.

The Soviet Government's negative attitude to the Polish Government's suggestion that 50,000 Polish children be evacuated from the U.S.S.R. and placed in Allied countries for the duration of the war at the expense of the Polish Government and Allied charitable institutions, is characteristic of the Soviet Government's attitude toward the Poles in Russia. Despite the appalling death rate among these children, who were decimated by hunger and disease, the Soviet Government refused to discuss the technical details of the suggestion and rejected the principle of evacuation.

The arrest of the Embassy Delegates in July 1942, rendered impossible the concentration of several thousand Polish specialists in the area where the Polish troops were quartered in the U.S.S.R., and consequently their evacuation with these forces to the Middle East. These specialists included technicians, doctors, engineers, scientists and journalists, all of whom were employed as lumberjacks in the Siberian forests or on other kinds of hard physical work and dispersed throughout the vast area of the Soviet Union. Thus the 30,000 Polish civilians evacuated from Russia to the Middle East in August 1942, like the 12,000 Polish citizens evacuated in March and April 1942, included only some of the families of Polish soldiers and persons who had reached the vicinity of the Polish Army camps by themselves and often quite accidentally.

Despite continued efforts by the Polish Government, the lot of the Poles in the Soviet Union showed no substantial improvement because the Embassy's relief work was prevented from reaching all the centers in the Soviet Union to which Poles had been deported. Moreover, as Polish citizens were forbidden to change their place of residence or to use public transportation, they were *de facto* interned in their place of residence and could not themselves improve their conditions or even

attempt to leave the northern regions where the climatic and health conditions were most unfavorable.

Not until late October 1942, when 93 of the arrested members of the Embassy's relief organization were released, did the atmosphere become more appropriate for a renewal of negotiations to establish some new form of relief. Aware of the Soviet Government's objections to the system of Embassy Delegates the newly appointed Polish Ambassador, Mr. Tadeusz Romer, suggested that the whole system of relief be entirely reorganized. This suggestion was accepted by Mr. Vishinsky on December 23, 1942, but was never put into effect for, in the Note of January 16, 1943, the Soviet Government unilaterally proceeded in violation of the Protocol attached to the Agreement of July 30, 1941, to declare that all Polish citizens present on November 1 and 2, 1939, on Polish territory occupied by the Soviet forces had automatically acquired Soviet citizenship. Despite the Polish Government's Note of protest of January 26, 1943, the subsequent negotiations between Ambassador Romer and Mr. Molotov concerning the Note of January 16, the Soviet authorities forcibly took over the Polish Embassy's relief institutions and proceeded immediately by moral and physical pressure to force Polish citizens to accept Soviet passports. It did not deem it necessary even to inform the Embassy of these actions.

The purpose of these measures was to destroy the Polish relief organization and to suppress all relief work as such. In view of these facts the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs on March 30, 1943, presented a Note to Mr. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the Polish Government in London. This Note recalled that the relief organization of the Polish Embassy was set up by joint agreement with the Soviet Government, and it protested emphatically against the withdrawal of that organization from the Embassy's administration and against the methods employed by Soviet authorities. The Note reserved

the Polish Government's right to demand the return by the Soviet Government of all property belonging to the Polish State taken over by Soviet authorities or institutions, and compensation for loss or damage already suffered or that might ensue in the future from the taking over of that property.

Thus since early in the Spring of 1943, hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens deported to the U.S.S.R. have been deprived of the protection of their legal Government, and of help and relief from them, from the Governments of the friendly United Nations and welfare organizations throughout the world which had spared neither funds nor efforts to succor these Polish deportees.

CHAPTER 6

Citizenship of Polish Deportees and Soviet Territorial Claims

By the Protocol attached to the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Soviet Government undertook to "grant amnesty to all Polish citizens who are at present deprived of their freedom on the territory of the U.S.S.R., either as prisoners of war or on other adequate grounds" without distinction as to the origin, creed or race of the citizens concerned. Similarly the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, implementing the amnesty granted to all Polish citizens detained on Soviet territory, never contemplated any discrimination whatsoever between Polish citizens of different origins.

Part of the Polish deportees, including persons of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin, were released from labor camps and prisons in the first months following the signing of the Agreement. A considerable percentage of Polish citizens of Jewish, Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian origin volunteered for service in the Polish Army during the initial period of its formation.

The first case of discrimination by the Soviet authorities against Polish citizens of other than Polish origin occurred in the Republic of Kazakhstan in October 1941. According to information received by the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev, the

Military Commissar of that Republic, General Shcherbakov, issued an order in Alma-Ata, for the enlistment in the Red Army of all Polish citizens of military age fit for service, deported by the Soviet authorities from occupied Polish territories and in possession of documents issued to them by the Soviet authorities showing they were of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian or Jewish origin.

As soon as it heard of this order the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev in a Note of November 10, 1941, declared it contrary to the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, and to the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, and demanded that the right of every Polish citizen to serve in the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. be respected.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs replied to this Note on December 1, 1941, that it could not agree with the Polish Embassy that the calling-up by the Red Army of persons of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin who had left the territories of Western-Ukraine and Western White-Ruthenia was inconsistent with the Agreements of July 30, 1941, or August 14, 1941. In the opinion of the Soviet authorities, the wording of neither of these Agreements provided any grounds for the views expressed in the Embassy's Note of November 10. The Note of the Soviet Government further stated that in accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., of November 29, 1939, all citizens of the Western districts of the Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republics who were present in those districts on November 1 and 2, 1939, acquired the citizenship of the U.S.S.R. as laid down in the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act of August 19, 1938. The Note ended by stating that "The Soviet Government's readiness to recognize as Polish citizens persons of Polish origin, who resided until November 1 and 2 on the aforementioned territory, gives evidence of good will and compliance on the part of the

Soviet Government, but can in no case serve as a basis for an analogous recognition of the Polish citizenship of persons of other origin, in particular those of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian or Jewish origin, since the question of the frontiers between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland had not been settled and is subject to settlement in the future."

In its reply dated December 9, 1941, to the Soviet Note quoted above, the Embassy pointed out that: 1) Polish legislation was founded on the principle of the equality of all citizens, regardless of their origin or race, and that the Polish Embassy was not aware of the existence of any Soviet laws, which introduced or sanctioned any discrimination or differentiation of this kind. As the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, made no reference to the principle of national origin or race in any of their stipulations relative to Polish citizens, these provisions must apply to all Polish citizens without exception. 2) The possession of Polish citizenship by any given person was governed by Polish law, namely the Polish State Citizenship Act of January 30, 1920. For this and the reasons stated above, the Embassy found itself unable to accept the Soviet Government's statement that it was prepared to acknowledge as Polish citizens only those of Polish origin among the persons resident on November 1 and 2, 1939, on the territory of the Republic of Poland temporarily occupied by the military forces of the Soviet Union. 3) The Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act of August 19, 1938, could not be applied to Polish citizens for "its introduction on the territory of the Republic of Poland occupied by the Soviet Union from the latter half of September 1939 until June or July 1941, would be contrary to the provisions of the IVth Hague Convention of 1907." The Embassy's Note ended by pointing out that the Soviet Note contained a self-contradictory thesis, stating as it did that on the one hand the Soviet authorities did not recognize the Polish

citizenship of persons of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin, and on the other hand that the question of the frontiers between the U.S.S.R. and Poland had not yet been settled and was to be settled in the future. While maintaining its fundamental attitude as set out above, the Polish Embassy also pointed out that the Soviet attitude would mean a unilateral settlement by the Soviet Union at the present time of a problem which according to the statement of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs itself was to be discussed in the future.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs replied to this Note on January 5, 1942, stating that it saw no grounds for changing its attitude as set out in the Note of December 1, 1941. As to the Embassy's reference to the IVth Hague Convention of 1907, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs considered that the provisions of that Convention applied to a state of occupation of enemy territory, and that the term "occupation" would be quite unjustifiable in the case of the Western-Ukraine and Western White-Ruthenia, for the entry of the Soviet forces in the Autumn of 1939 into Western-Ukraine and Western White-Ruthenia was in their view not an occupation: the incorporation of these territories in the U.S.S.R. was at the express will of their people.

In consequence of this attitude adopted by the Soviet Government, Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin ceased to be treated by them as Polish citizens.

This was no mere legal controversy, but involved consequences of the utmost practical importance to the persons concerned. The Soviet authorities prevented them from enlisting in the Polish Army and made it impossible for them to apply to the Polish Embassy for relief or legal protection. The Embassy's interventions for the release of Polish citizens, still detained contrary to the Amnesty Decree in prisons and labor camps, were refused where these persons were concerned. There

were also cases of Polish citizens being re-arrested on the pretext that they had communicated with agencies of the Polish Embassy and had thus infringed the Soviet regulations forbidding Soviet citizens, under severe penalty, to communicate in any matter whatsoever with representatives of foreign States. Moreover and of particular importance to Polish citizens of Jewish nationality who had relatives in Palestine, the United States and Great Britain, they were prevented from leaving the U.S.S.R., exit permits being as a rule refused, though the persons concerned had often completed all the necessary passport and visa formalities. In many cases Polish passports, valid for travel abroad, and endorsed with British, Palestinian and Iranian visas were confiscated when their holders applied to the competent Soviet authorities for exit permits from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

To compel the Polish Government to accept its view on the citizenship of persons forcibly deported from the territory of the Republic of Poland to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Soviet Government also endeavored to limit the powers of the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to issue Polish passports to Polish citizens, a sovereign right of every State. This was emphasized in a Note of June 9, 1942, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Embassy. In this Note the People's Commissariat laid down that it was essential that lists of persons to whom the Embassy wished to issue Polish passports should be supplied to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, which would then advise the Embassy of any objections the Soviet authorities might have to the issue of Polish passports to any of the persons whose names appeared upon the lists. The Soviet Note added that all persons on the said lists to whose issue with Polish passports the competent Soviet authorities had no objection, would then be provided with permits of residence as aliens. In addition the Soviet Note demanded that the Soviet authorities be supplied

with lists of persons who had already been issued with Polish passports by the Polish Embassy.

To the above, the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev replied in its Note of June 24, declaring that "in accordance with the fundamental principles of international law, the Government of the Republic of Poland asserts that the matter of Polish citizenship rests with them and they do not consider it possible that when verifying lists of Polish citizens demanded of the Embassy, the Soviet authorities should decide the citizenship of Polish citizens resident on the territory of the Republic of Poland, and who between 1939-1942 found themselves as is known not of their free will on the territory of the Soviet Union." The Note went on to point out that the issue of passports to Polish citizens was carried out by the Embassy and its Delegates in accordance with Polish laws and regulations in force. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Poland and Polish law, origin, religion, race or place of residence within the frontiers of the Republic of Poland, have no influence on the citizenship of any given person. The note concluded thus, "Taking into consideration that the aforementioned Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is aimed at imposing a procedure in issuing passports, unprecedented in relations between sovereign States, the Government of the Republic of Poland sees no possibility of discussing the principles of this question on the basis of the suggested procedure."

In replying to this Note on July 9, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs did not discuss the arguments contained in the Polish Embassy's Note of June 24, but confined itself to stating that it continued to insist on the Polish Embassy's adoption of the suggested procedure for the issue of passports. The Polish Government, unable to consent to such a procedure and unwilling to aggravate the misunderstanding

over this matter, instructed the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to suspend the issue of passports to Polish citizens.

Towards the end of December 1942, the Polish relief crisis appeared to have come to an end when the Soviet authorities gave their consent to the establishment of a new form of relief organization in place of the Embassy Delegates, and it was then hoped that the conflict over Polish citizenship and the issue of passports would also be satisfactorily settled. These hopes proved vain as the Soviet Government adopted an attitude calculated to increase and intensify the conflict.

On January 16, 1943, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs sent a new Note to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev in which it declared that despite the good will shown in its Note of December 1, 1941, when it agreed by way of exception, to recognize as Polish citizens persons of Polish origin (although persons of Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Jewish origin were thenceforth considered by the Soviet Government as Soviet citizens), the Polish Government had adopted a negative attitude to the said declaration of the Soviet Government and had not only refused to take suitable action, but had put forward demands conflicting with the sovereign rights of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with regard to the territories in question. In consequence of the above, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs had been instructed by the Soviet Government to state that the declaration contained in its Note of December 1, 1941, that an exception would be made in respect of persons of Polish origin must be considered no longer valid and that there was thus no longer any question of exonerating these persons from the regulations applicable to Soviet citizens.

Thus the Soviet Government not only extended its unilateral decision to force Soviet citizenship on all persons residing on Polish territory occupied by the Soviet authorities, but also asserted the sovereign rights of the Soviet Union to that

territory, which meant in fact that the Soviet Government raised territorial claims to Polish territory.

The question of Soviet claims to Polish territory was first raised in Mr. Molotov's circular Note of January 6, 1942, concerning the atrocities committed on the Russian population by the German armies. In that Note the City of Lwów was included among towns situated on Soviet territory. Acknowledging receipt of Mr. Molotov's Note, Ambassador Kot stated that the inclusion of Lwów among Ukrainian cities must have been the result of a misunderstanding, for history, international law and the ethnical composition of its population prove that Lwów was and remains a Polish city. In reply to Ambassador Kot's Note, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs stated, on January 17, 1942, that it considered the Embassy's view expressed in the Note and in other documents, in which Lwów, Brześć, Stanisławów and other towns of the Soviet Union were included among towns situated on the territory of the Republic of Poland—unjustified, and advised the Embassy that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs would not in the future be able to accept for examination any further Notes from the Embassy containing statements to that effect.

In its Note of January 16, 1943, the Soviet Government again stated, this time quite plainly, that their territorial claims were not limited to certain towns in Poland, but to the entire territory which under the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of September 28, 1939, had fallen to the Soviet Union. The tenor of this Note was in flagrant contradiction to Article I of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, which provided that "The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity."

In replying to the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, the Minister of Foreign Affairs presented on January 26, a Note to the Soviet Ambassador to the Polish Government, in the

opening paragraph of which he recalled the refusal of the Polish Government to take cognizance of the Note of December 1, 1941, because the granting or withdrawal of Polish citizenship was an exclusive and undeniable attribute of the sovereignty of the Polish State. The Polish Government therefore maintained their fundamental attitude as regards Polish citizenship, and found with the deepest regret, that the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, was inconsistent with the spirit of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the joint Declaration of both Governments of December 4, 1941, which aimed at the re-establishment of relations based on confidence between both States, and left no doubt as to the nullification of the Soviet-German agreements of 1939, together with their political and legal consequences. The Note recalled, moreover, that in the Protocol attached to the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Soviet Government undertook to release all Polish citizens deprived of their freedom on Soviet territory, irrespective of the reason for their detention. On the day the Agreement was signed there was on Soviet territory no category of Polish citizens other than those whose Polish citizenship the Soviet Government now refused to recognize, and the amnesty referred to above applied precisely to these persons in their status of Polish citizens. The Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs ended by declaring that the Polish Government refused to recognize any unilateral decisions taken by the Soviet Government during the period in which Polish-Soviet relations had ceased, for decisions of this kind were contrary to international law, as for instance the IVth Hague Convention of 1907 and the Atlantic Charter to which the U.S.S.R. had adhered, and that therefore the Polish Government insisted that the Soviet Government should treat all Polish citizens in conformity with the spirit and letter of the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

Ambassador Bogomolov's reply of February 17, to the Polish Note of January 26, brought no new elements to the problem

under consideration, nor did it provide any relevant explanations. It merely stated that the Soviet Government did not consider it possible to discuss the problems of citizenship and that the Polish Government's assertion concerning the inconsistency of the Soviet views with the IVth Hague Convention of 1907 and the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, as well as the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941—was without foundation. In the opinion of the Soviet Government the people of the western districts of the Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian Republics had acquired Soviet citizenship at the "freely expressed will of the people."

When the Polish Government's attention was called to the fact that despite all protests and although Ambassador Romer was negotiating with Mr. Molotov in Moscow, the Soviet Government had proceeded to apply pressure to force Soviet citizenship on Polish citizens, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs presented a new Note to Ambassador Bogomolov on March 29, 1943, in which he re-affirmed that in the light of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, binding both parties, the attitude of the Soviet Government must be regarded as illegal and unjustifiable, for: (a) it was inconsistent with the Protocol attached to the Agreement referred to, which granted amnesty to all Polish citizens in the Soviet Union, and which as a bilateral legal act could not be modified or infringed by any unilateral Soviet decisions, and (b) the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of November 29, 1939, as to citizenship, enacted as it was in consequence of the Soviet-German treaties of 1939, and even containing a direct reference to one of them, must have been invalidated by Article I of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941. In view of the fact that the Soviet Government did not agree to suspend the enforcement of its order concerning Polish citizens, the Polish Government had but one course, to protest emphatically and to state that it did not recognize this infringement of the sovereign

rights of the Polish State and that it reserved the fundamental right to repudiate in the future any accomplished fact either of a general character or affecting individual Polish citizens, brought about by the attitude of the Soviet Government.

In the course of the conversations which Ambassador Romer had in Moscow between February 20 and March 18, 1943, with Premier Stalin and Commissar Molotov it was established that the Soviet authorities did not consider as Soviet citizens all Polish citizens who happened to be in the Eastern part of Poland which the Soviet Government consider as incorporated in the U.S.S.R., but not domiciled there. Negotiations were then initiated with a view to determining a suitable procedure for issuing Polish passports; Ambassador Romer insisted that the Soviet authorities define their attitude with regard to those persons in the U.S.S.R. whom they recognize as "indisputably" Polish citizens. In order to make this clear the Soviet Government supplied the Polish Embassy with extracts from the Civil Codes of the Russian and Ukrainian Republics. From these it was possible to learn what Soviet legislation understood by "persons domiciled." In the light of these documents a person "domiciled" is one residing permanently in a given locality or else attached to it by his work, property or principal source of employment. The Soviet authorities were instructed to comply with this legislation, to revoke any orders incompatible with it and to return the Polish documents that had been confiscated. On April 16, 1943, the Polish Ambassador received a Note informing him that the competent Soviet authorities had received the necessary instructions for supply certificates of residence (*vid na zhitelstvo*) to Polish citizens on Soviet territory. When issuing these documents, the local Soviet authorities fixed a period of two months as a time limit for acquiring Polish passports from the Embassy. This they considered entirely sufficient.

In theory, the Government of the U.S.S.R. raised no further objection to passports being issued by the Embassy without consulting the Soviet authorities on the citizenship of the persons concerned. In practice, however, only such Polish citizens could apply for passports as had already been given a certificate of residence by the Soviet authorities. Passports issued to other categories of Polish citizens would have made them liable to prosecution by the Soviet authorities.

Although the above procedure was not applied to any appreciable extent because of the rupture by the Soviet Government of diplomatic relations with Poland, it nevertheless remains evidence of the fact that even Soviet legislation recognizes a great number of Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as "indisputably" Polish citizens, with the right to acquire Polish passports and leave the Soviet Union.

Ambassador Romer's conversations with high Soviet officials and the procedure arrived at as described above prove that the attitude of the Soviet Government with regard to the problem of Polish citizenship in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, first defined in the note dated December 1, 1941, and then on January 16, 1943, was once again changed.

However the Note of January 16, 1943, had much wider and deeper implications. It marked the beginning of a new era in Polish-Soviet relations, an era in which the Soviet Government has been trying to deal unilaterally with Poland, the first victim of the 1939 German aggression, and this in their own way without the slightest regard for international law and justice, or consideration for the high principles in defence of which all other United Nations are fighting this war.

Part II

CHAPTER 1

Polish Soviet Relations Prior to the War

No. 1

Decree of the Council of People's Commissars No. 698 issued in Moscow, August 29, 1918, abrogating the agreements of the Government of the former Russian Empire with the Governments of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, the Kingdoms of Prussia and Bavaria, the Duchies of Hesse, Oldenburg, Sachsen-Meiningen, and the City of Lubeck.

Art. 1.

Art. 2.

Art. 3. All agreements and acts concluded by the Government of the former Russian Empire with the Governments of the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in connection with the partitions of Poland, are annulled for ever by the present Resolution, in view of the fact that they are contrary to the principle of the self-determination of peoples and to the revolutionary, legal conception of the Russian nation, which recognizes the inalienable right of the Polish nation to decide its own fate and to become united.

Art. 4.

Art. 5.

Signed: Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:

V. ULYANOV-LENIN.

Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

L. KARAKHAN.

Executive Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars:

VLAD. BONTCH-BRUYEVITCH.

No. 2

Declaration of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic to the Polish Government and the Polish Nation, issued in Moscow, January 28, 1920.

Poland is now confronted with a decision that for many years to come may have grave repercussions on the lives of both nations. Everything shows that the extreme imperialists of the Entente, the supporters and agents of Churchill and Clemenceau are directing at present all their efforts to draw Poland into a futile, ill-considered and criminal war with Soviet-Russia.

Conscious of its responsibility for the fate of the Russian working masses and wishing to prevent new and innumerable disasters, sacrifices and devastation threatening the two nations:—

1. The Council of People's Commissars declares that the policy of the U.S.S.R. towards Poland is based not on any occasional, transient considerations of war or diplomacy but on the inviolable principle of self-determination of nations and it has recognized and recognizes unreservedly the independence and sovereignty of the Polish Republic and declares this recognition to be the basis of all its relations with Poland from the moment of the formation of an independent Polish State.

2. While regarding the last peace proposal of December 22 put forward by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as still fully valid, the Council of People's Commissars, which has no aggressive intentions whatever, declares that the Red Army will not cross the present line of the White-Ruthenian front that passes near the following points: Dryssa, Dzisna, Polock, Borysow, Parycze, Railroad Stations Ptycz and Bialokozowice. As regards the Ukrainian front, the Council of People's Commissars declares in its own name and in the name of the provisional Ukrainian Government that the army of the Federated Soviet Republic will not engage in military operations to the West of the present line, running near the localities of Budouwa, Pilawy, Dereznia and Bar.

3. The Council of the People's Commissars declares that the Soviet Government has not entered into any agreements or pacts, with Germany or any other country, aimed directly or indirectly against Poland, and that the character and spirit of international policy of the Soviet authorities excludes the very possibility of similar agreements, as well as attempts to exploit eventual conflict between

Poland and Germany or Poland and other countries in order to violate Poland's independence and her territorial integrity.

4. The Council of People's Commissars declares that so far as the essential interests of Poland and Russia are concerned there is not a single question, territorial, economic or other, that could not be solved in a peaceful way, through negotiation, mutual compromise or agreement, as is now the case in the negotiations with Estonia.

While recommending to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that it obtain at the next session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in February, a confirmation by the Supreme Body of the Republic of the above stated basis of Soviet policy towards Poland, the Council of People's Commissars considers on its part that by this categorical declaration it is fulfilling its duty towards the peace interests of the Russian and Polish nations and hopes that all controversial matters will be settled by friendly negotiations between Russia and Poland.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:

V. ULYANOV-LENIN.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

TCHITCHERIN.

People's Commissar for Army and Navy:

TROTSKY.

No. 3

Treaty of Peace between Poland, Russia and the Ukraine, signed at Riga, March 18, 1921.

PREAMBLE

Poland—on the one hand—and Russia and the Ukraine—on the other—being desirous of putting an end to the war and of concluding a final, lasting and honorable peace based on a mutual understanding and in accordance with the peace preliminaries signed at Riga on October 12, 1920, have decided to enter into negotiations and have appointed for this purpose as plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the Polish Republic:

MM. Jean Dabski,
Stanislas Kauzik,
Edouard Lechowicz,
Henri Strasburger and
Léon Wasilewski.

The Government of The Federal Socialist Republic of the Russian Soviets, on its own behalf and with the authorization of the Government of the White-Ruthenian Socialist Republic of Soviets and of the Government of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic of Soviets:

MM. Adolphe Joffé
Jacob Ganetski
Emmanuel Kviring
Leonide Obolenski and
Georges Koutshoubinski.

The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries met at Riga, and having exchanged their full powers, which were recognized as sufficient and found to be in good and due form, agreed to the following provisions:

Riga, March 18, 1921.

ARTICLE 1

The two Contracting Parties declare that a state of war has ceased to exist between them.

ARTICLE 2

The two Contracting Parties, in accordance with the principle of national self-determination, recognize the independence of the Ukraine and of White Ruthenia, and agree and decide that the eastern frontier of Poland, that is to say, the frontier between Poland on the one hand, and Russia, White Ruthenia and the Ukraine on the other, shall be as follows:

The frontier shall follow the course of the Western Dzwina, from the frontier between Russia and Latvia, to the point at which the frontier of the former Government of Wilno meets the frontier of the former Government of Witebsk; thence it shall follow the frontier between the former Governments of Wilno and Witebsk as far as the road running from the village of Drozdy to the town of Orzechowno, leaving the road and the town of Orzechowno to Poland;

It shall then cross the railway line near the town of Orzechowno, and, turning towards the south-west, shall run along the railway line, leaving the station of Zahacie to Poland, the village of Zahacie to Russia, and the village of Stelmachowo to Poland;

Thence it shall follow the eastern frontier of the former Govern-

ment of Wilno as far as the meeting point of the districts of Dzisna, Lepel and Borysow;

Thence it shall follow the frontier of the former Government of Wilno at an approximate distance of one kilometre, as far as the point at which this frontier turns westward near Sosnowiec;

Thence the frontier shall continue in a straight line towards the sources of the River Czernica to the east of Hornowa and thereafter it shall follow the Czernica river as far as the village of Wielka-Czernica, which it shall leave to White Ruthenia;

Thence it shall continue in a south-westerly direction, across the Lake of Miadziol, to the village of Zarzeczyck which shall be left to White Ruthenia together with the village of Chmielewyszczyna; on the other hand, the villages of Starosiele and of Turowszczyna shall belong to Poland;

Thence the frontier shall run in a south-westerly direction to the confluence of the River Wilja with an unnamed stream on the west of the village of Drohomicz, leaving to White Ruthenia the following villages: Uhly, Wolbarowicze, Borowe, Szunowka, Beztróck, Daleka, Klaczkówek, Zazantów, Maciejowyce, and the following to Poland: Komajsk, Raszkówka, Osowa, Kusk, Wardomicze, Solone, Milcz;

Thence the line shall follow the river Wilja to the road on the south of the town of Dolhinowo;

Thence it shall pass to the south as far as the village of Baturyn, leaving to White Ruthenia all that road and the villages of Rahozin, of Tokary, of Polosy and of Hluboczany, and to Poland the following villages: Owsianiki, Czarnorucze, Zurawa, Ruszczyce, Zaciemień, Borki, Czerwiaki and Baturyn;

Thence it shall run to the town of Radoszkowicze, leaving to White Ruthenia the villages of Papysze, Sieliszczce, Podworany, Trusowicze North, Doszki, Cyganowo, Dworzyszczce, and Czyrewicze, and to Poland the villages of Lukawiec, Mordasy, Rubce, Lawcowicze North, and Lawcowicze South, Budzki, Klimonty, Wielkie Bakszty and the town of Radoszkowicze;

Thence it shall follow the River Wiazówka, to the village of Lipienie, leaving the latter village to Poland, then running in a south-westerly direction, crossing the railway and leaving the station of Radoszkowicze to White Ruthenia;

Thence it shall run southward as from the town of Raków, leaving to White Ruthenia the villages of Wiekszyce, Dolzenie,

Mietkowa, Wielka Borozdynka and Kozielszczyzna, and to Poland the villages of Szypowaly, Macewicz, Stary Raków, Kuczkuny and the town of Raków;

Thence the frontier shall continue as far as the town of Wolma, leaving to White Ruthenia the villages of: Wielkie Siolo, Malawka, Lukasze, and Szczepki, and to Poland the villages of Duszkowo, Chimorydy, Jankowce, and the town of Wolma;

Thence it shall follow the road from the town of Wolma as far as the town of Rubiezewicz, leaving that road and the town to Poland;

Thence it shall continue southward as far as the unnamed inn situated at the point at which the Baranowicz-Mińsk railway crosses the Nowy Swierzeń-Mińsk road (see map, scale one English inch to ten versts, above the letter M at the beginning of the word Miezinowka; and map, scale one English inch to twenty-five versts, near Kolosowo) leaving the inn to Poland; the villages of Papki, Zywica, Poloniewicz, Osinówka, shall go to White Ruthenia and the villages of Lichacze and of Rozanka shall go to Poland;

Thence the frontier shall pass across the center of the Nieświcz-Cimkowicz road to the west of Kukowicz, leaving the villages of Swerynowo, Kutiec, Lunina, Jazwina North, Bieliki, Jazwin, Rymasze, and Kukowicz (all three) to White Ruthenia; the villages of Kul, Buczne, Dwianopol, Zurawy, Posieki, Juszewicz, Lisuny North and Lisuny South, Sultanowszczyzna and Pleszewicz to Poland;

Thence it shall pass halfway between Kleck and Cimkowicz (between the villages of Puzowo and Prochody), leaving to White Ruthenia the villages of Rajówka, Sawicz, Zarakowce, and Puzowo, and to Poland the villages of Marusin, East Smolicz, Lecieszyn, and Prochody;

Thence it shall continue as far as the Warsaw-Moscow road, crossing it to the west of the village of West Filipowicz, and leaving the village of Ciechowa to White Ruthenia and the village of Jodczyce to Poland;

Thence it shall run south as far as the Morocz river, near Choropol, leaving the villages of Stare Mokrazy, Zadworze, Mokrazy and Choropol to White Ruthenia, and the villages of Ciecierowicz, Ostaszki, Lozowicz, and Nowe Mokrazy to Poland;

Thence it shall follow the Morocz river as far as its confluence with the river Slucz of Mińsk;

Thence it shall follow the river Slucz as far as its confluence with the River Prypeć;

Thence it shall continue towards the village of Berezce, leaving the villages of Lubowicze, Chilczyce, and Berezce to White Ruthenia, and the villages of North Lutki and South Lutki to Poland;

Thence it shall follow the road from the village of Bukcza, leaving the road and the village of Bukcza to White Ruthenia and the village of Korma to Poland;

Thence it shall continue as far as the Sarny-Olewska railway, which it shall cross between the stations of Ostki and Snowidowicze, leaving to the Ukraine the villages of Wojtkowicze, Sobiczyn, Michałówka, and Budki Snowidowickie, and to Poland the villages of Radziwilowicze, Raczków, Białowiska, Białowiz, and Snowidowicze;

Thence the frontier shall continue towards the village of Myszakówka, leaving to the Ukraine the villages of Majdan Holyszewski, Zaderewie, Marjanpol, Zolny, Kłomowa, and Rudnia Kłonowska, and to Poland the villages of Derć, Okopy, Netreba, Woniacze, Perelysianka, Nowa Huta, and Myszakówka;

Thence it shall continue as far as the mouth of the River Korczyk, leaving the village of Mlynek to the Ukraine;

Thence it shall run up the River Korczyk, leaving the town of Korzec to Poland;

Thence it shall continue as far as the village of Milatyn, leaving to the Ukraine the villages of Poddubce, Kilikijów, Dolzki, Narajówka, Ułaszanówka, and Marjanówka, and the villages of Bohdanówka, Czernica, Kryłów, Majków, Dolha, Friederland, Poręba Kuraska, and Milatyn to Poland;

Thence it shall follow the road leading from the village of Milatyn to the town of Ostróg, leaving the villages of Moszczanówka, Krzywín, and Solowie to the Ukraine, and the villages of Moszczanica, Bodówka, Wilbowno, the town of Ostrog and the road to Poland;

Thence it shall run up the River Wilja as far as the village of Chodaki, which remains to Poland;

Thence it shall continue as far as the town of Białozórka, leaving to the Ukraine the villages of Wielka Borowica, Stepanówka, North Bajmaki and South Bajmaki, Liski, Siwki, Wołoski, the town of Jampól, the villages of Didkowce, Wiazowiec, and Krzywcziki, and to Poland the villages of Bolożówka, Sadki, Obory, Szkro-

botówka, Pańkowce, Grzybowa, Lysohorka, Molodzków, and the town of Białozórka;

Thence it shall continue as far as the River Zbrucz, leaving the road and the village of Szczesnówka to Poland;

Thence it shall follow the River Zbrucz, as far as its confluence with the River Dniester.

ARTICLE 3

Russia and the Ukraine abandon all rights and claims to the territories situated to the west of the frontier laid down by Article 2 of the present Treaty. Poland, on the other hand, abandons in favour of the Ukraine and of White Ruthenia all rights and claims to the territory situated to the east of this frontier. The two Contracting Parties agree that, in so far as the territory situated to the west of the frontier fixed in Article 2 of the present Treaty includes districts which form the subject of a dispute between Poland and Lithuania, the question of the attribution of these districts to one of those two States is a matter which exclusively concerns Poland and Lithuania.

ARTICLE 4

.....

ARTICLE 5

Each of the Contracting Parties mutually undertakes to respect in every way the political sovereignty of the other Party, to abstain from interference in its internal affairs, and particularly to refrain from all agitation, propaganda or interference of any kind, and not to encourage any such movement.

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to create or protect organisations which are formed with the object of encouraging armed conflict against the other Contracting Party or of undermining its territorial integrity, or of subverting by force its political or social institutions, nor yet such organisations as claim to be the Government of the other Party or of a part of the territories of the other Party. The Contracting Parties therefore, undertake to prevent such organisations, their official representatives and other persons connected therewith, from establishing themselves on their territory, and to prohibit military recruiting and the entry into their territory and transport across it, of armed forces, arms, munitions and war material of any kind destined for such organisations.

.....

No. 4

Decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, on the subject of the frontiers of Poland, March 15, 1923.

The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, signatories with the United States of America, as the principal Allied and Associated Powers, of the Versailles Treaty of Peace:

Considering that by the terms of Article 87, paragraph 3, of the said Treaty, it is for them to fix the frontiers of Poland, which have not been specified by that Treaty;

Considering that on February 15, 1923, the Polish Government addressed to the Conference of Ambassadors a request inviting the Powers there represented to avail themselves of the rights conferred on them by the said Article;

That, for its part, the Lithuanian Government has already, in its Note of November 18, 1922, shown itself anxious to see the said Powers avail themselves of the said rights;

Considering that by the terms of Article 91 of the Treaty of Peace of Saint Germain-en-Laye, Austria has renounced in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all its rights and titles to the territories which previously belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and which, situated outside the new frontiers of Austria, as they are described in Article 27 of the said Treaty, are not actually the subject of any attribution;

Considering that it is recognized by Poland that in so far as the eastern part of Galicia is concerned, the ethnographical conditions necessitate an autonomous régime;

Considering that the Treaty concluded between the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland on June 28, 1919, has provided for special guarantees in favour of racial, language and religious minorities in all the territories placed under Polish sovereignty;

Considering that so far as its frontier with Russia is concerned, Poland has entered into direct relations with that State with a view to determining the line;

That in so far as the frontier between Poland and Lithuania is concerned, there is cause to take into account the actual situation resulting, notably, from the Resolution of the Council of the League of Nations on February 3, 1923:

Have charged the Conference of Ambassadors with the regulation of this question.

In consequence, the Conference of Ambassadors:

1. Decides to recognize as the frontiers of Poland:

(1) With Russia:

The line drawn and delimited by the agreement between the two States and on their responsibility dated November 28, 1922.*

(2) With Lithuania:

The line below described (according to the German map, scale 1 : 100,000):

From the point where the northern administrative limit of the district of Suwalki meets the frontier of Eastern Prussia (the point common to Eastern Prussia, Poland and Lithuania) and as far as the most southerly point of re-entry of the limit of the district of Suwalki, a point situated at about seven kilometres to the north-west of Puńsk, the northern administrative limit of the district of Suwalki;

Thence towards the south-east as far as a point on the road Berzniki-Kopciowo, situated about two kilometres to the south-east of Berzniki;

A line to be determined on the spot, leaving Puńsk to Poland, traversing Lake Galadus from its north-westerly extremity as far as a point situated about two kilometres to the north of Zegary, then passing towards the east, then parallel with the line of small lakes situated between Berzniki and Zegary at about two kilometres to the east of these lakes;

Thence as far as a point about two kilometres 500 metres to the east of Zelwa on the River Marycha, a line to be determined on the spot;

Thence, down the course of the River Marycha as far as the confluence of a small tributary situated on the left bank of this river and immediately above Studzianka;

Thence, a line to be determined on the spot as far as the source of the River Igorka, then the course of this river which passes to Warwieszki as far as its confluence with the Niemen;

Thence, down the course of the River Niemen as far as the confluence of the River Grawe;

* Polish-Soviet Delimitation of Frontiers Agreement, signed November 28, 1922, under the Treaty of Riga.

Thence, the River Grawe as far as the point where it intersects the high road from Merecz to Rotnica;

Thence, a line to be determined on the spot as far as the confluence of the River Skroblis with the River Mereczanka;

Thence, the course of the Mereczanka, as far as a bridge about 300 metres to the south-east of Podkamień;

Thence and as far as frontier post 142 at about two kilometres to the north-east of Strzelciszki;

A line to be determined on the spot, leaving to Lithuania the localities of Podkamień, Karpiszki, Strzelciszki, to Poland those of Bortele, Kukle, and passing by way of the intersection of the roads from Bobryszki to Olkieniki and from Orany to Wojtowo on the railway from Grodno to Wilno;

Thence as far as a point to be determined on the course of the River Wilja at about 800 metres to the west of Siurmańce;

A line to be determined on the spot, leaving to Lithuania the localities of Kalańce, Szpiengleniki, Giecieniszki, Uzuleje, Prybańce, Greczówka, Ismańce, Jagielany, Dergiańce, Kopciszki, Zailgi, Chwoszczyzna, Niedzwiedówka, Janczuny, Daniliszki, Jerzówka, Nowy Dwór, Promysłówka, Walakiszki, Kurkliszki, Kalejkiemie, Wiluniszki, Kiermanczyszki, Bialolesie and Owsieniszki, and leaving to Poland the localities of Wójtowo, Puzkarnia, Czarnókowale, Kol-Lejpuny, Wejksztelańce, Ejgielańce, Markowszczyzna, Strazn, Skobsk, Wizgirdy, Dombrowo, Dembniaki, Stanisławówka, Kotysz, Staszkuniszki, Lebiedzie, Mejluski, Podworańce, Glity, Pietkieniszki, Kiermeliszki, Kudrany, Poniewiezka, Mejdany, Miciuny, Loj-ciszki, Mejryszki, Barcie, Jateluny, Puzanowo, Kazimirówka and Siurmańce;

Thence, the course of the River Wilja as far as a point situated about one kilometre 200 metres to the south of Sejmieniszki;

Thence and as far as a point to be determined at the southwestern extremity of Lake Dubińskie to the south of Zaltynie;

A line to be determined on the spot, leaving in Lithuanian territory Pospierze, Kejmińce, Sketery, Olinowo, Pory, Kontromiszki, Kiele, Awizańce, Nieczańce, Bojary, Olany, Palki, Ollis, Okmianka, Towkiele, Aleksandryszki, Gawejki, Zaltynie, and in Polish territory the localities of Podworzańce, Podgaj, Drawcza, Mejluny, Papiernia, Bortkuski, Uzubledzie, Lipówka, Pobłyńdzie, Zyndule, Astyki, Szalkowszczyzna, Romaszańce, Pogiry, Borówka, Santoki,

Pustylki, Gudejki, Stolewyszczyna, Zylwiszki, Szmilginie, Gawejki, Sidabry;

Thence, a line traversing Lake Dubińskie as far as a point to be determined on the north-east bank at about 500 metres to the south-east of Olka;

Thence and as far as a point to be determined on the south bank of Lake Prowal to the east of Surgańce;

A line to be determined on the spot, leaving in Lithuanian territory the localities of Olka, Lake Bolosza, Labejszyszki, Mlynek, Janiszki, Szerejkiszki, Surgańce, and in Polish territory the localities of Jankuniszki, Purwiniszki, Szarkiszki, Maciejowo, Ormiany, Skardzie, Nowosiółka, Grzybiańce;

Thence and as far as a point to be determined on the southern edge of the lake on the bank of which is Antolkony and at 500 metres to the west of this locality;

A line to be determined on the spot, leaving in Lithuanian territory the localities of Madejki, Mazule, Szakaliszki, Andrulańce, Zukowszczyzna, Zemałtyski, Prudziszki, Poluknis, Pozenis, Zwirbliszki, Sidoriszki, Melejszany, and in Polish territory the localities of Maldziuny, Rutowszczyzna, Baranowo, Antoledzie, Berniuny, Lyngmiany, Antokalny;

And thence as far as the frontier of Latvia;

A line to be determined on the spot running towards the north-east then towards the north, passing between Lake Bolosza and Lake Dringis, and leaving in Lithuanian territory the localities of Auksztenis, Achramiańce, Rejnie, Azany, Sadziuny, W.-Derewnia, Suntutpie, Kalniszki, Szablówczyzna, Mugliszki, Jurkokalnie, Smolweczki, Werugiszki, and in Polish territory the localities of Kozaczyna, Mejluny, Wardzikiemie, Aliejuny, Sakiszki, Pozemiszki, Karaczuny, Smolwy, Paukszteliszki, Smolwy (north), Dulkiszki, Matejkiszki;

The tracing of this line on the spot is left to the care of the two Governments concerned, who will have every latitude to proceed, by mutual agreement, to rectifications of detail which they may recognize on the spot as indispensable.

2. Decides to recognize to Poland, which accepts all rights of sovereignty over the territories comprised between the frontiers above defined and the other frontiers of the Polish territory, with reserve to the dispositions of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Saint Germain-en-Laye concerning the charges and obligations incumbent

upon the States to which any territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is transferred.

Done at Paris, March 15, 1923.

Eric Phipps.

R. Poincaré.

Romano Arezzana.

M. Matsuda.

The undersigned, duly authorized, declares, in the name of the Polish Government, his acceptance of the foregoing dispositions.

Done at Paris, March 15, 1923.

Maurice Zamoycki.

No. 5

Note of April 5, 1923 from Hon. Hugh Gibson, Minister of the United States of America in Warsaw, to the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, taking cognizance of the Decision of the Council of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923.

Warsaw, April 5, 1923.

Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that my Government has taken cognizance of the decision of the Council of Ambassadors at Paris of March 15, 1923 with regard to the Polish frontiers, this decision being in harmony with the assertions of territorial Sovereignty of Poland.

In view of this the officials of the American Government charged with the administration of the immigration law have agreed that for the balance of the present fiscal year the quotas of the regions of Pinsk and Eastern Galicia shall be merged into that of Poland.

I take the occasion to express, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

HUGH GIBSON.

No. 6

Protocol between Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the immediate entry into force of the Treaty of Paris of August 27, 1928, regarding renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, signed at Moscow, February 9, 1929.*

The Government of the Estonian Republic, the President of the Latvian Republic, the President of the Polish Republic, His Majesty

* Briand-Kellogg Pact.

the King of Rumania, and the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, being desirous of promoting the maintenance of peace between their respective countries and for this purpose of putting into force without delay, between the peoples of those countries, the Treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, have decided to achieve this purpose by means of the present Protocol and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries.....

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, a copy of which is attached to the present Protocol as an integral part of that instrument, shall come into force between the Contracting Parties after the ratification of the said Treaty of Paris of 1928 by the competent legislative bodies of the respective Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 2

The entry into force in virtue of the present Protocol, of the Treaty of Paris of 1928 in reciprocal relations between the Parties to the present Protocol shall be valid independently of the entry into force of the Treaty of Paris of 1928 as provided in Article 3 of the last-named Treaty.

ARTICLE 3

1. The present Protocol shall be ratified by the competent legislative bodies of the Contracting Parties, in conformity with the requirements of their respective constitutions.

2. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited by each of the Contracting Parties with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics within one week of the ratification of the present Protocol by the respective parties.

3. As from the date of the deposit of the instruments of ratification by two of the Contracting Parties, the present Protocol shall come into force between those two Parties. In reciprocal relations between the other Contracting Parties and the States for which it

has already come into force, the Protocol shall come into force as and when their instruments of ratification are deposited.

4. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall immediately notify the deposit of the several ratifications to all the signatories to the present Protocol.

ARTICLE 4

In order to give effect to Article 1 of the present Protocol, each of the Contracting Parties, after ratification by its legislative bodies of the Treaty of Paris of 1928, shall immediately notify the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and all the other Parties to the present Protocol, through the diplomatic channel.

ARTICLE 5

The present Protocol shall be open for the accession of the Governments of all countries. Notification of final accession shall be made to the address of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which shall duly notify all the other Parties to the present Protocol. Immediately on receipt of such notification of accession, the present Protocol shall be put into force in reciprocal relations between the acceding State and all the other Parties to the present Protocol.

ARTICLE 6

The entry into force, in virtue of the present Protocol, of the Treaty of Paris of 1928, in reciprocal relations between the acceding State and all the other Parties to the said Protocol, shall be effected in the way laid down in Article 4 of the Protocol.

ARTICLE 7

The present Protocol has been drawn up in a single copy, an authentic copy of which shall be communicated by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to each of the signatory or acceding States.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol and have affixed their seals thereto.

No. 7

Pact of Non-Aggression between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow, July 25, 1932.

The President of the Polish Republic, of the one part, and the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the other part,

Desirous of maintaining the present state of peace between their countries, and convinced that the maintenance of peace between them constitutes an important factor in the work of preserving universal peace;

Considering that the Treaty of Peace of March 18, 1921, constitutes, now as in the past, the basis of their reciprocal relations and undertakings;

Convinced that the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the exclusion of all that might be contrary to the normal condition of relations between States are the surest means of arriving at the goal desired;

Declaring that none of the obligations hitherto assumed by either of the Parties stands in the way of the peaceful development of their mutual relations or is incompatible with the present Pact;

Have decided to conclude the present Pact with the object of amplifying and completing the pact for the renunciation of war signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, and put into force by the Protocol signed at Moscow on February 9, 1929, and for that purpose have designated as their Plenipotentiaries.....

Who, after exchanging their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1

The two Contracting Parties, recording the fact that they have renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, reciprocally undertake to refrain from taking any aggressive action against or invading the territory of the other Party, either alone or in conjunction with other Powers.

Any act of violence attacking the integrity and inviolability of the territory or the political independence of the other Contracting Party shall be regarded as contrary to the undertakings contained in the present Article, even if such acts are committed without declaration of war and avoid all possible warlike manifestations.

ARTICLE 2

Should one of the Contracting Parties be attacked by a third State or by a group of other States, the other Contracting Party undertakes not to give aid or assistance, either directly or indirectly, to the aggressor State during the whole period of the conflict.

If one of the Contracting Parties commits an act of aggression against a third State the other Contracting Party shall have the right to be released from the present Treaty without previous denunciation.

ARTICLE 3

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to be a party to any agreement openly hostile to the other Party from the point of view of aggression.

ARTICLE 4

The undertakings provided for in Articles 1 and 2 of the present Pact shall in no case limit or modify the international rights and obligations of each Contracting Party under agreements concluded by it before the coming into force of the present Pact, so far as the said agreements contain no aggressive elements.

ARTICLE 5

The two Contracting Parties, desirous of settling and solving, exclusively by peaceful means, any disputes and differences, of whatever nature or origin, which may arise between them, undertake to submit questions at issue, which it has not been possible to settle within a reasonable period by diplomatic channels, to a procedure of conciliation, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention for the application of the procedure of conciliation, which constitutes an integral part of the present Pact and shall be signed separately and ratified as soon as possible simultaneously with the Pact of Non-Aggression.¹

ARTICLE 6

The present Pact shall be ratified as soon as possible, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Warsaw within thirty days following the ratification by Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, after which the Pact shall come into force immediately.

ARTICLE 7

The Pact is concluded for three years. If it is not denounced by one of the Contracting Parties, after previous notice of not

¹ The Convention for Conciliation between the Republic of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was signed at Moscow, November 23, 1932.

less than six months before the expiry of that period, it shall be automatically renewed for a further period of two years.

ARTICLE 8

The present Pact is drawn up in Polish and Russian, both texts being authentic.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Pact and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done at Moscow, in two copies, July 25, 1932.

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE NO. 1

The Contracting Parties declare that Article 7 of the Pact of July 25, 1932, cannot be interpreted as meaning that the expiry of the time-limit or denunciation before the expiry of the time-period under Article 7 could have as a result the limitation or cancellation of the obligations arising out of the Pact of Paris of 1928.

Done at Moscow, in two copies, July 25, 1932.

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE NO. 2

On signing the Pact of Non-Aggression this day, the two Parties having exchanged their views on the draft Conciliation Convention submitted by the Soviet Party, declare that they are convinced that there is no essential difference of opinion between them.

Done at Moscow, in two copies, July 25, 1932.

No. 8

Convention for the Definition of Aggression, signed at London, July 3, 1933.

His Majesty the King of Rumania, the President of the Estonian Republic, the President of the Latvian Republic, the President of the Polish Republic, the President of the Turkish Republic, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, and His Majesty the King of Afghanistan;

Being desirous of consolidating the peaceful relations existing between their countries;

Mindful of the fact that the Briand-Kellogg Pact, of which they are signatories, prohibits all aggression;

Deeming it necessary, in the interests of the general security, to define aggression as specifically as possible, in order to obviate any pretext whereby it might be justified;

And noting that all States have an equal right to independence, security, the defence of their territories, and the free development of their institutions;

And desirous, in the interest of the general peace, to ensure to all peoples the inviolability of the territory of their countries;

And judging it expedient, in the interest of the general peace, to bring into force, as between their countries, precise rules defining aggression, until such time as those rules shall become universal;

Have decided, with the aforesaid objects, to conclude the present Convention, and have duly authorized for this purpose.....

Who have agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to accept in its relations with each of the other Parties, from the date of the entry into force of the present Convention, the definition of aggression as explained in the report dated May 24, 1933, of the Committee on Security Questions (Politis Report) to the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, which report was made in consequence of the proposal of the Soviet delegation.

ARTICLE 2

Accordingly, the aggressor in an international conflict shall, subject to the agreements in force between the parties to the dispute, be considered to be that State which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

1. Declaration of war upon another State;
2. Invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
3. Attack by its land, naval or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State;
4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;
5. Provision of support to armed bands formed in its territory which have invaded the territory of another State, or refusal, notwithstanding the request of the invaded State, to take, in its own

territory, all the measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection.

ARTICLE 3

No political, military, economic or other considerations may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to in Article 2 (for examples see Annex).

ARTICLE 4

The present Convention shall be ratified by each of the High Contracting Parties in accordance with its laws.

The instruments of ratification shall be deposited by each of the High Contracting Parties with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As soon as the instruments of ratification have been deposited by two of the High Contracting Parties, the present Convention shall come into force as between those two Parties. The Convention shall come into force as regards each of the other High Contracting Parties when it deposits its instruments of ratification.

Each deposit of instruments of ratification shall immediately be notified by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to all the signatories of the present Convention.

ARTICLE 5

The present Convention has been signed in eight copies, of which each of the High Contracting Parties has received one.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done in London, July 3, 1933.

ANNEX

To Article 3 of the Convention for the Definition of Aggression.
The High Contracting Parties, signatories of the Convention for the Definition of Aggression.

Desiring, subject to the express reservation that the absolute validity of the rule laid down in Article 3 of that Convention shall be in no way restricted, to furnish certain indications for determining the aggressor.

Declare that no act of aggression within the meaning of Article 2 of that Convention can be justified on either of the following grounds, among others:

(a) The internal condition of a State:

E.g., its political, economic, or social structure; alleged defects in its administration; disturbances due to strikes, revolutions, counter-revolutions, or civil war.

(b) The international conduct of a State:

E.g., the violation or threatened violation of the material or moral rights or interests of a foreign State or its nationals; the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations; economic or financial boycotts; disputes relating to economic, financial, or other obligations towards foreign States; frontier incidents not forming any of the cases of aggression specified in Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties further agree to recognize that the present Convention can never legitimate any violations of international law that may be implied in the circumstances comprised in the above list.

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE

It is hereby agreed between the High Contracting Parties that should one or more of the other States immediately adjacent to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics accede in the future to the present Convention, the said accession shall confer on the State or States in question the same rights and shall impose on them the same obligations as those conferred and imposed on the ordinary signatories.¹

No. 9

Protocol signed at Moscow, May 5, 1934, between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics prolonging until December 31, 1945, the Pact of Non-Aggression of July 25, 1932.

The President of the Republic of Poland, and The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
Being desirous of providing as firm a basis as possible for the development of the relations between their countries;

Being desirous of giving each other fresh proof of the unchange-

¹On July 22, 1933, the Republic of Finland adhered to this Convention.

able character and solidity of the pacific and friendly relations happily established between them;

Moved by the desire to collaborate in the consolidation of world peace and also for the stability and peaceful development of international relations in Eastern Europe;

Noting that the conclusion on July 5, 1932, at Moscow, of the Treaty between the Republic of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has had a beneficial influence on the development of their relations and on the solution of the above-mentioned problems;

Have decided to sign the present Protocol, and have for this purpose appointed as their Plenipotentiaries.....

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and true form, have agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1

In modification of the provisions of Article 7 of the Treaty of Non-Aggression concluded at Moscow on July 25, 1932, between the Republic of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the date and manner in which that Treaty shall cease to have effect, the two Contracting Parties decide that it shall remain in force until December 31, 1945.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to denounce the Treaty by giving notice to that effect six months before the expiry of the above-mentioned period. If the Treaty is not denounced by either of the Contracting Parties, its period of validity shall be automatically prolonged for two years; similarly, the Treaty shall be regarded as prolonged on each occasion for a further period of two years, if it is not denounced by either of the Contracting Parties in the manner provided for in the present Article.

ARTICLE 2

The present Protocol is drawn up in duplicate, each copy being in the Polish and Russian languages and both texts being equally authentic.

The present Protocol shall be ratified as soon as possible, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged between the Contracting Parties at Warsaw.

The present Protocol shall come into force on the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done at Moscow in duplicate, in the Polish and Russian languages, the 5th day of May, 1934.

FINAL PROTOCOL

In connection with the signature on this date of the Protocol prolonging the Treaty of Non-Aggression between the Republic of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of July 25, 1932, each of the High Contracting Parties, having again examined all the provisions of the Peace Treaty concluded at Riga on March 18, 1921, which constitutes the basis of their mutual relations, declares that it has no obligations and is not bound by any declarations inconsistent with the provisions of the said Peace Treaty and in particular of Article 3 thereof.

Consequently, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confirms that the Note from the People's Commissar, G. V. Tchitcherin, of September 28, 1926, to the Lithuanian Government cannot be interpreted to mean that the Note implied any intention on the part of the Soviet Government to interfere in the settlement of the territorial questions mentioned therein.

Done at Moscow in duplicate, in the Polish and Russian languages, the 5th day of May, 1934.

No. 10

Notes exchanged in Moscow on September 10, 1934, between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government in connection with the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations.

Moscow, September 10, 1934.

Mr. People's Commissar,

In connection with the eventuality of the entry of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into the League of Nations, the Government of the Republic of Poland proposes to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a reciprocal recognition that after the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has entered the League of Nations the relations between the Republic of Poland and the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will in all their extent continue on the basis of all existing agreements between them, including the Pact of Non-Aggression and the Convention for the Definition of Aggression.

HENRYK SOKOLNICKI.

Mr. Mikolai Krestinski,

Director of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs
in Moscow.

Moscow, September 10, 1934.

Mr. Chargé d'Affaires,

In reply to your Note of even date, I have the honor to communicate to you in the name of my Government that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics completely agrees with the Polish Government on the question that, after the eventual invitation to and entry of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into the League of Nations, the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Poland will remain on the basis of the treaties existing between them, all of which, including the Pact of Non-Aggression and the Convention for the Definition of Aggression, will continue to preserve all their force.

M. KRESTINSKI.

Mr. Sokolnicki,

Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic of Poland in Moscow.

No. 11

Joint Communiqué issued in Moscow, November 26, 1938, by the Polish and Soviet Governments on the subject of Polish-Soviet relations.

A series of conversations recently held between M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., and M. Grzybowski, Polish Ambassador in Moscow, has led to the following statement:

1. Relations between the Polish Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are and will continue to be based to the fullest extent on all the existing Agreements, including the Polish-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression dated July 25, 1932. This Pact, concluded for five years and extended on May 5, 1934, for a

further period ending December 31, 1945, has a basis wide enough to guarantee the inviolability of peaceful relations between the two States.

2. Both Governments are favorable to the extension of their commercial relations.

3. Both Governments agree that it is necessary to settle a number of current and longstanding matters which have arisen in connection with the various agreements in force, and, in particular, to dispose of the various frontier incidents which have lately been occurring.

CHAPTER 2

Soviet Aggression and Polish-Soviet Conflict arising therefrom

No. 12

Despatch of September 17, 1939, from Mr. Grzybowski, Polish Ambassador in Moscow, to the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs reporting his conversation with M. Potemkin, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Moscow, September 17, 1939.

Mr. Potemkin sent for me today, September 17, at 3 a.m., and read me a Note from his Government, signed by Premier Molotov. The Note communicates that the Soviet Government have ordered their troops to cross the Polish frontier. The motives given in the Note were of such a nature that I refused to take it into cognizance and categorically protested against its contents. In view of the absence of Soviet diplomatic representatives from Poland, I agreed only to transmit the above information. I await instructions.

No. 13

Text of Note of September 17, 1939, read by M. Potemkin, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to M. Grzybowski, Polish Ambassador in Moscow.

The Polish-German War has revealed the internal bankruptcy of the Polish State. During the course of ten days' hostilities Poland

has lost all her industrial areas and cultural centres. Warsaw no longer exists as the capital of Poland. The Polish Government has disintegrated, and no longer shows any sign of life. This means that the Polish State and its Government have, in fact, ceased to exist. Therefore the Agreements concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Poland have ceased to operate. Left to her own devices and bereft of leadership, Poland has become a suitable field for all manner of hazards and surprises, which may constitute a threat to the U.S.S.R. For these reasons the Soviet Government, which hitherto has preserved neutrality, cannot any longer observe a neutral attitude towards these facts.

The Soviet Government further cannot view with indifference the fact that the kindred Ukrainian and White Ruthenian people, who live on Polish territory and who are at the mercy of fate, are left defenceless.

In these circumstances, the Soviet Government has directed the High Command of the Red Army to order the troops to cross the frontier and to take under their protection the life and property of the population of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia.

At the same time the Soviet Government proposes to take all measures to extricate the Polish people from the unfortunate war into which they were dragged by their unwise leaders, and enable them to live a peaceful life.

No. 14

Communiqué issued on September 17, 1939, by the Polish Embassy in London.

London, September 17, 1939.

On September 17, at 4 a.m., Soviet troops crossed the frontier of Poland at many points and were met immediately with strong resistance on the part of the Polish national army. A sharp encounter in particular is being fought near the frontier in the region of Molodeczno.

The pretext which the Soviet Government advance in order to justify this flagrant act of direct aggression is that the Polish Government has ceased to exist, and that it has abandoned the territory of Poland, thus leaving the Polish population on territories outside the zone of war with Germany without protection. The

Polish Government cannot enter into any discussion of the pretext which the Soviet Government has invented in order to justify the violation of the Polish frontier.

The Polish Government, responsible to the President of the Republic and to the duly elected National Parliament, are functioning on Polish territory and are carrying on the war against the German aggressors by all the means in their power.

By the act of direct aggression committed this morning the Soviet Government have flagrantly violated the Polish-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression concluded in Moscow on July 25, 1932, in which both parties mutually undertook to abstain from all aggressive action or from attack against each other. Moreover, on May 5, 1934, by the Protocol signed in Moscow, the above Pact of Non-Aggression was prolonged until December 31, 1945.

By the Convention concluded in London on July 3, 1933, Soviet Russia and Poland agreed on a definition of aggression, which clearly stamped as an act of aggression any encroachment upon the territory of one Contracting Party by the armed forces of the other and furthermore, that no consideration of a political, military, economic, or any other order could in any circumstances serve as a pretext or excuse for committing an act of aggression.

Therefore, by the act of wanton aggression committed this morning, the Soviet Government stands self-condemned as a violator of its international obligations, thus contradicting all the moral principles upon which Soviet Russia pretended to base her foreign policy since her admittance into the League of Nations.

No. 15

Communiqué issued in Kutý on September 17, 1939, by the Polish Government, protesting against the Soviet aggression.

The Polish Ambassador in Moscow has refused to accept the Note presented to him to-day by the Soviet Government.

The Polish Government has approved this attitude of their Ambassador who has asked the Soviet Government for his passports.

The Polish Government solemnly protest against the unilateral violation of the Non-Aggression Pact by Russia and against the invasion of Polish territory at a moment when the whole Polish Nation is making a supreme effort to repel the German aggressor,

The Polish Government protests against the motives alleged in the Note of the Soviet Government because the Polish Government are carrying on their normal activities and the Polish Army is successfully resisting the enemy.

No. 16

*Note of September 18, 1939, presented by the Polish Ambassador in Paris to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs.**

On the instruction of his Government the Polish Ambassador has the honor to communicate the following to the Government of the French Republic:

To-day, September 17, 1939, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics committed an aggression against Poland. At dawn large Soviet forces crossed the Polish frontier at several points. The Polish troops resisted. In view of the superiority of the Soviet forces, the Polish troops withdrew, fighting.

The Polish Government have protested to Moscow, and have instructed their Ambassador to demand his passports. The Polish Government await from the Allied French Government a categorical protest against the aggression committed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Polish Government reserve the right to call upon their Allies in regard to the obligations devolving upon them by virtue of the treaties in force.

No. 17

German-Soviet Communiqué of September 18, 1939, concerning military co-operation on Polish territory.

In order to avoid all kinds of unfounded rumours concerning the respective aims of the Soviet and German armies operating in Poland the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government declare that the operations of these armies do not involve any aim contrary to the interests of Germany and of the U.S.S.R. or to the spirit and the letter of the German-Russian pact of non-

* A similar Note was presented to the British Foreign Office by the Polish Ambassador in London.

aggression. On the contrary, the aim of these armies is to restore peace and order destroyed by the collapse of the Polish State and to help the Polish population to reconstruct the conditions of their political existence.

No. 18

German-Soviet Communiqué of September 22, 1939, on the demarcation line between the German and Soviet military zones.

The German Government and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have established a demarcation line between the Soviet and the German armies along the course of the river Pissa to its confluence with the river Narew; further the river Narew to its confluence with the river Bug; then the river Bug to its confluence with the river Vistula.

No. 19

Soviet-German Agreement signed in Moscow, September 28, 1939.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government, following the collapse of the former Polish State, consider it as exclusively their own task to restore peace and order in these territories and to assure to the peoples inhabiting them a peaceful existence which will correspond to their national characteristics. With this object in view, they have concluded the following Agreement:

ARTICLE 1

The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government establish, as the frontier between their respective State interests in the territory of the former Polish State, a line which is marked on the attached map and which will be given in more detail in a supplementary Protocol.

ARTICLE 2

Both countries recognize as final the frontier between their respective State interests, as set out in Article 1, and will resist any interference with this decision on the part of other Powers.

ARTICLE 3

The German Government will carry out the necessary State reconstruction on the territory west of the line indicated in Article 1, and the Soviet Government on the territory east of this line.

ARTICLE 4

The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government regard the above-mentioned reconstruction as a reliable foundation for the future development of friendly relations between their peoples.

ARTICLE 5

This agreement is subject to ratification. The exchange of instruments of ratification is to take place as soon as possible in Berlin.

The agreement enters into force from the moment of its signature.

MOLOTOV

RIBBENTROP

No. 20

*Polish Government's protest of September 30, 1939, against the German-Soviet Agreement of September 28, 1939, presented by the Polish Ambassador in London to the British Foreign Office.**

In face of the flagrant violation of the sacred rights of the Polish State and the Polish Nation constituted by the Agreement of September 28 between Germany and the U.S.S.R., disposing of territories of the Polish Republic for the benefit of the two aggressor States, in the name of the Polish Government I make the most formal and solemn protest against this machination woven between Berlin and Moscow in contempt of all international obligations and all human morality.

Poland will never recognize this act of violence, and strong in the justice of her cause she will not cease to struggle for the day when, her territory liberated from the invaders, her legitimate rights will be established in their entirety.

By the heroic resistance of her army, by the patriotic sacrifice of all her population which has been demonstrated in the heroic defence of the capital city of Warsaw, of Lwów, of Gdynia, of Modlin and of so many other towns, the Polish nation has clearly proved to the world its steadfast will to live in freedom and independence.

Basing herself on the unanimous sympathy of all the countries which respect liberty and good faith in relations between peoples,

* A similar protest was presented by Polish diplomatic representatives abroad to the respective Governments to which they were accredited.

and confident in the steadfast support which is guaranteed her by her treaties of alliance, Poland will continue the struggle by all means in her power, confident in her future and in ultimate victory.

No. 21

Soviet-Lithuanian Agreement signed in Moscow, October 10, 1939.

With a view to furthering the friendly relations established by the Treaty of Peace of July 12, 1920, between the U.S.S.R. and the Lithuanian Republic, which are based on the mutual recognition of political independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other State, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. on the one part and the President of the Lithuanian Republic on the other part:

Being of the opinion that the treaty of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of differences has continued, since it was signed on September 28, 1926, to serve as the foundation of their mutual relations and obligations;

Being convinced moreover that it is in the interests of the two Contracting Parties to define the exact conditions of their guarantee of mutual security and of a just decision as to sovereignty over the city and district of Wilno, which were illegally detached from Lithuania by Poland;

Have deemed it necessary to conclude the present Agreement for the restoration of the city and district of Wilno to the Lithuanian Republic, as well as a pact of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania, and for this purpose have appointed their Plenipotentiaries

Article 1

In order to strengthen the friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania, the city of Wilno and the district of Wilno are hereby returned to the Republic of Lithuania by the U.S.S.R. to be reunited with the territory of the State of Lithuania. The boundary between the U.S.S.R. and the Republic of Lithuania is demarcated as shown in the attached map. This boundary line is to be more exactly described in a supplementary Protocol.....

No. 22

Polish Government's protest of October 18, 1939, against the Soviet-Lithuanian Agreement sent to Allied and Neutral Governments through Polish diplomatic representatives.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Polish Government, having learned of the Pact of Mutual Assistance signed on October 10, 1939, between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania, have presented a formal protest to the Lithuanian Government against the acceptance by the said Government of any territory ceded by the U.S.S.R. which does not belong to that Union.

No. 23

Polish Government's protest of October 21, 1939, against the holding of a plebiscite by the Soviets on Polish territory temporarily occupied by the U.S.S.R. sent to Allied and Neutral Governments through Polish diplomatic representatives.

By order of my Government, I have the honor to submit the following for your Excellency's information:

The Polish Government have just learned that on Polish territory temporarily occupied by the U.S.S.R. a plebiscite is to be held to ascertain the will of the population on the question of the transfer of such territory to the U.S.S.R.

The Polish Government hereby declare that the holding of such a plebiscite in areas under military occupation is contrary to International Law. Therefore they will consider such a plebiscite as null and void, and in no case will they recognize it as having force of law.

No. 24

Decree of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. issued in Moscow on November 1, 1939, concerning the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its union with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.*

The Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics having heard the report of the Authorized Committee of the National Assembly of Western Ukraine has decided as follows:

1. To comply with the petition of the National Assembly of Western Ukraine to incorporate it in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to unite it with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

2. To instruct the Presidium of the Supreme Council to fix a date for the election of representatives of Western Ukraine to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

3. To propose to the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the admission of Western Ukraine to the Ukrainian S.S.R.

4. To instruct the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to submit to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for examination a plan for the demarcation of boundaries between the provinces and districts on the borders of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the White-Ruthenian Socialist Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

A. GORKIN.

No. 25

Decree of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. issued in Moscow on November 2, 1939, concerning the incorporation of Western White Ruthenia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its union with the White Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics having heard the report of the Authorized Committee of the National Assembly of Western White Ruthenia has decided as follows:

1. To comply with the petition of the National Assembly of Western White Ruthenia to incorporate Western White Ruthenia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to unite it with the White Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

2. To instruct the Presidium of the Supreme Council to fix a date for the election of representatives of Western White Ruthenia to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

3. To propose to the Supreme Council of the White Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic the admission of Western White Ruthenia to the White Ruthenian S.S.R.

4. To instruct the Supreme Council of the White Ruthenian S.S.R. to submit to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. for examination a plan for the demarcation of boundaries between the provinces and districts on the borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the White Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

A. GORKIN.

No. 26

Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. issued in Moscow on November 29, 1939, concerning the acquisition of citizenship of the U.S.S.R. by the inhabitants of the Western districts of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian S.S.R.

1. In conformity with the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act of August 19th, 1938, it is decreed that the following are henceforth citizens of the U.S.S.R.:

- a) former Polish citizens who were on the territory of the Western districts* of the Ukraine and White Ruthenia when these became part of the U.S.S.R. (November 1 and 2, 1939).
- b) persons who arrived in the U.S.S.R. on the basis of the agreement of November 16, 1939, between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government as well as those who arrived as a result of the cession by the U.S.S.R. to Lithuania of the city of Wilno and the district* of Wilno in accordance with the agreement of October 10, 1939.

2. Former Polish citizens resident in the Western districts* of the Ukraine and White Ruthenia who were not present in the territory of these districts* on November 1 and 2, 1939, and do

* Oblast.

not possess Soviet citizenship can acquire the citizenship of the U.S.S.R. by the procedure provided in Article 3 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act.

3. Such persons enumerated in Paragraph 1 of the present Decree as were deprived of Soviet citizenship under the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. of December 15th, 1921 may acquire citizenship of the U.S.S.R. by the procedure provided in Article 3 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

A. GORKIN.

No. 27

Polish Government's Protest of February 3, 1940, against the conscription of Polish citizens by the Red Army, sent to Allied and Neutral Governments through Polish diplomatic representatives.

By order of my Government I have the honor to submit the following for Your Excellency's information:

The Soviet authorities have proceeded on the territories of the Republic of Poland occupied by the armies of the U.S.S.R. to carry out a military census of all men aged from 18 to 50 and of all women who have attended nursing courses, and this as a preliminary step to their military service.

Further to its protest against the decision to incorporate the above mentioned territories in the U.S.S.R. and having regard to the stipulations of international law in force, the Polish Government protests against this new violation of international law and custom.

In drawing attention to the fact that the use of force to compel Polish nationals to serve in the army of a State which occupied by violence part of the territory of Poland, will entail a large number of victims, the Polish Government here and now hold responsible therefore the Government of the U.S.S.R.

No. 28

Polish Government's Protest of July 25, 1940, against the annexation of the district of Wilno, sent to Allied and Neutral Governments through Polish diplomatic representatives.

By order of my Government I have the honor to submit the following for Your Excellency's information:

The Government of the U.S.S.R. has proceeded to annex the territories of the three Baltic Republics. This annexation also includes the territory of Wilno which was already illegally occupied by Soviet troops in September 1939 and retroceded to the Lithuanian Government in October 1939, and is now reoccupied by Soviet troops simultaneously with the Lithuanian territory.

The Polish Government solemnly protests against this new violation of international law by the U.S.S.R. and formally reserves all its rights to the territories of the Republic of Poland occupied by Soviet troops, whether in September 1939 or recently. This act of violence committed by the U.S.S.R. confers upon it no rights whatsoever to the territories thus occupied, and the Polish Government reserve the right to claim at the appropriate time reparation from the Soviet Government for damages which the Soviet occupation has caused or may cause to Poland and Polish nationals.

No. 29

Polish Government's Protest of February 21, 1941, against the forcing of Soviet citizenship on Polish citizens, sent to Allied and Neutral Governments through Polish diplomatic representatives.

By order of my Government I have the honor to submit the following for Your Excellency's information:

The Polish Government has recently been informed that the Soviet authorities acting now on the Polish territories occupied by the U.S.S.R. are proceeding to register the population and are forcing Polish citizens, under threat of reprisals, to renounce formally their Polish nationality, to cease all activity aimed at the restoration of the independence of Poland, and to declare that they will henceforward consider themselves loyal citizens of the U.S.S.R.

The Polish Government protests against this new and flagrant breach of the elementary principles of international law and justice

by the U.S.S.R. which, in agreement with the German Reich, invaded Polish territory in arms.

The Polish Government here and now declares that it will consider null and void any declaration of the sort indicated above, that Polish citizens may be driven to make under duress by Soviet authorities.

CHAPTER 3

The Polish-Soviet Agreement of 1941

No. 30

Polish-Soviet Agreement signed in London, July 30, 1941.

The Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have concluded the present Agreement and decided as follows:

1. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes that the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 relative to territorial changes in Poland have lost their validity. The Government of the Republic of Poland declares that Poland is not bound by any Agreement with any third State directed against the U.S.S.R.

2. Diplomatic relations will be restored between the two Governments upon the signature of this Agreement and an exchange of ambassadors will follow immediately.

3. The two Governments mutually undertake to render one another aid and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

4. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expresses its consent to the formation on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of a Polish Army under a commander appointed by the Government of the Republic of Poland, in agreement with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be subordinated in operational matters to the Supreme Command of the U.S.S.R. on which there will be a representative of the Polish Army. All details as to command,

organization and employment of this force will be settled in a subsequent Agreement.

5. This Agreement will come into force immediately upon its signature and without ratification. The present Agreement is drawn up in two copies, each of them in the Russian and Polish languages. Both texts have equal force.

PROTOCOL

1. As soon as diplomatic relations are re-established the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will grant amnesty to all Polish citizens who are at present deprived of their freedom on the territory of the U.S.S.R., either as prisoners of war or on other adequate grounds.

2. The present Protocol comes into force simultaneously with the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

WLADYSLAW SIKORSKI

I. MAISKI

No. 31

*Communiqué issued by the British Foreign Office in London,
July 30, 1941.*

1. An agreement between the Republic of Poland and the Soviet Union was signed in the Secretary of State's room at the Foreign Office on July 30. General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister, signed for Poland; Mr. Maiski, Soviet Ambassador, signed for the Soviet Union. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden were present.

2. The agreement is being published.

3. After the signature of the agreement, Mr. Eden handed to General Sikorski an official Note in the following terms:

"On the occasion of the signature of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of today, I desire to take this opportunity of informing you that in conformity with the provision of the agreement of mutual assistance between the United Kingdom and Poland of the 25th of August 1939, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have entered into no undertakings towards the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which affect the relations between that country and Poland. I also desire to assure you that His Majesty's Government do not recognize any terri-

torial changes which have been effected in Poland since August 1939.'

General Sikorski handed to Mr. Eden the following reply:

"The Polish Government take note of your letter dated July 30 and desire to express sincere satisfaction at the statement that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August 1939. This corresponds with the view of the Polish Government which, as they have previously informed His Majesty's Government, have never recognized any territorial changes effected in Poland since the outbreak of the war'."

No. 32

Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance signed in Moscow on December 4, 1941, by General Sikorski for the Government of the Republic of Poland and by Premier Stalin for the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Government of the Polish Republic and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, animated by the spirit of friendly understanding and fighting collaboration, declare:

1. German Hitlerite imperialism is the worst enemy of mankind—no compromise with it is possible.

Both States together with Great Britain and other Allies, supported by the United States of America, will wage war until complete victory and final destruction of the German invaders.

2. Implementing the Treaty concluded on July 30, 1941, both Governments will render each other during the war full military assistance, and troops of the Republic of Poland located on the territory of the Soviet Union will wage war against the German brigands shoulder to shoulder with Soviet troops.

In peace-time their mutual relations will be based on good neighborly collaboration, friendship and reciprocal honest fulfillment of the obligations they have taken upon themselves.

3. After a victorious war and the appropriate punishment of the Hitlerite criminals, it will be the aim of the Allied States to ensure a durable and just peace. This can be achieved only through a new organization of international relations on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. Respect for inter-

national law backed by the collective armed force of the Allied States must form the decisive factor in the creation of such an organization. Only under this condition can a Europe destroyed by German barbarism be restored and a guarantee be created that the disaster caused by the Hitlerites will never be repeated.

For the Government of the
Republic of Poland
SIKORSKI

By authority of the
Government of the Soviet Union
STALIN

CHAPTER 4

Release of Polish Citizens and Prisoners of War

No. 33

Decree of August 12, 1941, by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. granting amnesty to Polish citizens deprived of their freedom on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

An amnesty is granted to all Polish citizens on Soviet territory at present deprived of their freedom as prisoners of war or on other adequate grounds.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme
Council of the U.S.S.R.

A. GORKIN.

No. 34

Note of October 13th, 1941, from Ambassador Kot to Mr. Vishinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in Moscow, drawing attention to the incomplete fulfillment of Soviet obligations concerning Polish citizens, under the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

Moscow, October 13, 1941.

Mr. Commissar

Referring to the Note of the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Republic of Poland addressed to the Commissar for Foreign

Affairs, No. 30/41 of August 22, 1941, and the Note Verbale of the Polish Embassy, No. D. 467/41 of September 27, 1941, I have the honor Mr. Commissar to inform you of the following:

In both the afbresaid Notes, as in my conversation with you, Mr. Commissar, I emphasized particularly the need for the fulfillment by the Soviet Government of the provisions of the Agreement concluded between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government on July 30, 1941, and of the provisions of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, concerning the release of Polish citizens from prisons, labour camps and localities of compulsory residence at the earliest possible date, at least before the coming winter, during which the departure from many of the camps would be most difficult if not altogether impossible. The question of release was also brought up by the Polish delegation at the two meetings of the Mixed Polish-Soviet Commission, when emphasis was laid on the special urgency of this problem.

During my conversation with you, Mr. Commissar, on September 20, I received your assurance that the Soviet authorities would take care that Polish citizens detained in distant Northern regions, where the climate is unsuitable for Poles, were transported to more suitable districts before the winter season set in. During my conversation on October 7, I quoted figures relating to Polish citizens who were still detained in large numbers in camps and mentioned the fact that certain categories among them had been transferred to very remote Northern regions. In spite of repeated Polish requests and the assurances given on behalf of the Soviets, this Embassy has not as yet received the list of localities nor the exact numbers of Polish citizens released.

Contrary to the assurances that except for a small number of individuals suspected, indicted or convicted of espionage on behalf of Germany, whose names and dossiers up to now have not been communicated to the Embassy, all Polish citizens had been set free and that in a small number of cases only was delay caused by purely technical considerations, the Embassy is in possession of information that there are still in a number of prisons and camps thousands of Polish citizens who were not informed of the Agreement concluded on July 30, 1941, or were informed that the provisions of this Agreement and of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12 did not apply to them.

By way of example, may I state that Polish citizens are still being detained in prison at Saratov, Gorki, Balashov, Tschelabinsk, Kizel and in compulsory labour camps in the Primorski Kray in the North-Eastern extremity of the Yakut district (near the mouth of the Kolyma on the Arctic Ocean), near Aldan, in the region of Tomsk, Karaganda, in the mines of Karabash (Tschelabinsk district), in the Ivgiel camp (Sviordlovsk district), in the Archangel district and in the Republic of Komi, along the railway line under construction between Kotlas and Pechora and at other points.

More detailed information concerning the numbers and condition of these Polish citizens is given in the Annex to the present Note. As will be seen therefrom the local authorities either did not receive detailed orders concerning the treatment of Polish citizens after the conclusion of the Agreement of July 30, or, in some cases, the local authorities were content to deal with the matter in a purely *pro forma* way (the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs withdrew police supervision of the 2,000 Polish citizens employed in the mines of Karabsh-Voloshynowski-Rudnik, but left the persons concerned where they were which actually made their position worse than before), or with a partial execution of the orders issued. It is to be assumed that various considerations have dictated this treatment and in some instances local authorities may have desired to secure for themselves virtually unpaid manpower, whence the tendency to release sometimes elderly, invalid or ailing persons, while the stronger and healthier are retained for compulsory labour.

I have the honor to draw your attention, Mr. Commissar, to another characteristic feature of the conduct of local government authorities towards Polish citizens who are released, or who approach them with the request for employment or for the assignment of a residence. This conduct, without doubt unknown to the Central authorities, which should cease in the interests of good relations between the Polish and Soviet Governments, consists in informing those concerned that the blame for their difficult situation rests with the Polish Government and their representatives in the U.S.S.R. Naturally Polish nationals are not misled by this, but it arouses unnecessary mistrust among the Polish population.

Information issued abroad by the Polish Government, entirely in line with good Polish-Soviet collaboration, is to the effect that Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have

been liberated from prisons and camps. I presented to you, on the 7th of this month, copies of communiqués issued by the Polish Telegraph Agency in London and New York. The Polish Government is of the opinion that such official information should correspond to the real situation of the Polish population in the U.S.S.R. In the common interest of both Governments the Polish-Soviet Agreement should be fully carried out so that in foreign countries no elements unfriendly to this collaboration and hostile to the U.S.S.R., should find in the difficult position of the deported Polish population a theme for their propaganda.

The Polish Government could in no case agree that, as a result of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, the lot of Polish citizens residing in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should become worse or that local authorities should carry out its provisions in a manner contrary to the declarations and statements of the representatives of the Soviet Government.

Consequently, in its Note, No. 30/41 of August 22, 1941, the Embassy presented a number of proposals forming a logical whole with a view to the practical solution of the problem of the Polish population in the U.S.S.R., in accordance with the interests of this population and of both Governments. The fact that the suggestions contained in point 2 were only carried out in part, and that points 3 and 4 were left completely unfulfilled, has meant that such Polish citizens as have been released have not been able to improve their living conditions and a large number of them have been forced to wander aimlessly and compelled to camp at railway stations or in the open air in the localities newly chosen for their residence. In view of the approaching winter which in some parts of the Soviet Union has already set in, many of them are threatened with death by starvation. Their position is rendered still worse by the fact that the local authorities not only refuse to carry out the suggestions of the Embassy, but do not even comply with the assurances given by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs contained in the Aide-Mémoire of August 28, 1941, with regard to free railway fares, travelling subsidies, subsistence allowances and, most important of all, employment for the persons released.

I also venture to draw your attention, Mr. Commissar, to the fact that the organization of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. is not progressing in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Agree-

ment of July 30, 1941, or with the intentions of the two Governments.

The Supreme Command of the Polish armed forces in the U.S.S.R. has vainly waited four weeks for a decision on the formation of further Polish divisions and the designation of the localities in which this formation is to take place. In consequence, numerous Polish citizens reporting for military service and rallying en masse to the Polish Army stream into the two already overcrowded camps, which lack the necessary number of tents, adequate food supplies and medicines. Thus a situation, harmful alike to the troops and to the common cause is being created. The local administrative authorities very often do not carry out the instructions issued by the central authorities with regard to questions concerning the Polish Army and create new additional difficulties, as for instance by declining to release from prisons and camps all Polish citizens, military and reservists, and in many instances by detaining the more physically fit elements, which reduces the military value of the units already formed. Moreover, considerable numbers of Polish citizens enrolled in the Red Army and subsequently transferred to the so-called labor battalions, have not up till now been directed to the Polish Army.

Thus the Polish contribution to the common struggle against Germany, contrary to the intentions of the Polish and Soviet Governments and to the unanimous will of the Polish citizens, is being weakened to the detriment of the cause of all the Allies.

In the profound belief that the Soviet Government attaches no less importance than the Polish Government to the development of friendly relations between the two States, I have the honor to request you, Mr. Commissar, to take measures to put into full effect all the proposals contained in the Note of the Embassy of August 22, and in particular the immediate release from prisons, camps and localities of compulsory domicile of all Polish citizens, the friendly treatment of those who are unfit for military service and the acceleration of the decision concerning the formation of further large units of the Polish Army, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

I have the honor to be, etc.

Kot.

No. 35

Note of October 15, 1941, from General Wladyslaw Sikorski to Ambassador Bogomolov, in London, concerning the failure to release a certain number of Polish officers from Soviet prisoner of war camps.

London, October 15, 1941.

Excellency,

May I request Your Excellency to convey to the Soviet Government the assurance that the Polish Government appreciates the good will shown by the Soviet Government in carrying out the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941. However, certain difficulties have become apparent which do not seem to have any connection with those arising from military operations. Thus the immediate release of Polish citizens deprived of their freedom appears necessary in view of the approaching winter; as well as means of assuring their existence. (The fate of several thousand Polish officers who have not returned to Poland and who have not been found in Soviet military camps, continues to remain uncertain.) They are probably dispersed in the Northern districts of the U.S.S.R. Their presence in Polish Army camps is indispensable.

May I also request Your Excellency to draw the attention of the Soviet Government to the necessity of increasing the aid essential to the formation and development of this Army.

At the same time I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that in view of existing military operations I have issued instructions to intensify sabotage and subversive activities by Poles in German occupied Poland.

I have the honor to be, etc.

SIKORSKI.

No. 36

Note of November 14, 1941, from Ambassador A. Bogomolov to General Sikorski, in reply to the Note of October 16, 1941.

London, November 14, 1941.

Mr. Prime Minister,

In reply to your Note of October 16, 1941 I am instructed by the Soviet Government to inform you, Mr. Prime Minister, that all

Polish citizens to be set free in accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, have been set free, and certain specified categories of those released have received material help from the Soviet Authorities (free passes for railway and waterway travel, subsistence allowances during their journeys, etc.). All Polish citizens released and not called up by the Polish Army are given an opportunity to work on conditions identical to those enjoyed by Soviet citizens and this without any special obligation whatsoever on the part of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

All Polish officers on the territory of the U.S.S.R. have also been set free. Your supposition, Mr. Prime Minister, that a large number of Polish officers are dispersed throughout the Northern regions of the U.S.S.R. is obviously based on inaccurate information.

Concerning your reference, Mr. Prime Minister, to the necessity of further aid from the Soviet Government in respect of the organization of the Polish Army, such aid is unfailingly being given in accordance with the Soviet-Polish Military Agreement to grant the Government of the Republic of Poland a non-interest bearing loan of 65 million rubles to meet the expenses of the Polish Army during the period ending January 1, 1942.

The Soviet Government have taken special note of your statement, Mr. Prime Minister, concerning your instructions for the intensification of sabotage and subversive action in German occupied Poland.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BOGOMOLOV.

No. 37

Note of January 28, 1942, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Ambassador Bogomolov, concerning the failure to set free a number of Polish citizens, and specifically a number of Polish officers.

London, January 28, 1942.

Mr. Ambassador,

The Polish Government regrets to have to bring to Your Excellency's notice that, according to information just received, the

liberation of Polish citizens detained on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in labour camps and other places of detention has not been completely carried out. In a number of cases the local administrative authorities of the Union do not apply in full the provisions of the Soviet Decree dated August 12, 1941.

In this respect I have the honor to mention in particular the painful fact, that of all the officers and soldiers registered in the prisoner of war camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov, 12 generals, 94 colonels, 263 majors and about 7800 officers of lesser rank have so far not yet been set free. It must be emphasized that investigations carried out in Poland and in the Reich, have made it possible to establish definitely that these soldiers are not at present in occupied Poland, nor in prisoner-of-war camps in Germany.

According to fragmentary information that has reached us, a certain number of these prisoners find themselves in extremely hard circumstances on Franz Joseph Land, Nova Zembla and on the territory of the Yakut Republic on the banks of the Kolyma river.

I must add that the question of the fate of Polish citizens, civilians and military, has been the subject of several consecutive interventions by the Polish Embassy at Kuybyshev, which will soon be in a position to submit a new list of names of all these persons to the Government of the Union. The same question was also the subject of a conversation in Moscow on December 4, 1941, between the Polish Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. During the course of this conversation General Sikorski was relieved to receive an assurance that the necessary instructions would be issued to the competent Soviet authorities and that all the prisoners would be set free.

Referring to the letter and spirit of this conversation and of the understandings reached by our two Governments, I have no doubt that Your Excellency will share my conviction that the efficient and speedy execution of the provisions of the supplementary Protocol to the Polish-Soviet Agreement signed in London on July 30, 1941, concerning the liberation of Polish citizens, imprisoned or detained in prisoner of war camps or labour camps, rests on imperative motives of humanity and justice. Your Excellency will no doubt also share the Polish Government's opinion that special importance should be attached to the favourable development of our mutual

relations, as desired by the political leaders of both our countries united in the common struggle against the invader.

In requesting Your Excellency to be so good as to bring the contents of this Note to the attention of Your Government, I take this occasion to assure Your Excellency of my highest consideration.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI.

No. 38

Note of March 13, 1942, from Ambassador Bogomolov to Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to his Note of January 28, 1942.

London, March 13, 1942.

Mr. Minister,

In reply to your Note of January 28, 1942, I have the honor, by order of the Soviet Government, to bring the following to your notice:

The Soviet Government cannot agree to the statements contained in Your Excellency's Note. According to these statements the liberation of Polish citizens, including officers and soldiers, detained on the territory of the U.S.S.R. in labor camps and other places of detention, has not been completed, because, it is alleged in the Note, the local Soviet authorities have not applied to their full extent the provisions of the Decree* of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, concerning the amnesty to Polish citizens.

In the reply by M. V. M. Molotov's Note of November 8, 1941, addressed to M. Kot, and in the Aide-Mémoire of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of November 19, it had already been announced that the amnesty to Polish citizens had been strictly carried out. An appropriate investigation conducted by competent Soviet authorities after the conversation held on December 4, 1941, between the Polish Prime Minister, General Sikorski, and the Chairman of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., J. V. Stalin, completely confirmed the above statement; besides the People's

* *Ukase.*

Commissar in the spirit of his Note No. 6 of January 9, 1942, addressed to the Embassy of the Republic of Poland, gave additional detailed explanations on the carrying out of the amnesty in favour of Polish citizens.

As the Polish officers and soldiers were liberated on the same basis as other Polish citizens under the Decree of August 12, 1941, all that has been said above applies equally to the Polish officers and soldiers.

As regards the statements contained in Your Excellency's Note, alleging that there are still Polish officers who have not yet been set free, and that some of them are on Franz-Joseph and Nova Zembla islands, and the banks of the River Kolyma, it must be stated that these assertions are without foundation and obviously based on inaccurate information. In any case, whenever it is learned that there are certain isolated instances of delay in setting free Polish citizens, the competent Soviet authorities immediately take measures necessary for their release.

The Soviet Government takes this opportunity to declare that it has put into full effect the measures concerning the liberation of Polish citizens in accordance with the Supplementary Protocol to the Soviet-Polish Agreement of July 30, 1941, and that thus the Soviet Government is doing in this respect all that is necessary for the future favorable development of Soviet-Polish relations.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BOGOMOLOV.

No. 39

Communiqué issued on April 17, 1943, by the Polish Minister of National Defence concerning the fate of Polish prisoners of war in the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov.

London, April 17, 1943.

On September 17, 1940, the official organ of the Red Army, the *Red Star*, stated that during the fighting which took place after September 17, 1939, 181,000 Polish prisoners of war were taken by the Soviets. Of this number about 10,000 were officers of the regular army and reserve.

According to information in possession of the Polish Government, three large camps of Polish prisoners of war were set up in the U.S.S.R. in November 1939:

- 1) in Kozielsk, east of Smolensk,
- 2) in Starobielsk, near Kharkov, and
- 3) in Ostashkov, near Kalinin, where police and military police were concentrated.

At the beginning of 1940 the camp authorities informed the prisoners in all three camps, that all camps were about to be broken up, that prisoners of war would be allowed to return to their families and, allegedly for this purpose, lists of places to which individual prisoners wished to go after their release were made.

At that time there were:

- 1) In Kozielsk, about 5,000 men, including some 4,500 officers.
- 2) In Starobielsk, about 3,920 men, including 100 civilians; the rest were officers of whom some were medical officers.
- 3) In Ostashkov, about 6,570 men, including some 380 officers.

On April 5, 1940, the breaking up of these camps was begun and groups of 60 to 300 men were removed from them every few days until the middle of May. From Kozielsk they were sent in the direction of Smolensk. About 400 people only were moved from all the three camps in June 1940 to Griazovetz in the Vologda district.

When after the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Treaty of July 30, 1941, and the signing of the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, the Polish Government proceeded to form the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., it was expected that the officers from the above mentioned camps would form the cadres of senior and junior officers of the army in formation. At the end of August 1941 a group of Polish officers from Griazovetz arrived to join the Polish units in Buzuluk; not one officer however, among those deported in other directions from Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov appeared. In all therefore about 8,300 officers were missing, not counting another 7,000 N.C.O.'s, soldiers and civilians, who were in those camps when they were broken up.

Ambassador Kot and General Anders, perturbed by this state of affairs, addressed to the competent Soviet authorities inquiries and representations about the fate of the Polish officers from the above mentioned camps.

In a conversation with Mr. Vishinsky, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on October 6, 1941, Ambassador Kot asked what had happened to the missing officers. Mr. Vishinsky answered, that

all prisoners of war had been freed from the camps and therefore they must be at liberty.

In October and November, in his conversations with Premier Stalin, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Vishinsky, the Ambassador on various occasions returned to the question of the prisoners of war and insisted upon being supplied with lists of them, such lists having been compiled carefully and in detail by the Soviet Government.

During his visit to Moscow, Prime Minister Sikorski in a conversation on December 3, 1941, with Premier Stalin, also intervened for the liberation of all Polish prisoners of war, and not having been supplied by the Soviet authorities with their lists, he handed to Premier Stalin on this occasion an incomplete list of 3,845 Polish officers which their former fellow-prisoners had succeeded in compiling. Premier Stalin assured General Sikorski that the amnesty was of a general and universal character and affected both military and civilians, and that the Soviet Government had freed all Polish officers. On March 18, 1942, General Anders handed Premier Stalin a supplementary list of 800 officers. Nevertheless not one of the officers mentioned in either of these lists has been returned to the Polish Army.

Besides the interventions in Moscow and Kuybyshev, the fate of Polish prisoners of war was the subject of several interviews between Minister Raczynski and Ambassador Bogomolov. On January 28, 1942, Minister Raczynski, in the name of the Polish Government, handed a Note to Soviet Ambassador Bogomolov, drawing his attention once again to the painful fact that many thousand Polish officers had still not been found.

Ambassador Bogomolov informed Minister Raczynski on March 13, 1943, that in accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, and in accordance with the statements of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of November 8 and 19, 1941, the amnesty had been put into full effect, and that it related both to civilians and military.

On May 19, 1942, Ambassador Kot sent the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a Memorandum in which he expressed his regret at the refusal to supply him with a list of prisoners, and his concern as to their fate, emphasizing the high value these officers would have in military operations against Germany.

Neither the Polish Government nor the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev has ever received an answer as to the whereabouts of the

missing officers and other prisoners who had been deported from the three camps mentioned above.

We have become accustomed to the lies of German propaganda and we understand the purpose behind its latest revelations. In view however of abundant and detailed German information concerning the discovery of the bodies of many thousands of Polish officers near Smolensk, and the categorical statement that they were murdered by the Soviet authorities in the spring of 1940, the necessity has arisen that the mass graves discovered should be investigated and the facts alleged verified by a competent international body, such as the International Red Cross. The Polish Government has therefore approached this institution with a view to their sending a delegation to the place where the massacre of the Polish prisoners of war is said to have taken place.

No. 40

Statement of the Polish Government of April 17, 1943, published in London, April 18, 1943, concerning the discovery of graves of Polish officers near Smolensk.

No Pole can help but be deeply shocked by the news, now given the widest publicity by the Germans, of the discovery of the bodies of the Polish officers missing in the U.S.S.R. in a common grave near Smolensk, and of the mass execution of which they were victims.

The Polish Government has instructed their representative in Switzerland to request the International Red Cross in Geneva to send a delegation to investigate the true state of affairs on the spot. It is to be desired that the findings of this protective institution, which is to be entrusted with the task of clarifying the matter and of establishing responsibility, should be issued without delay.

At the same time, however, the Polish Government, on behalf of the Polish nation, denies to the Germans any right to base on a crime they ascribe to others, arguments in their own defence. The profoundly hypocritical indignation of German propaganda will not succeed in concealing from the world the many cruel and reiterated crimes still being perpetrated against the Polish people.

The Polish Government recalls such facts as the removal of Polish officers from prisoner-of-war camps in the Reich and the

subsequent shooting of them for political offences alleged to have been committed before the war, mass arrests of reserve officers subsequently deported to concentration camps, to die a slow death,—from Cracow and the neighboring district alone 6,000 were deported in June 1942; the compulsory enlistment in the German army of Polish prisoners of war from territories illegally incorporated in the Reich; the forcible conscription of about 200,000 Poles from the same territories, and the execution of the families of those who managed to escape; the massacre of one-and-a-half-million people by executions or in concentration camps; the recent imprisonment of 80,000 people of military age, officers and men, and their torture and murder in the camps of Maydanek and Tremblinka.

It is not to enable the Germans to make impudent claims and pose as the defenders of Christianity and European civilization, that Poland is making immense sacrifices, fighting and enduring suffering. The blood of Polish soldiers and Polish citizens, wherever it is shed, cries for atonement before the conscience of the free peoples of the world. The Polish Government condemn all the crimes committed against Polish citizens and refuse the right to make political capital of such sacrifices, to all who are themselves guilty of such crimes.

No. 41

Note of April 20, 1943, from Mr. E. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., demanding an explanation of the fate of Polish prisoners missing in the U.S.S.R.

London, April 20, 1943.

Mr. Ambassador,

Foreign telegraph agencies publish a report of the German military authorities concerning the discovery at Kozia Góra near Katyn in the vicinity of Smolensk of a mass-grave containing the bodies of the Polish officers allegedly killed in the spring of 1940. During the first few days 155 bodies were identified among which the body of Major General Mieczyslaw Smorawinski is supposed to have been found.

This report, although emanating from enemy sources, has produced profound anxiety not only in Polish public opinion but also throughout the world.

In a public statement on April 17, 1943, the Polish Government categorically condemned Germany's attempt to exploit the tragedy of Polish prisoners of war in the U.S.S.R. for her own political ends. But more than ever the Polish Government unalterably maintains its attitude that the truth about this case so cynically exploited by Hitlerite propaganda must be fully elucidated.

You are no doubt aware, Mr. Ambassador, that after the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Polish Government repeatedly approached the civil and military authorities of the U.S.S.R. with requests for information concerning the prisoners of war and civilians who were in the camps of Kozielsk (East of Smolensk), Starobielsk (near Kharkov) and Ostashkov (near Kalinin).

According to information of the Polish Government there were in all at the beginning of 1940, 15,490 Polish citizens, including 8,700 officers, in the three above mentioned camps. From April 5, 1940, until the middle of May, 1940, the Soviet authorities proceeded to break up these camps, deporting the inmates in batches every few days. Prisoners of the Kozielsk camp were deported in the direction of Smolensk, and from all the three camps only 400 men were transferred in the last batches, first to the Yukhnovski camp (railway station Babynino) and subsequently in June 1940, to Griazovetz in the Vologda district.

When after the signing of the Polish-Soviet military agreement on August 14, 1943, the Polish Government proceeded with the organization of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., the camp of Griazovetz, to which in the meantime military and civilian prisoners from other camps had arrived, was also broken up and from the above mentioned group of 400 prisoners more than 200 officers reported for service in the Polish Army before the end of August 1941. All the other officers however, who were deported to an unknown destination from the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov have neither been found nor have they given any sign of life. So it became apparent that more than 8,000 officers were missing who might have supplied the cadres of senior and junior officers of the army in formation and who would have been of inestimable value in the military operations against Germany.

From October 1941, both Ambassador Kot and General Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., con-

stantly intervened, both orally and in writing, in the matter of the missing officers. Ambassador Kot discussed this subject with Premier Stalin, with Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and with Mr. Vishinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, demanding a list of the prisoners detained in the three camps mentioned above and an explanation as to their fate. During his visit to Moscow in December 1941, General Sikorski also intervened in the above matter in a conversation with Mr. Stalin and on that occasion handed him a list containing the names of 3,845 Polish officers. On March 18, 1942, General Anders gave Mr. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, a list of 800 officers. On January 28, 1942, I had the honour to send you, Mr. Ambassador, a Note in which I emphasized the anxiety of the Polish Government at the failure to find many thousands of Polish officers. Lastly, on May 19, 1942, Ambassador Kot sent the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a Memorandum in which, reverting again to the question of the missing officers, he expressed his regret at the refusal to supply him with the list of prisoners, and his concern as to their fate.

I regret the necessity of calling your attention, Mr. Ambassador, to the fact that the Polish Government in spite of reiterated requests, has never received either a list of the prisoners or definite information as to the whereabouts of the missing officers and of other prisoners deported from the three camps mentioned above. Official, verbal and written statements of the representatives of the U.S.S.R. have been confined to mere assurances that, in accordance with a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., dated August 12, 1941, the amnesty was of a general and universal character as it included both military and civilian prisoners, and that the Government of the U.S.S.R. had released all the Polish officers from prisoner of war camps.

I should like to emphasize that the Polish Government, as can be seen from their many representations quoted above, entirely independently of recent German revelations, has never regarded the question of the missing officers as closed. If, however, as shown by the communiqué of the Soviet Information Bureau of April 15, 1943, the Government of the U.S.S.R. would seem to be in possession of more ample information on this matter than was communicated to the representatives of the Polish Government sometime

ago, I beg once more to request you, Mr. Ambassador, to communicate to the Polish Government detailed and precise information as to the fate of the prisoners of war and civilians previously detained in the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkov.

Public opinion in Poland and throughout the world has rightly been so deeply shocked that only irrefutable facts can outweigh the numerous and detailed German statements concerning the discovery of the bodies of many thousand Polish officers murdered near Smolensk in the spring of 1940.

CHAPTER 5

Organization of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R.

No. 42

*Polish-Soviet Military Agreement signed in Moscow on
August 14, 1941.*

MILITARY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE POLISH HIGH COMMAND AND THE SOVIET HIGH COMMAND

1. The military agreement derives naturally from the political agreement of July 30, 1941.
2. A Polish army will be organized in the shortest possible time on the territory of the U.S.S.R., wherefore:
 - a) it will form part of the armed forces of the sovereign Republic of Poland,
 - b) the soldiers of this army will take the oath of allegiance to the Republic of Poland,
 - c) it will be destined with the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. and other Allied States for the common fight against Germany,
 - d) after the end of the war, it will return to Poland,
 - e) during the entire period of common operations, it will be subordinated operationally to the High Command of the U.S.S.R. In respect of organization and personnel it will remain under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, who will coordinate the orders and

regulations concerning organization and personnel with the High Command of the U.S.S.R. through the Commander of the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

3. The Commander of the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. will be appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces; the candidate for this appointment to be approved by the Government of the U.S.S.R.

4. The Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. will consist of units of land forces only. Their strength and number will depend on manpower, equipment and supplies available.

5. Conscripts and volunteers, having previously served in the Polish Air Force and Navy, will be sent to Great Britain to complement the establishments of the respective Polish services already existing there.

6. The formation of Polish units will be carried out in localities indicated by the High Command of the U.S.S.R. Officers and other ranks will be called from among Polish citizens on the territory of the U.S.S.R. by conscription and voluntary enlistment. Draft boards will be established with the participation of U.S.S.R. authorities in localities indicated by them.

7. Polish units will be moved to the front only after they are fully ready for action. In principle they will operate in groups not smaller than divisions and will be used in accordance with the operational plans of the High Command of the U.S.S.R.

8. All soldiers of the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. will be subject to Polish military laws and decrees.

Polish military courts will be established in the units for dealing with military offences and crimes against the establishment, the safety, the routine or the discipline of the Polish Army.

For crimes against the State, soldiers of the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. will be answerable to the military courts of the U.S.S.R.

9. The organization and war equipment of the Polish units will as far as possible correspond to the standards established for the Polish Army in Great Britain.

The colors and insignia of the various services and military rank will correspond exactly to those established for the Polish Army in Great Britain.

10. The pay, rations, maintenance and other materiel problems will be in accordance with regulations of the U.S.S.R.

11. The sick and wounded soldiers of the Polish Army will receive treatment in hospitals and sanatoria on an equal basis with the soldiers of the U.S.S.R. and be entitled to pensions and allowances.

12. Armament, equipment, uniforms, motor transport etc. will be provided as far as possible by

- a) the Government of the U.S.S.R. from their own resources,
- b) the Polish Government from supplies granted on the basis of the Lend-Lease Act (an Act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941).

In this case, the Government of the U.S.S.R. will extend all possible transportation facilities.

13. Expenditures connected with the organization, equipment and maintenance of the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. will be met from credits provided by the Government of the U.S.S.R., to be refunded by the Polish Government after the end of the war.

This problem will be dealt with in a separate financial agreement.

14. Liaison will be established by

- 1) a Polish Military Mission attached to the High Command of the U.S.S.R.,
- 2) a Soviet Military Mission attached to the Polish High Command in London.

Liaison officers attached to other commands will be appointed by mutual agreement.

15. All matters and details not covered by this agreement will be settled directly between the High Command of the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. and the corresponding authorities of the U.S.S.R.

16. This agreement is made in two copies, in the Polish and Russian languages, both texts are equally valid.

Plenipotentiary of the Polish
High Command.

SZYSZKO BOHUSZ,
Brigadier-General.

Plenipotentiary of the High
Command of the U.S.S.R.

A. WASILEWSKIJ,
Major General.

Moscow, August 14, 1941.

No. 43

Message of April 9, 1942, from General Sikorski to Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, concerning the evacuation of part of the Polish Army to Iran, and recruiting in the U.S.S.R., delivered to Ambassador Bogomolov on April 13, 1942.

Gask, April 9, 1942.

General Sikorski was happy to learn that as a result of conversations held in Moscow, President Stalin has graciously expressed his definite agreement to the evacuation to the Near East of Polish soldiers over and above the strength contemplated for the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. Pursuant to this decision about 30,000 men have already arrived in Iran. They will immediately be incorporated in Polish units and equipped to take part in the struggle carried on by Poland, together with the Soviet Union and the other United Nations, against Germany.

General Sikorski hopes that President Stalin agrees in view of the probable development of the military situation in the Near East, and as this theatre of operations forms an integral part of the front on which the Soviet armies are so heroically fighting, that it is most desirable to form strong Polish units in this sector.

General Sikorski has expressed his conviction to the British Government and to the Government of the United States that it is essential the Western Powers should undertake offensive action against Germany at a time when that country's principal forces are engaged on the Russian front. In particular he emphasized this point of view and the necessity of concentrating the main effort in the first place against Germany, in his conversations with President Roosevelt, who said that he shared these opinions. In further conversations with American officials General Sikorski returned to this subject, insisting on the necessity of speeding up preparations for an offensive in Western Europe.

As Polish Armed Forces stationed on British territory may be called upon to take an active part in such an operation, General Sikorski attaches great importance to the increase of their effectives and fighting strength.

General Sikorski is happy to find that President Stalin fully appreciates this necessity. He is thus strengthened in his conviction that, in spite of the difficulties that may have arisen, recruiting in

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Polish citizens for military service, and their evacuation will be resumed and happily completed.

General Sikorski hopes that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by carrying out these proposals as well as by respecting Polish rights and by a friendly attitude towards Polish interests, will enable every Polish citizen capable of bearing arms to take part under the national flag in the struggle for common victory.

No. 44

Decision of the Polish Cabinet of April 30, 1942, to leave part of the Polish Forces on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

The Polish Cabinet expresses its approval of the fact that a number of Polish soldiers have been evacuated from the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the Agreement of December 1941, and hopes that the Soviet Government will place no difficulties in the way of the further recruiting and evacuation of soldiers and volunteers for the Polish Forces, thus enabling the Polish Army fighting for the common cause of the Allies to increase its strength.

The Polish Cabinet reaffirms that it would be in accordance with Polish interests and with the policy that found expression in the Agreement concluded with the Soviet Government on July 30, 1941, to leave on Soviet territory part of the Polish Armed Forces which would subsequently fight on the Eastern front side by side with the Soviet Army.

No. 45

Note of May 13, 1942, from Mr. I. Tchitchaiev, Chargé d'Affaires of the U.S.S.R., to Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, containing a message from Premier J. Stalin to General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister.

London, May 13, 1942.

Mr. Minister,

In reply to the Message from General Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, to J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Coun-

cil of People's Commissars of the Union of S.S.R., I have the honor to communicate the following through your good offices:

J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., having carefully studied General Sikorski's Message, thanks him for the information concerning his conferences with the British Government and with Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States, regarding preparations for concerted action against Germany and proposals for the participation of Polish armed forces in this action. As regards General Sikorski's proposals for the resumption of recruiting in the U.S.S.R. of Polish citizens for military service and their evacuation, J. V. Stalin deems it necessary to recall the grounds he submitted to General Anders on March 18, last, on which the strength of the Polish army was definitely fixed at 44,000 men because of circumstances connected with restrictions in supplies for units not taking part in fighting. Owing to the fact that up to the present moment these circumstances have not changed, it is impossible to introduce any change whatever in the strength of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., as determined last March. J. V. Stalin does not doubt that Polish citizens called to their national colors will make their contribution to the cause of the common struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors.

I have the honor to be, etc.

TCHITCHAIEV.

No. 46

Note of June 10, 1942, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, concerning further recruiting and evacuation of Polish Forces from the U.S.S.R.

London, June 10, 1942.

Mr. Ambassador,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt from Your Excellency of the Message from M. J. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, addressed to General W. Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, which was communicated to me on May 13, 1942, by Mr. Tchitchaiev, Counsellor of Embassy.

In reply to this communication I have the honor to inform

Your Excellency that General Sikorski, after having duly studied the contents of the message, has directed me to submit to you certain remarks in connection therewith and to request that Your Excellency will be pleased to convey them to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

The Polish Government fully appreciates the temporary difficulties as regards supplies in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and for this reason has not insisted on an increase in the number of food rations for the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The object of General Sikorski's message was not to increase the strength of the Polish Army, nor, as would have followed, the supplies for the Polish Armed Forces on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Polish Government desires to be able to continue on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the recruiting of Polish citizens capable of bearing arms, so as to widen the cadres of the Polish Army in Britain and in the Near East, and thus to give every Polish citizen fit for military duties the opportunity of active service in Polish units.

The Polish Government are ready to undertake temporarily the service of supplies for the number of men over and above the established strength of 44,000, during their transit through the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on their way to the Southern ports of the Caspian Sea, or, as the case may be, to Ashabad and Meshed. For this purpose a reserve of one million food rations has been constituted in Teheran and this reserve could be placed at the disposal of General Anders without delay in the event that evacuation be resumed.

The Polish Government are determined to use the Polish Armed Forces now in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the Near East and in Great Britain, in the struggle for the common cause against the common enemy: the Polish Army will thus serve the allied cause as a whole.

The losses recently sustained by the Polish Armed Forces are eloquent proof of this determination of the Polish Government; these losses include, among others, two* warships sunk while escorting a convoy of war materials from Britain to the Union of

* Three, according to later reports.

Soviet Socialist Republics. The part played by the Polish Air Force in recent operations is illustrated by the fact that 101 Polish bombers took part in the recent raids on Cologne and the Ruhr.

It is possible that the Polish Army formed in the Near East may—after it is equipped and trained—also be used on the front of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in case the military situation should so require. Certain units of this army have already taken a noteworthy part in the defence of Tobruk, and in fighting in the desert. The fact that the Polish Army has not yet fought side by side with the Red Army is solely due to the armament difficulties experienced by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the shipping difficulties that beset Great Britain and the United States.

If the Polish Government insists on the full execution of the agreements concluded by it with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it does so solely in the well understood interest of all.

The strength of the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was fixed at 96,000 men; besides which 25,000 men were to be evacuated to the Near East, exclusive of the 2,000 trained sailors and airmen. Thus the total Polish armed forces recruited in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from Polish citizens was to amount to 123,000 soldiers. At present the contemplated strength of cadres in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is only 44,000 men, not counting the 30,000 already evacuated. The Polish Government is of opinion that in order to arrive at the stipulated number of 123,000 men, a complement of 49,000 men should be recruited on Soviet territory, and, should it prove impossible to attach it to the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—should be evacuated to the Near East.

Referring to his conversations in Moscow with the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, General Sikorski appeals to Premier Stalin and asks him to make possible continuation of recruiting of Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the evacuation to Iran and Palestine of contingents over and above the number of 44,000 soldiers.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI

No. 47

Minute of Mr. E. Raczynski's conversation on July 2 and July 4, 1942, with Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of

State for Foreign Affairs, concerning the evacuation of the remainder of the Polish Army from the U.S.S.R., and the Polish Government's Memorandum presented on the occasion of these conversations on July 3, 1942.

London, July 4, 1942.

On July 2, I visited the Foreign Office at the request of Sir Alexander Cadogan, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State, who notified me of the contents of a telegram he had received from Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. who is at present in Moscow. The Ambassador had received from Commissar Molotov a statement of Premier Stalin, in connection with Mr. Churchill's conversation with Mr. Molotov in London when Mr. Churchill made a suggestion to transfer part of the Polish Forces from Soviet territory to the Middle East. Mr. Stalin now suggests that three Polish divisions "well trained, but not yet fully armed" be moved to that region. Sir Alexander Cadogan asked me to notify him as soon as possible of the Polish Government's decision in this matter. He added that the British Government would be satisfied with such a solution and would be prepared to take immediate steps to receive these Forces and to assure them the necessary equipment.

I promised Sir Alexander a reply in the shortest possible time.

On the evening of July 4, I delivered the enclosed Memorandum to Sir A. Cadogan. The Memorandum defines the conditions which in the opinion of the Polish Government should be fulfilled in the event of the Polish divisions leaving Soviet territory.

Sir Alexander undertook to communicate the contents of the Memorandum to the British Ambassador in Moscow and to instruct him to submit the Polish conditions to the Soviet Government. Sir Alexander added that he was not aware of the reasons for which the Soviet Government had chosen to negotiate with us through the intermediary of the British Government, on grounds which he was in no position to judge. He thought that at the present stage this method should be maintained until the situation cleared in the course of the British Ambassador's introductory negotiations with Mr. Molotov. In the light of these negotiations we should be able to consider the most suitable steps to be taken next. I agreed to such an attitude.

MEMORANDUM

1. The Polish Government are gratified to be afforded an opportunity to help in the defence of the 'Near East with the Polish troops from Russia.

2. They are, however, compelled to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the duty of the Polish Government to assist their citizens in Soviet Russia. The presence of Polish troops in Russia has up to now enabled the civilian Poles to obtain the necessary means of existence.

3. Therefore the Polish Government feel they are entitled to hope for His Majesty's Government's collaboration in obtaining from the Soviet Government the fulfillment of the following request:

- a) After the departure of three Polish divisions from Russia the Polish recruiting center shall remain in Russia and recruiting of all Polish citizens able to carry arms shall be resumed until such time as the complete mobilization of all available men shall have been effected.
- b) Auxiliary military services of women and boy-scouts shall leave Russia together with the aforesaid three divisions as well as the families of the officers and men leaving Russia.
- c) The necessary measures shall be undertaken to begin the evacuation from Russia of 50,000 Polish children accompanied by 5,000 mothers or guardians who would be given refuge outside Russia through the collaboration of the British authorities. The Polish Embassy in the Soviet Union whilst maintaining fully its protection over Poles remaining in the Union on the basis of arrangements now in force, will be given the opportunity to cooperate through its appointed representatives in this evacuation. President Roosevelt has expressed his personal interest in the fate of these children and has pledged the assistance of American authorities in facilitating the withdrawal of a first contingent of 10,000 from Russia in order to save them from starvation.

4. Finally, the Polish Government hope for the collaboration of His Majesty's Government in the further search for the Polish officers missing in Russia. These officers would prove of great service in the formation of Polish divisions after the withdrawal of three divisions. The matter is urgent as it is only in the short summer

months that access is possible to the Northern regions to which these officers have presumably been removed.

London, July 3, 1942.

No. 48

Note of August 27, 1942, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Ambassador A. Bogomolov, concerning the continuation of recruiting for the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R.

London, August 27, 1942.

Mr. Ambassador,

The Government of the Republic of Poland has been informed by General Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have adopted a negative attitude towards the Polish Government's efforts and endeavours to maintain a reserve depot on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics so as to be able to continue recruiting Polish citizens for the Polish Army.

The authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics explained their refusal as follows:

"As the Polish Government does not find it possible to use the Polish divisions formed on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Soviet-German front, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cannot allow the formation of any Polish units whatsoever nor any recruiting in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

As regards the adoption by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of such an attitude in a matter as important to the Polish Government as the problem of carrying on recruiting of Polish citizens for the Polish army, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency of the following:

The political Agreement of July 30, 1941, and particularly the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, provided for the organization of a Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by voluntary enlistment and by normal recruiting. In view of the explicit terms of this Agreement, the Polish Government was entitled to expect that the organization of the army would not meet with any difficulties from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and that its executive au-

thorities would in the measure of their possibilities extend their help to the Polish Embassy and the Polish Army Command in their efforts to form an Army of Polish citizens capable of bearing arms and willing to fulfill their duty to their country in its Armed Forces. Unfortunately actual events have not justified these hopes of the Polish Government, and the facts given below will show that the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have not lent their support to the development and organization of the Polish Army.

Thus, when in November last, before the recruiting boards were set up, and the strength of the Polish Army already amounted to 46,000 men, the Military Authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics informed the Polish Command that the strength of the Polish Army could not exceed 30,000 men and that the establishment and rations for the Army had been limited to that number. Although Ambassador Kot immediately intervened with Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, this unilateral decision was not changed and as a result the Polish Command was forced to discharge from the ranks of the Army 16,000 soldiers who had enlisted as volunteers. This was the first serious setback that hampered the organization of the Polish Army.

It would have seemed that the problem of the numerical strength of the Polish Army was finally and definitely settled in December of last year during General Sikorski's visit to Moscow. General Sikorski together with Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, established the numerical strength of the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at 96,000 men, exclusive of 25,000 men to be evacuated to the Near East to reinforce the Polish units fighting in Libya, and the 2,000 airmen and sailors to be evacuated to Great Britain. Thus the total number of Polish soldiers to be recruited on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was to amount to 123,000.

Hardly had three months elapsed, however, before this decision agreed upon by both parties, underwent an unexpected unilateral change. Thus in March 1942, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars informed General Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that the strength of the Polish Army could not exceed 44,000 men and that the surplus over and above that number would be evacu-

ated to the Near East. The decision to reduce the strength of the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from 96,000 to 44,000 men was a new obstacle to the organization of the Polish Army.

The Polish Government, thus faced with an accomplished fact, received this decision with genuine regret. The Polish Government had hoped that thanks to the continuation of recruiting for the army, that had been promised to General Anders, a considerable number of soldiers over and above the established strength of 44,000 would also be evacuated to the Near East to reinforce the Allied armies fighting the enemy. These hopes were openly expressed in General Sikorski's message of April 9, 1942, to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, delivered to Your Excellency on April 13; in my Aide-Mémoire of May 1, 1942, to Your Excellency; in Ambassador Kot's Note of May 4, to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; and in my Note of June 10, 1942, to Your Excellency. I should moreover like to add that in accordance with the Declaration made on December 4, 1941, by General Sikorski and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, which established the bases of cooperation between the Polish Army and the Soviet Army, and in accordance with the frequent public statements made by General Sikorski about the common struggle of the Polish Forces and the Armed Forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against the German forces, I stated in my Note of June 10, that even those Polish soldiers who had been evacuated from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would take part, after they had been adequately equipped and trained and should the necessity arise, in fighting on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, side by side with the soldiers of the Army of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The answer sent by Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on May 14, 1942, in reply to Ambassador Kot's Note of May 4, surprised and astonished the Polish Government. The reply in question contained a statement that the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in his conversation with General Anders never touched upon the problem of continued recruiting for the Polish Army, and further that the recruiting, supply and medical centres of the Polish Army, intended to facilitate the dispatch of volunteers to that Army, must also be closed.

This decision to reduce the strength of the Polish Army, the refusal to allow recruiting and voluntary enlistment, already restricted by the ban on Polish citizens leaving their places of temporary residence and the suspension of railway passes, prove that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did not desire an increase in the strength of the Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or in the ranks of the Polish units fighting in the Near East.

The negative attitude of the Soviet Government to the further development of the Polish forces is also proved by the fact that more than 8,000 Polish officers, who in the spring of 1940 were interned in the prisoner of war camps of Ostashkov, Starobielsk and Kozielsk, are still missing despite frequent interventions by the Polish Government, and although incomplete lists of the names of these officers were delivered to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars by General Sikorski in December, 1941, and in March, 1942, by General Anders.

Taking into consideration all the aforementioned indisputable facts concerning the organization of the Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honor to inform you, Mr. Ambassador, that the Government of the Republic of Poland considers the allegation that the Polish Army declines to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Army of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as entirely unfounded and inconsistent with the true state of affairs, and that the Government of the Republic of Poland cannot take into cognizance the motives alleged for the refusal to allow further recruiting for the Polish Army.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI.

No. 49

Note of October 31, 1942, from Ambassador A. Bogomolov to Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning the organization of the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Minister,

London, October 31, 1942.

In reply to your Note of August 27, 1942, I have the honor to inform you of the following:

1) As is known, in accordance with the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, a Military Agreement, was signed on August 14, 1941, between the High Command of the U.S.S.R. and the High Command of the Republic of Poland, with a view to forming on the territories of the U.S.S.R. a Polish Army for the prosecution of the war against Germany in common with the Soviet armies and those of the other Allied countries.

To carry out this purpose the representatives of the Soviet and Polish High Commands started from the necessity of completing the formation of the Polish Army in the shortest possible time, with a view—as was emphasized on many occasions by the representatives of the Polish High Command, Generals Anders and Szysko-Bohusz—to the earliest possible participation of these units in active warfare.

Such a plan for the organization of the Polish Army necessitated the immediate setting up of recruiting boards and that Polish citizens throughout the Soviet Union be at once notified of the formation of a Polish Army, and of the possibility as Polish citizens of joining this Army as volunteers.

As is known, all this was undertaken at the time (the end of August) with the fullest possible cooperation of the Soviet military and local civilian authorities.

Also, at that time an agreement was reached between the Soviet and Polish Commands that the strength of the Polish Army be fixed at 30,000 men (two rifle divisions, one reserve regiment, a military school for officers, the staff and staff offices), and it was decided that the formation of the two rifle divisions and a reserve regiment should be completed by October 1, 1941. This date was decided upon to meet the desire of the Polish Command for the quickest possible organization of a Polish Army. For the same reason, and in accordance with a proposal of the Polish representative (General Anders), it was agreed to send one or the other of these divisions to the Soviet-German front as soon as it was ready.

The Soviet military authorities, acting upon instructions from the Soviet Government, cooperated with the Polish Command in the fullest possible measure to assist it in the most successful solution of all the intricate problems connected with the formation of a Polish Army, namely: food supplies, stocks, billeting of military units, staffs and the various staff institutions, billeting facilities for officers, supplying newly formed units with arms, etc.

As regards the method of providing the Polish forces with supplies, the Soviet Government arranged to ensure that the Polish Army should be included within the Red Army supply system, which greatly facilitated the whole task of forming the Polish units. Thus, food supplies were to be the same as those for the Red Army behind the front, until the advance of the Polish units into the front line. Forage, fuel, grease, training ammunition, were also issued in quantities equal to Red Army standards. To this should be added that the use by the Polish Army of military barracks, staff billets, means of communication, transport, lighting, etc. was paid for according to normal rates fixed for the Red Army.

All these arrangements connected with the formation and maintenance of the Polish Army were financed through a non-interest bearing loan of 65 million roubles made by the Soviet Government to the Polish Government. This loan fully covered all expenses connected with the army until January 1, 1942. In fact the financial credit given by the Soviet Government for the organization of the army exceeded the amount of the non-interest bearing loan, for this loan did not include considerable grants amounting to an additional 15 million roubles made to the officers corps of the Polish military units in formation.

2) Regardless of the fact that the organization of the Polish divisions was not completed within the period originally fixed, by October 1 of that year, which indeed could not but create many difficulties and adversely affect the further development of the Polish Army, the Soviet Government expressed itself fully agreeable to the proposal of the Polish Government that the Polish Army be increased to the strength of 96,000 men, including officers, non-commissioned officers and men.

As a result, in December 1941, the Soviet Government gave its consent to this increase and the Polish Army was to be expanded from two divisions to six divisions of 11,000 men each.

Furthermore the Soviet Government consented that the effectives of the schools for officers, the service of supplies, the reserve units and complementary units, and the staffs and personnel of the staff offices, originally fixed at 3,000, be increased to 30,000.

In view of this large increase in the strength of the Polish Army, the Soviet Government also raised the amount of the loan for the maintenance of the Polish Army from 65 million roubles to 300 million roubles, on the same easy terms (non-interest bearing loan,

repayment over a period of ten years beginning from the sixth year after the end of the war, etc.).

This increase in the strength of the Polish Army to 96,000, made necessary the establishment of a number of complementary services, both administrative and economic. All these were set up at the time of the transfer of the Polish Army to the Soviet Republics of Uzbek, Kirgiz and Kazakstan, as desired by the Polish Command.

Climatic conditions were the main reason for this transfer to the Southern regions of the U.S.S.R., but it was also connected with the need for more space than was afforded in the central regions for the Polish divisions already organized, and the tens of thousands of Polish citizens to be recruited. This necessarily involved a tremendous amount of work, for camps had to be erected, quarters found for the staffs, locations for the military schools, sanitary institutions and accommodation for the officers, etc.

As may be well understood in these circumstances, the execution of this programme of more than trebling the size of the Polish Army from that contemplated in the original plan (from 30,000 to 96,000) was fraught with many difficulties as regards organization, transport and materials, these difficulties were particularly complicated and increased by the barbarous warfare waged on the Soviet nation by the German occupants. But all these difficulties were overcome and by February-March of 1942, the Polish Army had reached a strength of nearly 70,000 men.

Such an increase in the strength of the Polish Army in a relatively short period, and the increase by more than four and a half times of the expenditure for the maintenance of that army, from 65 million roubles to 300 million roubles, is ample proof of the Soviet Government's interest in the creation of a Polish Army and in assisting the Polish nation to take its honorable place in the war against the Hitlerite brigands.

3) However the further development of the Polish Army met with certain difficulties caused by such unforeseen circumstances as the non-delivery of wheat to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the United States and England as a result of the outbreak of war in the Pacific Ocean.

Since the U.S.S.R. could not receive supplies of foodstuffs it became necessary to cut down the quantity distributed to the non-fighting divisions of the army, so as to ensure supplies to the fight-

ing forces. As the Polish Commander-in-Chief showed no inclination to direct any of his divisions to the German-Soviet front, and continued to keep the Polish Army well behind the fighting lines, the Soviet Government was compelled to treat these units as a non-fighting force, and accordingly the decision to cut down the rations of non-combatant units was applied to them.

In view of these circumstances the Soviet Government took the following decision as regards the Polish Army: from April 1 of that year the number of rations to be reduced to 44,000 and the Polish Army over and above these 44,000 to be sent to Iran in accordance with the wish of the Polish Government.

This decision was taken by the Soviet Government on March 18. Already at the beginning of April about 30,000 Polish men and officers left the U.S.S.R. and proceeded immediately, under instructions of the Polish Government to Iran. Some three months after this evacuation of the Polish military units to Iran, the remaining 44,000 men and officers followed in their footsteps, having been sent outside the U.S.S.R. frontiers by the Polish Government—to Iran, Syria, Palestine and North Africa.

Thus the question of the Polish Army's participation together with the Soviet Armies in the campaign against Hitlerite Germany was removed by the Polish Government from the agenda. The Polish Government came to a negative decision on this problem, despite its previous assurances and despite the solemn declaration it made in this respect on December 4, 1941, that "the army of the Republic of Poland which is now on the territory of the Soviet Republic will wage war against the German brigands shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armies." Such a decision by the Polish Government was however not unexpected. In spite of the repeated assurances of the Polish Commander-in-Chief that he was determined to bring his detachments into action as soon as possible, in actual fact the date of the despatch of these detachments to the front was constantly postponed.

Indeed when the Polish Army was first being organized the date for its readiness for action was fixed, as is well known for October 1, 1941, and the Polish Command in this connection declared it was considered advisable to send individual divisions to the front as and when their organization was completed and they were ready for action. Though the preparations connected

with the different divisions were delayed, even if it were not possible to fulfill this obligation by October 1, it could nevertheless have been done later. However, the obligation has not been fulfilled, and not once has the Polish Command raised the question of sending the organized divisions to the Soviet-German front.

The Soviet Government did not consider it possible to press the Polish Command in this matter, but nearly five months after the organization of the Polish military divisions had begun, namely in February 1942, the Soviet Government became concerned as to when the Polish divisions would begin to fight against the Hitlerites. Mention was then made of the 5th Division, which had completed its training. At the same time the Soviet Government emphasized that it was important, both for political and military reasons, that Polish Units which were in readiness should be sent as soon as possible to fight against the Germans. When raising this question the Soviet Government based itself on the clear and explicit provisions of the Soviet-Polish Military Agreement concluded on August 14, 1941, point 7 of which reads as follows:

"Polish units will be moved to the front only after they are fully ready for action. In principle they will operate in groups not smaller than divisions, and will be used in accordance with the operational plans of the High Command of the U.S.S.R."

Regardless of this categorical provision of the Military Agreement, excluding the possibility of any reservation whatsoever or refusal as to the propriety of moving to the front separate units ready to go into action, the Polish Government adopted an entirely different attitude in this matter. In reply to the Soviet Government's question, General Anders informed the Soviet Commander-in-Chief that he considered it inadvisable and purposeless to send single divisions, although the Poles were fighting even in brigades on other fronts.

Incidentally, General Anders gave his promise that the whole Polish Army would be ready to take part in the campaign against the Germans by June 1 of the present year. Neither by June 1 nor at a much later date did the Polish Army, or rather the Polish Command and the Polish Government show their willingness to fight the Germans on the Soviet-German front. Furthermore the Polish Government even formally declined to move their units to the Soviet-German front on the grounds that "the employment of

single divisions would give no result," that "the possible readiness for action of one division does not correspond to our expectations" (telegram from General Sikorski of February 7).

4) While refusing to send its army to the Soviet-German front, the Polish Government at the same time obstinately demanded the consent of the Soviet Government to carry out on Soviet territory supplementary recruiting for the Polish Army.

However, as not a single Polish detachment had taken part in active warfare, the Soviet Government was unable to give its consent. J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., in a message addressed to General Sikorski, and V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in a Note of May 14, drew the attention of the Polish Government to these circumstances.

Nevertheless the Polish Government repeated its request to carry out supplementary recruiting for the Polish Army amongst the Polish citizens residing on Soviet territory. In its Note of June 10, however, the Polish Government explicitly stated a projected use of the Polish fighting forces organized in the Soviet Union, that was nothing else but a refusal to use them on the Soviet-German front.

In reply to this statement, transmitted by Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador to the Polish Government in London, the Soviet Government informed the Polish Government that in view of the fact that in spite of agreements between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, the Polish Government did not deem it possible to employ the Polish divisions organized in the U.S.S.R. on the Soviet-German front, the Soviet Government could not permit the further organization of Polish units in the U.S.S.R.

The above facts prove that the Soviet Government used every means to ensure a successful organization and development of the Polish Army on the territory of the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Government made all the necessary arrangements, and supplied all the necessary means and facilities for this purpose.

The agreement of July 30, 1941, and the declaration of December 4, 1941, clearly and explicitly defined the aims of the Soviet Government and the Polish Government, to unite the forces of the Soviet and Polish nations in the common struggle against the Hitlerite brigands and occupants, to create a Polish Army imbued

with this high ideal and to give it an opportunity to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army for the independence of their motherland, their homes and their native soil.

The Soviet Government did everything that was necessary for the realization of this aim. The Polish Government took a different path. The Polish Government showed no inclination to send their divisions—neither the first divisions formed, nor those subsequently formed—to the Soviet-German front, they refused to employ the Polish Army on this front against the Germans hand in hand with the Soviet divisions, and thereby declined to fulfil the obligations they had undertaken. Therefore, the Polish Government must assume full responsibility for the breach that has occurred in the continued organization on Soviet territory of their army from among the Polish citizens in the Soviet Union.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BOGOMOLOV.

No. 50

Note of December 18, 1942, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. V. Valkov, Chargé d'Affaires of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, containing a reply to the Soviet Note of October 31, 1942, concerning the organization of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R.

London, December 18, 1942.

Mr. Chargé d'Affaires,

In respect to the negative attitude adopted by the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with regard to the efforts of General Anders to have one reserve depot left on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to continue the recruiting of Polish citizens for the Polish Army, I had the honor to represent in my Note of August 27, 1942, addressed to Ambassador Bogomolov, the consistent and sustained efforts of the Polish Government to organize a numerically strong army of Polish citizens, fit for military service and anxious to fulfil their duty to their motherland in the ranks of the armed forces. To recall these continued efforts of the Polish Government I quoted in my Note a series of facts and referred to the abundant correspondence in the matter between the representatives of the Polish Government and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I wish to emphasize that in his reply of October 31, 1942, to my Note mentioned above, Ambassador Bogomolov neither questioned nor denied any of the facts quoted by me. On the contrary, Ambassador Bogomolov, referred in his Note to the decision taken on March 18, 1942, to reduce the Polish forces to 44,000 men, a decision which, as I had the honor to remark in my Note of August 27, 1942, was taken unilaterally by the Soviet Government, without any consultation whatsoever with the representatives of the Polish Government, and which was contrary to the bilateral Polish-Soviet understanding of December 3, 1941, on the formation of a Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 96,000 men, apart from the evacuation of 25,000 infantry and 2,000 air and navy personnel. He also emphasized that "the further development of the Polish Army met with certain difficulties caused by such unforeseen circumstances as the non-delivery of wheat to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the United States and England as a result of the outbreak of war in the Pacific Ocean." So without questioning in any way my statement concerning the negative attitude of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with regard to the numerical development of the Polish Army, moreover, himself emphasizing that the reduction of that Army in March, 1942, was due to the outbreak of war in the Pacific Ocean and not to any fault on the part of the Polish Government, Ambassador Bogomolov arrives at the end of his Note at a conclusion which I completely fail to understand, namely, that it is the Polish Government which should bear the entire responsibility for the discontinuation of the organization of their army from among the Polish citizens living on the territories of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Before discussing in further detail the various statements made by Ambassador Bogomolov in his Note of October 31, 1942, I wish first of all to observe that a considerable part of this Note is devoted to the enumeration of all measures and facilities granted by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to make possible the creation of a Polish Army. Ambassador Bogomolov includes in this list the setting up of recruiting boards, the notifying of Polish citizens of the organization of a Polish Army, the collaboration of Soviet military authorities with the Polish High Command for the most satisfactory solution of various problems connected with the organization of the Army, viz.: furnishing ap-

propriate premises, barracks, food and other supplies, munitions for training purposes, etc., as well as a non-interest bearing loan originally of 65 million roubles, raised subsequently to 300 million roubles, granted to the Polish Government by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cover the cost of all the above mentioned services and deliveries in kind. The Polish Government fully appreciated the efforts the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics made to this end, efforts undoubtedly great and complicated in view of the war waged on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—and this is why they pressed no demands in this respect. If, however, there were serious shortcomings in matters concerning barracks for the army, food supplies, fodder for horses, which led to repeated representations by General Anders and by General Sikorski on December 3, 1941, in his talk with Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, those complaints were not made as a reproach to the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics nor to place their efforts in doubt, but to draw their attention to the fact that these shortages and failures to deliver supplies must evidently impair the rapidity with which the Polish Army could be made ready for action.

In his Note of October 31, 1942, Ambassador Bogomolov mentions that in accordance with the understanding between the Soviet and Polish High Commands, the strength of the Polish Army was fixed at 30,000 men and that the formation of two Polish rifle divisions and of one reserve regiment should have been completed by October 1, 1941, and further, that in accordance with the proposal made by General Anders it was agreed to send the divisions as and when formed to the Soviet-German front without delay.

Ambassador Bogomolov's assertion that the strength of the Polish Army was fixed at 30,000 men is obviously contrary to the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, to which Ambassador Bogomolov frequently refers in his Note. Article 4, of the above mentioned Military Agreement, reads as follows:

"The Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. will consist of units of land forces only. Their strength and number will depend on the man-power, equipment and supplies available."

As results from the above text, the Military Agreement—that is the basic document governing the organization of the Polish armed forces—does not fix any restriction as to the strength, making it dependent solely on the man-power and equipment available. Moreover, at the signature of the Military Agreement, the Polish Government deliberately abstained from putting forward any definite figure as to the strength of the Army, on the assumption that the Polish armed forces fighting against the Germans would include all Polish citizens capable of bearing arms and eager to fulfil on the fields of battle their duty to their motherland. The Polish Government were fully convinced that on the territories of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a numerically strong Polish Army could be raised in view of the man-power available there. These hopes of the Polish Government were based on three factors:

1. The number of Polish citizens, prisoners of war according to the figures published in the *Red Star*, the organ of the Red Army, on September 17, 1940 was 181,000 men, including 12 generals, 58 colonels, 72 lieut. colonels, 5,131 officers of lesser rank and 4,096 reserve officers.
2. In the Army of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there were about 100,000 Polish citizens from the classes of 1917, 1918 and 1919, conscripted on Polish territory in the spring months of 1941.
3. Among those deported from Polish territory, there were considerable numbers of men of military age, who could join the Polish Army in formation, as volunteers or regular recruits, according to the provisions of Art. 6 of the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941.

Several months after the conclusion of the Military Agreement, to be exact, on December 3, 1941, a bilateral decision was reached by General Sikorski and Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, with regard to fixing the strength of the Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As I mentioned above and in my Note of August 27, 1942, the Polish armed forces were to consist of 96,000 men, apart from 27,000 men evacuated to the Middle East, or a total of 123,000 men.

As Ambassador Bogomolov in his Note refers to an alleged fixing of the strength of the Polish Army at 30,000 men during General Anders's negotiations with the Soviet High Command, this refers probably to the so-called Protocol No. 2, of August 19, 1941. I

desire to recall in this connection the explanations communicated by Ambassador Kot to Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, on November 14, 1941, and on November 15, 1941, to Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, which were taken into cognizance. Consequently Protocol No. 2 did not contain any limitation of the strength of the Polish Army—as this would have been contrary to Art. 6 of the Military Agreement signed a few days previously—but provided for a gradual formation of the Army by stages, according to the influx of recruits and the supply of technical equipment, which could be delivered to the Polish Army in formation only by the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and without which the formation of any armed force whatever was completely inconceivable. This Protocol, at the wish of the Polish Command—as emphasized by Ambassador Bogomolov in his Note—fixed a short time limit, October 1, 1941, for the organization and military preparedness of two divisions and one reserve regiment. This extraordinarily short period provided for the organization and military training of the Army, on the initiative of the Polish Command, is irrefutable proof of the eager desire of the Polish Army to take part in war operations on the Eastern front at the earliest possible date. It is obvious, however, that the problem of the military training of two divisions and one reserve regiment in a period of six weeks from the date of the signature of the Military Agreement has no connection whatsoever with the totally different problem of the strength of the Polish Army, as a separately organized entity that was to be formed in accordance with the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and of the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941. Therefore I must consider as wholly unjustified the assertion as regards a definite fixing of the strength of the Polish Army at 30,000 men during the negotiations with General Anders. Equally devoid of all foundation is the attempt to represent the understanding of December 3, 1941, which actually for the first time fixed the number of divisions to be formed on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the number of soldiers to be evacuated, as a concession made to the Polish Government.

In the above mentioned Note, Ambassador Bogomolov tries to burden the Polish Government with responsibility for the fact

that the two divisions mentioned above did not achieve their military preparedness by October 1, 1941, and that these and other divisions were also not ready to fight at a later date, and finally he asserts that the Polish Government deemed it undesirable to send single divisions to the front, and even refused to send their Army to the Soviet-German front.

I wish to draw your attention, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, to the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R., at the time of the conclusion of the Military Agreement with the Polish Government were well aware that the Polish Government disposed of considerable man-power out of which many army divisions could be formed, but that on the other hand, they did not possess their own armament or munition factories. Therefore Article 12 of the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement explicitly provided that "armament, equipment, uniforms, motor transport, etc., will be provided as far as possible by (a) the Government of the U.S.S.R. from their own resources, (b) the Polish Government from supplies granted on the basis of the Lend-Lease Act."

The first care of the Polish Government when proceeding with the creation of the Polish Army was to take measures to fully provide the troops with the necessary equipment in the shortest possible time. Thanks to the efforts of the Polish Government a few weeks after the conclusion of the Military Agreement shipments of uniforms for the Polish Army were already despatched from Great Britain. General Anders received the first consignment of uniforms and boots from Soviet authorities only on October 23, 1941, and up to that date the soldiers were in rags, and 40% of them went barefoot. During the initial period of the formation of the Army, arms were to be supplied by the Government of the U.S.S.R. But it was only on October 22, 1941, that Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, notified Ambassador Kot that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had some difficulties as regards armaments and asked whether there was any possibility that the Polish Government might obtain armaments from the United States and Great Britain. An identical statement with regard to armament difficulties was made by Ambassador Bogomolov to General Sikorski and myself on October 25, 1941.

If I mention this matter here it is not with the aim of imparting any blame; I merely record facts which show that in spite of the

best will on the part of the Polish Government, Polish armed forces could not be adequately armed within the period of time originally fixed and that the Polish Government cannot assume any responsibility on that score.

The Polish Government informed by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the difficulties concerning the arming of the Polish Army, immediately approached the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States with a request for arms and equipment. As you are aware, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, the necessity of continuing supplies to the U.S.S.R. on the one hand, and the imperative need of massing arms and munitions in North Africa on the other, together with complications arising from the great length of the journey were responsible for the fact that the arms could not be delivered at the dates fixed.

As a result it was only possible to arm and equip the 5th Division of the Polish armed forces on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and even that division very inadequately compared to a Soviet infantry division, so it was in no case ready to fight. The division did not possess any of the eighteen 45 mm anti-tank guns the establishment called for, it had no 76 mm anti-aircraft guns (establishment 4), also it did not possess any synchronized anti-aircraft machine guns (establishment 18) nor any 12,7 mm machine-guns (establishment 9). The 5th Infantry Division had not received any 77 mm field guns, although according to the establishment it should have had 18, and finally it was without munition carriers for 77 mm guns or 104 mm howitzers. As for the 37 mm anti-aircraft guns, it had only four instead of the six called for in the establishment. Finally the 5th Division was also very short of equipment: the division had only 10% of motor-cars, 56% of field kitchens, 80% of two-horse carts, 45% of ambulances, 60% of one-horse carts and 85% of the horses provided for in the establishment. As far as the other divisions were concerned there was actually no question of their being armed, as all they had was only 200 rifles, a number insufficient even for training purposes, so that in order to prevent the soldiers from remaining idle, General Anders was obliged to distribute among them part of the firearms of the 5th Division.

When on March 18, 1942, General Anders informed the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of this state of affairs and simultaneously presented him with a list of arms already re-

ceived and an estimate of additional arms required to complete the needs of the Polish Army, Premier Stalin said: "You will have enough time to organize and to train your Army. We do not press you to go to the front. I understand that it will be better for you to go to the front when we shall have advanced to the Polish frontiers. You should have the honor to be the first to step on Polish soil."

The facts quoted by me above prove that if neither the Polish Army as a whole nor any part of it, such as the 5th Division frequently mentioned by Ambassador Bogomolov, took part in the fighting on the Eastern front, it was not because the Government of the U.S.S.R. deemed it impossible to exert pressure on the Polish Command, but because no part of this Army was either properly trained or adequately armed, consequently, it did not meet the explicit and simple requirements set down in Art. 7 of the Military Agreement, in the following words: "The Polish units will be moved to the front only after they are fully ready for action."

In his Note Ambassador Bogomolov also refers to the second part of this Article, which reads: "In principle they (the Polish units) will operate in groups not smaller than divisions and will be used in accordance with the operational plans of the High Command of the U.S.S.R.," and at the same time he expresses the opinion that the sentence quoted above excludes the possibility of any reservation whatever or refusal as to the propriety of moving to the front separate units ready to go into action. Although I have already had the honor of proving that for lack of armaments none of the Polish divisions had reached the stage of full readiness for action, and consequently none was in a position to participate in the fighting, I now take the liberty of drawing your attention, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, to the fact that the interpretation of this part of this Article may be twofold, that is to say, that Polish military units not smaller than a division *might* be or *must* be moved to the front. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding in the matter and to give to this Article a uniform interpretation which would exclude all ambiguity, General Sikorski on August 23, 1941, instructed General Szyszko-Bohusz to have a further talk with the High Command of the Red Army to explain that the Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

publics would operate as a whole under Polish Command and that individual Polish divisions would not be sent to the front. Requesting such an interpretation of Article 7, General Sikorski took the stand that not only military considerations but the prestige of Poland demanded that the Polish Army should operate as a whole and have a special sector of the Eastern front entrusted to it under a Polish general. He also took into consideration the propaganda value that the taking over of a particular sector of the front by the Polish Army would have in Poland and in the whole world. The throwing up to the front of one Polish division and the splitting up of the Polish Army into single units would cause not only unfortunate consequences in the organization of the Polish Army, but would also have undesirable effects for the U.S.S.R., as far as propaganda was concerned. After carrying out his instructions, General Szyszko-Bohusz informed General Sikorski on September 11, 1941, that he had been officially informed, on September 10, by the Government of the U.S.S.R., through the Deputy Chief of Staff, General Panfilov, that the said Government interpreted Article 7 of the Military Agreement in accordance with the suggestion of the Polish Government and recognized entirely the necessity of using the Polish Army at the front as a homogeneous whole. Also in his conversations with the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, General Sikorski made explicit reservations against employing individual Polish divisions at the front and against splitting the Polish Army into single units which would be lost in the immense Red Army.

I am obliged to take the most emphatic exception to the assertion of Ambassador Bogomolov that the Polish Government removed from the agenda the question of the participation of the Polish Army in the common fight together with the Soviet forces against the Germans. The Polish Government were and continue to be firmly resolved to respect all Polish-Soviet agreements, the Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941 and the Polish-Soviet Declaration of December 4, of the same year. Evacuation of a part of the Polish Army, agreed upon in the negotiations between General Sikorski and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, resulted from the necessity of the speediest possible arming of the Polish troops so that they might be thrown into the battle against Germany. An evacuation of part or even the whole of the Polish Army did not exclude a continuation of recruit-

ing of Polish citizens fit for military service as clearly provided for in the Military Agreement and did not depend on the earlier or later participation of the Polish Army in the battles at the front. In accordance with the provisions of the above mentioned Agreement, recruiting should be continued until the man-power resources of Polish citizens residing in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are exhausted. The recruiting was stopped without agreement with the Polish Government, in spite of the fact that being informed of the difficulties in feeding the troops in the rear of the Army, on June 10 of the current year, they made a proposal to the Soviet Government to supply food rations for recruits over and above the figure of 44,000 pending evacuation to the Middle East. As you are well aware, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, this offer was not accepted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the recruiting of Polish citizens for the Polish Army was stopped.

In the final paragraph of his Note of October 31, Ambassador Bogomolov asserts that in my Note of June 10 of the current year, the Polish Government declared themselves in favor of such a use of the Polish armed forces formed on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that meant nothing else than a refusal to use them on the Soviet-German front. Desirous to demonstrate that the above assertion can be based only on a misunderstanding, I take the liberty of quoting the paragraph of my Note of June 10, referring to the use of the Polish Army on the Eastern front among others. I wrote then: "The Polish Government are determined to use the Polish Armed Forces now in the U.S.S.R., in the Near East or in Great Britain in the struggle for the common cause against the common enemy." Moreover, I did not preclude in the above mentioned Note the possibility of the return of evacuated units of the Polish Army to the fighting on the Eastern battle-front, as shown by the following sentences: "It is possible that the Polish Army formed in the Near East may—after it is equipped and trained—also be used on the front of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in case the military situation should so require. Certain units of this army have already taken a noteworthy part in the defence of Tobruk and in the fighting in the desert. The fact that the Polish Army has not yet fought side by side with the Red Army is solely due to armament difficulties experienced by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as well as to the shipping difficulties that beset Great Britain and the United States."

As you see, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, the excerpts from my Note of June 10, quoted above, are perfectly clear and unequivocal and they contradict Ambassador Bogomolov's assertion concerning the alleged declaration of the Polish Government against the use on the Soviet-German front of Polish armed forces organized on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All the facts quoted by me above irrefutably testify that the Polish Government, attaching great importance to the possibility of forming a Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, fulfilled with complete loyalty all the obligations they assumed, and most zealously spared no efforts to make that Army as strong numerically as possible. The Polish Government also did everything in their power and spared no steps to obtain as soon as possible from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and from the Governments of Great Britain and the United States the necessary arms and equipment for the Polish Army to enable it to take part in the fighting on the Eastern front. It is through no fault of the Polish Government that their efforts in this direction, owing to a whole series of unforeseen circumstances, did not bring the hoped for results within the time foreseen, as a consequence of which the training of the Army and its readiness for action were also delayed. On the other hand, the decision to reduce the strength of the Polish Army and to stop recruiting for that Army was taken by the Government of the U.S.S.R. alone without any attempt at consultation with the Polish Government in the matter. Consequently, full responsibility for those decisions must be borne solely by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Bearing in mind that the interests of the United Nations in the present war against the aggressor States demand that all available man-power be utilized to wage a most successful war against them, and in view of the fact that many thousands of Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics capable of bearing arms have not yet been recruited for the Polish armed forces, and, moreover, the possibility that when those Polish units already organized enter into action in the near future, casualties and losses must ensue which will necessitate replacements in the fighting ranks,—the Polish Government cannot alter their opinion that the continuation of recruiting for the Polish Army on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, interrupted several months ago, is in the common interest of all Allied Nations.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI

CHAPTER 6**Transfer to the Polish Army of Poles forcibly conscripted
by the German Army and subsequently taken
prisoner by the Red Army.**

No. 51

Note of January 18, 1942, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, concerning the transfer to the Polish Army of Poles, forcibly conscripted by the German Army, and now in Soviet Prisoner of War Camps.

Referring to its Notes D. 713/41 of November 8, 1941, and D. 48/42 of January 7, 1942, the Polish Embassy has the honor to submit the following for the information of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs:

In the second half of December, 1941, groups of prisoners of war, soldiers of the German Army, passed through Tatishchevo and Saratov, among them were many Polish citizens forcibly conscripted by the German Army. These prisoners on seeing Polish soldiers of the 5th Infantry Division at stations en route asked their countrymen to report their fate to the Polish authorities and to make endeavours to have them set free from prisoner of war camps and enrolled in the Polish Army in formation on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Submitting the above for the information of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, this Embassy has the honor to renew its request that instructions be issued with a view to collecting in a separate center prisoners of Polish nationality who were forcibly mobilized by the German authorities of occupation, and after particulars as to their identity, etc., have been investigated and their nationality ascertained, make it possible to enlist them in the Polish Army.

Kuybyshev, January 18, 1942.

No. 52

Note of January 23, 1942, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev, refusing special treatment to Poles, prisoners of war from the German Army.

In reply to the Notes of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland of November 8, 1941, No. 713/41 and January 7, 1942, No. 48/42, and of January 18, 1942—No. 164/42, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has the honor to communicate the following:

In the Notes mentioned above the Embassy referred to the transfer to the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. of Polish citizens, prisoners of war from the German Army, on the assumption that these prisoners surrendered of their own will, supposedly wishing to join the Polish Army in formation on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

The People's Commissariat considers itself obliged to declare, that it cannot agree to the Polish Government's proposal and that it sees no grounds for adopting any regime for German prisoners of war of Polish nationality other than the regime established for all German prisoners of war.

Further to the above, the People's Commissariat deems it necessary to inform the Embassy that an overwhelming majority of Poles—soldiers in the German Army—were taken prisoner with arms in their hands, having actively resisted the Soviet forces, and not as a result of voluntary surrender.

Kuybyshev, January 23rd, 1942.

No. 53

Note of February 6, 1942, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev containing a reply to the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of January 23, 1942, and demanding the transfer to the Polish Army of Poles, prisoners of war from the German Army.

In reply to the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs No. 13 of January 23, 1942, the Polish Embassy has the honor to submit the following:

When it approached the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs with the request that Poles be separated from prisoners of war, former soldiers in the German Army, taken prisoner by the Red Army, this Embassy was prompted by the following considerations:

The conscription of Polish citizens by the German Army constitutes a flagrant breach of the fundamental rules of international law, and should be met, in the common interest of all Allied States, not only by condemnation, but also by counter-action both on the

part of the Polish Government and on the part of the friendly Government of the U.S.S.R. The Germans are endeavoring to mobilize every force to combat the Democracies, and spare no effort to put at the disposal of the German High Command the greatest possible man-power, including even hostile elements. One of the important tasks of both our Governments is to counteract this action.

The Poles, constituting as they do an element decidedly hostile to the Germans, are, as a rule, distributed on conscription by the German Army among different units, in small groups or singly so as to prevent any organized resistance, as for instance mass desertion to the Allied Forces. That the Germans do not trust the Poles conscripted by force is illustrated by the fact that Poles are not admitted to commissioned and non-commissioned rank in the German Army, nor to branches of the service requiring individual action, as for instance tanks, air force, signals, but are given auxiliary duties in supply columns or in infantry units, where an individual soldier surrounded by a mass of Germans would face immediate death at their hands should he lay down his arms.

The Polish Government has, for its part, undertaken appropriate steps on the German occupied territory of the Republic of Poland to deal with the disastrous results of the conscription of Polish citizens by the German Army, issuing secret instructions to Poles to surrender to the soldiers of the Red Army at the earliest opportunity. The Polish Government intends to extend this action as soon as possible. The principle of deserting from the ranks of the German Army, encouraged on the territory of the Polish Republic, is not fruitless: as best shown by public statements of Soviet authorities. Among others, a report in the *Comsomol Pravda* No. 308 of December 30, 1941, fully supports the attitude adopted in the present Note, and requires no further comment. (A copy of this report is forwarded herewith.)

Besides, last November the Soviet authorities organized a meeting of Slav prisoners of war, former soldiers in the German Army, at which a resolution accepted by all the Slav nations oppressed by Germany was passed. This resolution, signed on behalf of the Poles by Kurt Klauzen, a worker from Bydgoszcz and former soldier of the 106th German Infantry Division, and Ryszard Slibo, from Chorzów, former soldier of the 29th German Infantry Division (*Izvestia* November 29, 1941)—fully corroborated the correctness of this

Embassy's reasoning, submitted to the People's Commissariat in the Notes D. 731/41 of November 8, 1941, D. 48/42 of January 7, 1942, and D. 164/42 of January 18, 1942.

In the opinion of the Embassy, to restrict to propaganda in the Soviet press the results of this action, aimed at encouraging Poles to surrender to the soldiers of the Red Army, is not enough in the present period of friendly collaboration between both States, a collaboration which aims at the fullest mobilization of every force for the fight against the common enemy, and to which expression was given in the Moscow Declaration of December 4, 1941.

At the same time the Polish Embassy has the honour to draw the attention of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the undesirable consequences which would ensue should information reach occupied Poland that Poles conscripted by force are treated by the Soviet authorities on being taken prisoner, in the same manner as German prisoners-of-war. Information of this kind would immediately be utilized by German propaganda not merely to hinder the Polish Government's action with regard to desertion by Polish citizens, but also endanger the principle of Polish-Soviet collaboration on the territory of the Republic of Poland.

This being the state of affairs, this Embassy has the honor to request the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to reconsider its hitherto negative attitude to the transfer of Polish prisoners, former soldiers in the German Army, to the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an attitude expressed in the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of January 23, 1942.

Kuybyshev, February 6, 1942.

No. 54

Note of December 15, 1942, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. V. Valkov, Chargé d'Affaires of the U.S.S.R., concerning the transfer to the Polish Army of Poles, prisoners of war from the German Army, and the cessation of tendentious broadcasts concerning the part played by Poles in the German Army.

Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, London, December 15, 1942.

Radio stations on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have on several occasions recently broadcast news of the

mass participation of Poles in the German Army, and even of the formation of special Polish units allegedly commanded by Polish officers. This information was given in such a form as to create the impression that there existed voluntary cooperation between the Poles and the German Army against the Red Army.

At the same time the Polish authorities have had the opportunity to ascertain by reports from Poland that many Polish officers and other ranks, residing in territories illegally incorporated in the Reich, have been forcibly conscripted by the German Army and sent to various German fronts. Poles, thus mobilized, have found themselves in Fieldmarshal Rommel's army in Libya, and in German units which took part in the fighting at Dieppe. Availing themselves of the first opportunity, these men surrendered to Allied units and are today in the ranks of the Polish Army, preparing to fight against their age-old enemy.

The Government of the Republic of Poland have therefore instructed Ambassador Romer to explain to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the real reasons for the existence of a certain number of Polish soldiers in the German Army. At the same time Ambassador Romer has instructions to submit to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that the aforementioned broadcasts throw a false light upon the part played in the German Army by the forcibly conscripted Poles, whose only desire is to concentrate their efforts against the German oppressor.

Replying to a verbal intervention by Ambassador Romer, the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Lozovsky, stated, that from investigations carried out among individual prisoners, the authorities of the U.S.S.R. estimate the number of Polish soldiers at three hundred thousand. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics possesses information to the effect that these soldiers are under strong German supervision. Desiring to influence these soldiers by propaganda, the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have distributed to them appeals and proclamations in Polish.

As can be seen from the statement of Mr. Lozovsky, Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, anti-German sentiments prevail among the soldiers referred to, a fact the Polish Government never doubted.

The lowering of Germany's war potential is indisputably an aim common to all the United Nations. Its realization in respect of

Polish soldiers conscripted by the German Army against their will and contrary to international law ought in the common interest to belong primarily to the Polish Government. The success of appeals addressed to Polish soldiers in the German Army would beyond all doubt be greater if the Polish Government were in a position to assure them that on surrendering they would be separated and sent to special camps under the care of Polish Authorities and would be able subsequently to transfer to the ranks of the Polish Army.

I am deeply convinced that a considerable number of Poles forcibly conscripted by the German Army and ordered against their will to fight the Allied Armies could already find themselves in the ranks of the Polish Army, thus contributing to strengthen the forces fighting for the common cause.

Therefore I should like to express the hope that in view of the increasing importance of this problem, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will take into account the Polish Government's suggestion and reconsider the attitude hitherto adopted towards Poles who are already Soviet prisoners of war, or may be taken as such in the future, and will consider issuing orders to the effect that broadcasts on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should cease to interpret the tragic fate of the victims of this forcible conscription in a way that may prove a source of misapprehension harmful to them.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYŃSKI.

No. 55

Note of January 11, 1943, from Mr. V. Valkov, Chargé d'Affaires of the U.S.S.R., to Mr. E. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, containing the refusal of the Government of the U.S.S.R. to separate Poles, prisoners of war from the German Army and to transfer them to the Polish Army.

London, January 11, 1943.

Mr. Minister,

On behalf of the Government of the U.S.S.R. I have the honor to remind you that on the question of German prisoners of war of Polish nationality, which is the subject of your Note of December

15, 1942, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has already had occasion to communicate to you, in the Note of January 23, 1942, that for reasons indicated in this Note it does not find it possible to apply to Poles among German prisoners of war any regime other than that established for all German prisoners of war in general.

The attitude of the Soviet Government, as set forth in the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of January 23, 1942, was confirmed twice: by the People's Commissariat in Kuybyshev and by the Soviet Embassy in London.

In reply to your Note of December 15, 1942, on the same question I have the honor to inform you that the Soviet Government cannot see any reason to reconsider their decision.

In regard to the Soviet radio broadcasts concerning the creation of Polish units in the German Army under the command of Polish officers, it is necessary to mention that the radio broadcast, the only one of its kind to take place in the course of the last two months, was based on positive facts. In the above broadcast the undeniable fact was recorded of the presence in the German Army of whole groups and units, consisting exclusively of Poles under Polish commanders whose names were given in the broadcast: Maritime Regiment, Colonel Polkowski; Commander of the 4th Company, Colonel Rakowski.

I have the honor to be, etc.

VALKOV.

CHAPTER 7

Citizenship of Poles in the U.S.S.R.

No. 56

Note of November 10, 1941, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, concerning conscription by the Red Army, of Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Jewish origin.

The Polish Embassy has the honor to submit the following for the information of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs:

According to information received, the War Commissar for Kazakhstan at Alma-Ata, General Shcherbakov issued orders that all Polish citizens deported by the Soviet Authorities from occupied Polish territory and possessing documents issued to them by these authorities, endorsed to the effect that they are of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian or Jewish origin are to be enrolled in the Red Army if they meet the age and fitness requirements.

After an intervention by the interested parties and by representative of this Embassy, General Shcherbakov declared that he was acting on instructions from the Central Authorities, who are alleged to have directed him to treat as citizens of the U.S.S.R. all citizens of the Republic of Poland of other than Polish origin possessing Soviet passports. Among others the following Polish citizens, despite protests on their part, were among those conscripted and sent it would seem to the Far East: Aleksander Rotstein, Silberspitz and Kotok.

This same discrimination between Polish citizens according to origin or race, devoid of any impartial basis and contrary to the provisions of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, is being practiced by the military authorities in Alma-Ata, who also explain to the Polish citizens reporting to them to settle various formalities connected with their enlistment in the Polish Army in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that they are acting on instructions from the Central Authorities. Only Polish citizens of Polish origin are given permits to travel to centers where the Polish Army is being organized, while Polish citizens of Ukrainian and Jewish origin are, it seems, categorically refused permits by the aforementioned authorities.

The Polish Embassy has the honor to request the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to cause instructions to be given to the War Commissar in Kazakhstan to apply impartially to all Polish citizens residing in the area under his authority, the principles resulting from the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the Polish-Soviet Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, which guarantee the right to serve in the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. to every Polish citizen who is capable of bearing arms.

Kuybyshev, November 10, 1941.

No. 57

Note of December 1, 1941, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in reply to the Note of the Polish Embassy of November 10, 1941, concerning the conscription by the Red Army of Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Jewish origin.

In reply to the Note of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland No. D. 740/41 of November 10, 1941, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has the honor to state the following:

Referring to the fact of the conscription by the Red Army in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, as Soviet citizens, of citizens of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Jewish origin who left the territories of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia, the Embassy of the Polish Republic calls in question the existence of a legal basis for this order, considering that it is contrary to the principles of the Soviet-Polish Agreement of July 30, 1941 and the Soviet-Polish Military Agreement of August 14, 1941.

The People's Commissariat cannot agree with this point of view of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland. No foundation to support the point of view expressed in the Note of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland, referred to above, can be found in the Agreement of July 30, or in the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941. In accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of November 29, 1939, all citizens of Western districts of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian S.S.R. who found themselves on the territory of the said districts on November 1 and 2, 1939, respectively, acquired the citizenship of the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act of August 19, 1938. The Soviet Government's readiness to recognize as Polish citizens persons of Polish origin, who resided until November 1 and 2, 1939, on the aforementioned territory, gives evidence of good will and compliance on the part of the Soviet Government but can in no case serve as a basis for an analogous recognition of the Polish citizenship of persons of other origin, in particular those of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian or Jewish origin, since the question of the frontiers between the U.S.S.R. and Poland has not been settled and is subject to settlement in the future.

With regard to the Polish Embassy's reference to an order issued in Alma-Ata by General Shcherbakov, according to the

information of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs no order was issued calling the aforementioned citizens to the ranks of the Red Army, but orders were given to call them up for work behind the lines, as is also done in the case of other citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Kuybyshev, December 1, 1941.

No. 58

Note of December 9, 1941, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs concerning Polish citizenship.

The Polish Embassy acknowledges receipt of the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of December 1, 1941, and has the honor to bring the following to the notice of the People's Commissariat:

1) Polish legislation is founded on the principle of equality before the law of all citizens, regardless of their origin or race. The Polish Embassy is also not aware of any Soviet laws which would introduce or sanction any discrimination or differentiation of this kind.

The Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, do not introduce in any of their provisions relative to Polish citizens (amnesty, military service) the notion of origin or race, and thus they concern all Polish citizens without exception.

In this state of affairs, this Embassy sees no possibility of changing its attitude as expressed in its Note of November 10, 1941, which stated that it was contrary both to the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the Military Agreement of August 14, 1941, that only Polish citizens of Polish origin should be able to enlist in the Polish Army, while Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Jewish origin were enlisted in the Red Army by the War Commissariat in Kazakhstan.

2) The fact of the possession of Polish citizenship by a given person is regulated by Polish law, in particular by the Polish State Citizenship Act of January 20, 1920. For this reason and for the reasons stated above under Paragraph 1, this Embassy has the honor to declare that it finds itself unable to take into cognizance

the statement included in the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of December 1, 1941, to the effect that the Soviet Government is prepared to recognize as Polish citizens only persons of Polish origin from among the persons who found themselves on November 1 and 2, 1939 on the territory of the Republic of Poland temporarily occupied by the military forces of the Soviet Union.

3) The Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act of August 19, 1938 cannot be applied to Polish citizens, for its introduction on the territory of the Polish Republic occupied by the Soviet Union from the latter half of September, 1939, until June or July, 1941, would be contrary to the provisions of the IVth Hague Convention of 1907.

4) The Polish Embassy does not connect the matter referred to in Note D. 740/41 of November 10, 1941, with the problem of Polish-Soviet frontiers. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs points out in the Note in question that it does not recognize as Polish citizens persons of Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Jewish origin who possessed Polish citizenship before November 1-2, 1939, "because the problem of the frontiers between the U.S.S.R. and Poland has not been settled, and is subject to settlement in the future." The Polish Embassy is bound to state that such a thesis is self-contradictory. Maintaining fully the fundamental attitude expressed above in Paragraphs 1-3, this Embassy has the honor to point out that such a view would be tantamount to a unilateral settlement by the Soviet Union at the present time of a problem which, in accordance with this same statement of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, is subject to settlement in the future.

Kuybyshev, December 9, 1941.

No. 59

Note of January 5, 1942, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev, concerning Polish citizenship.

In reply to the Note of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland No. 902/41 of December 9, 1941, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has the honor to communicate the following:

1. After taking note of the considerations set out in the Note of the Embassy of December 9, 1941, on the question of the former Polish citizens forming part of the population of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia—Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Jews—the People's Commissariat cannot see any reason to change the attitude set forth in its Note of December 1, 1941.

2. The assertion of the Embassy that the law concerning citizenship of the U.S.S.R. of August 19, 1938, could not be applied to the territories of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia in the period between the middle of September 1939 and the middle of July 1941, as this would be incompatible with the provisions of the IVth Hague Convention of 1907, is incorrect. The provisions of the IVth Hague Convention of 1907, which the Embassy evidently has in view, refer to the regime of occupation on enemy territory, whereas the assertion of "occupation" in respect to Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia is, in this case, devoid of all foundation, alike from the political as from the international point of view, because the entrance of the Soviet forces into Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia in the autumn of 1939 was not an occupation but an attachment of the districts mentioned to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the result of the freely expressed will of the population of those districts.

Kuybyshev, January 5, 1942.

No. 60

Note of June 9, 1942, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev on the issuing of Polish passports in the U.S.S.R.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs taking into consideration that the Polish Embassy and, under the arrangement relating to the scope of action of the Delegates of the Embassy of the Polish Republic, its Delegates in the Republics and Districts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its representatives are proceeding to issue Polish national passports, has the honor to state that the competent Soviet authorities find it indispensable that, to properly order this matter, the Embassy should present to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs alphabetical lists of Polish citizens to whom it proposes to issue

national passports. These lists, made out separately for each district inhabited by Polish citizens, should be presented in four copies with a Russian translation attached to accelerate the procedure. The lists should include all persons above the age of 16. These lists should indicate:

- a. Surname, name and father's name;
- b. Year and place of birth;
- c. Origin;
- d. Religion;
- e. Present address in full;
- f. Citizenship and place of residence until November 1939;
- g. If covered by the Amnesty Decree of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of August 12, 1941, when and where arrested and sent out, number of jail delivery certificate, when and by what office of the People's Commissariat of the Interior it was issued;
- h. If not a permanent inhabitant of Western Ukraine or White Ruthenia, when and how arrived on the territory of the U.S.S.R.;
- i. Whether married or single. If married, place and date of marriage; citizenship of husband and wife since the time of marriage;
- j. Present and past citizenship and place of residence of parents.

These lists may be drawn up in descriptive form or in the form of questionnaires.

All objections of competent Soviet authorities to the issue of Polish national passports to these or other persons included in the lists will be notified by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Embassy on the return of these lists.

Persons included in the above mentioned lists to whom the competent Soviet authorities raise no objection will receive, on presentation of their Polish national passports, permits of residence for foreigners, issued by Militia Headquarters of the respective countries through the Militia Office of their district or town.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs also has the honor to inform the Embassy that it is indispensable to include in the above mentioned lists all persons who have already been issued with Polish national passports.

Kuybyshev, January 9, 1942.

No. 61

Note of June 24, 1942, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, replying to the Soviet Note of June 9, 1942; on the issuing of Polish passports (excerpt).

Referring to the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs No. 107 of June 9, 1942, the Polish Embassy, on the instruction of its Government, has the honor to submit the following for the information of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs:

In accordance with the fundamental principles of international law, the Government of the Republic of Poland assert that the matter of Polish citizenship rests with them and they do not consider it possible that, when verifying lists of Polish citizens demanded of the Embassy, the Soviet authorities should decide the citizenship of Polish citizens resident on the territory of the Republic of Poland and who between 1939-1941 found themselves, as is known, not of their free will on the territory of the Soviet Union.

In particular this attitude of the Polish Government is also in accordance with the Agreement concluded on July 30, 1941, between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. . . . The issue of passports to Polish citizens is carried out by the Polish Embassy and its representatives under existing Polish laws and regulations. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Poland and Polish law, origin, religion, race or place of residence within the frontiers of the Republic of Poland have no influence on the citizenship of a given person.

Taking into consideration that the aforementioned Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is aimed at imposing a procedure in issuing passports, unprecedented in relations between sovereign States, the Government of the Polish Republic see no possibility of discussing the principles of this question on the basis of the suggested procedure.

Kuybyshev, June 24, 1942.

No. 62

Note of January 16, 1943, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev, claiming as Soviet citizens all persons who on November 1-2, 1939,

found themselves on Polish territories occupied by the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has the honor to inform the Embassy of the Polish Republic of the following:

In connection with the exchange of Notes in the years 1941-1942 between the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Embassy, concerning the citizenship of persons who previously lived in the Western districts of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs informed the Embassy on December 1, 1941, that all inhabitants of the above-mentioned districts who found themselves on the territories of these districts at the time of their entry into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (November 1-2, 1939), had acquired Soviet citizenship in accordance with the Decree of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. dated November 29, 1939, and the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act of August 19, 1938.

In its Note of December 1, 1941, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs informed the Embassy that the Soviet Government were prepared, by way of exception, to regard as Polish citizens persons of Polish origin living in the territories of the above-mentioned districts on November 1-2, 1939. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is bound to state that despite the good-will of the Soviet Government thus manifested, the Polish Government has adopted a negative attitude to the above statement of the Soviet Government and has refused to take the appropriate steps, putting forward demands contrary to the sovereign rights of the Soviet Union in respect to these territories.

In connection with the above, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, on instructions from the Soviet Government, gives notice that the statement included in the Note of December 1, 1941, regarding the readiness to treat some categories of persons of Polish origin on an exceptional basis must be considered as without validity and that the question of the possible non-application to such persons of the laws governing citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has ceased to exist.

Kuybyshev, January 16, 1943.

No. 63

Note of January 26, 1943, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., in reply to the Note of January 16, 1943, concerning Polish citizenship in the Soviet Union.

London, January 26, 1943.

Mr. Ambassador,

In the Note of the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev of December 9, 1941, the Polish Government notified its refusal to take into cognizance the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign affairs of December 1, 1941, in which the Soviet Government declared its readiness to exonerate, by way of exception and favor, certain categories of persons of Polish origin from the application of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of November 29, 1939, as well as from the laws which confer upon them the status of citizens of the Union. The aforementioned Note of the Polish Embassy pointed out that the conferment or withdrawal of Polish citizenship was an exclusive and inalienable attribute of the sovereignty of the Polish State, whose laws, moreover, make no distinction between the origin, race or faith of its citizens.

Since then a year has passed during which the aforementioned categories of Poles residing in the Union have been treated in accordance with their status as Polish citizens. However, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has informed the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev by its Note No. 12 of January 16, 1943, that the Soviet Government considers it necessary to cancel the declaration contained in the Note of December 1, 1941, and that in consequence the possibility of exonerating from laws governing Soviet citizenship the said persons of Polish nationality has now ceased to exist.

Maintaining its point of view in principle on the question of citizenship, the Polish Government records with deep regret that the Soviet communication of January 16, 1943, is incompatible with the spirit of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the joint Declaration made by both Governments on December 4, 1941.

These documents were based on the mutual conviction of the two Contracting Parties, that the re-establishment between them of normal and confident relations in the interest of their cooperation in

the present struggle against the common enemy and of their good neighborliness after the war, calls for the nullification of a recent pact that was contrary to these arrangements. Thus these documents leave no room for doubt as to the annulment of the Soviet-German Agreements of 1939 and their political and legal consequences.

I must recall that according to Paragraph 1 of the Supplementary Protocol to the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Soviet Government undertook to set free all Polish citizens detained on Soviet territory for whatsoever reason. On July 30, 1941, there were on Soviet territory no other categories of Polish citizens than those to whom this status is now denied by the Soviet Government. So it was precisely to these persons in their status of Polish citizens, that the amnesty applied. It must be emphasized that the point mentioned above which was the subject of laborious negotiations, constitutes one of the essential clauses of the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

The Polish Government has always refused to recognize the validity of the unilateral decisions of the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, taken when there were no Polish-Soviet relations; among them was the decision concerning the forcing of citizenship of the Soviet Union upon Polish citizens. It may be added that decisions of this kind are incompatible with international law as defined by the IVth Hague Convention of 1907, and with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, to which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adhered in the Declaration of the United Nations, dated January 1, 1942.

Always desirous for its part to maintain with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the best of relations, based on the observance of all treaties and arrangements existing between the two countries, the Polish Government see themselves obliged to insist that the Soviet Government grant to all Polish citizens residing in the Soviet Union, a treatment in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the principles of equity and liberty on which rests the collaboration of all Powers united in the struggle against the common enemy and oppressor.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI.

No. 64

Note of February 17, 1943, from Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., to Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs,

containing a reply to the Note of January 26, 1943, concerning Polish citizenship in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Minister,

London, February 17, 1943.

With reference to your Note of January 26, 1943, I have the honor to inform you that the Soviet Government do not regard it as possible to reconsider the subject of the citizenship of those persons who on November 1-2, 1939, found themselves on the territory of the western districts of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Soviet Socialist Republics, since this matter remains wholly within the sovereign rights of the Soviet Union over these territories.

As to your assertion regarding the incompatibility of the Soviet Government's statement of January 16, 1943,* with the spirit of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, the Declaration of December 4, 1941, the IVth Hague Convention of 1907 and the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, such an assertion is devoid of all foundation. The Soviet Government also emphatically reject the statement of the Polish Government contained in the Note of January 26, about the alleged forcing of Soviet citizenship upon the above-mentioned persons, as entirely unfounded and a distortion of the true state of affairs.

The Soviet Government consider it imperative to recall that citizens of the western districts of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Socialist Soviet Republics acquired Soviet citizenship exclusively on the strength of the freely voiced will of the population which found its expression in the unanimous resolutions adopted by the people's assemblies of the districts in question, and the Decree of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, issued on November 29, 1939, in accordance with these resolutions.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BOGOMOLOV.

No. 65

Note of March 8, 1943, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, concerning the forcing of Soviet citizenship upon Polish citizens.

The Embassy of the Republic of Poland has the honor to inform the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that reports from a

* i.e. in the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev.

number of places in the U.S.S.R. indicate that local Soviet authorities are employing methods of compulsion described in the Embassy's Note No. 307/21/43 of March 6, 1943.

In the town of Syzran, district of Kuybyshev, officials of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs are threatening with imprisonment or confinement in labor camps all Polish citizens who refuse to accept Soviet passports. Endeavours are also being made to persuade those who resist by the argument that "Poland no longer exists," which is flagrantly inconsistent with the obligations undertaken by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Those refusing to accept Soviet citizenship are as a rule kept in confinement without food or water until they sign a document agreeing to accept a Soviet passport.

Similar reports are coming in from the Krasnoyarsky Kray, and the Kirov, Kuybyshev and Akmolinsk districts. In the town of Kuybyshev three inmates of the Embassy's Home for Invalids are still under detention without food or drink.

Fragmentary information which has succeeded in reaching the Embassy indicates that many hundreds of persons have been affected by these arrests.

The Polish Embassy has the honor to renew its request to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to instruct local authorities immediately to abandon the use of force and to set free Polish citizens who have been deprived of their freedom without committing any offence whatsoever.

Kuybyshev, March 8, 1943.

No. 66

Note of March 29, 1943, from Mr. Raczyński, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., containing the protest of the Polish Government against the forcing of Soviet citizenship upon Polish citizens.

London, March 29, 1943.

Mr. Ambassador,

It has come to the knowledge of the Polish Government that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the strength of the Notes of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs addressed to the Polish Embassy at Kuybyshev on December 1,

1941, and January 16, 1943, and in disregard of the reservations expressed by the Polish Government on each occasion, and invoking the Decree* of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of November 29, 1939, has proceeded to force Soviet citizenship upon Polish citizens who find themselves in considerable numbers and not of their will on the territories of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In these circumstances the Polish Government deem it necessary to declare once more that in the light of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, which is binding on both parties, they consider the principles underlying the attitude of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in this matter as unjustified and unfounded, because:

a) The aforesaid attitude is contrary to Paragraph 1 of the Supplementary Protocol to the above-mentioned Agreement of July 30, 1941, granting amnesty to all Polish citizens within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which bilateral legal instrument cannot be infringed or changed by any unilateral Soviet order.

b) The Decree* on citizenship of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of November 29, 1939, resulting from the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 referring to territorial changes in Poland, and invoking *expressis verbis* one of these treaties, must obviously have lost its validity together with these same treaties from the moment of the German aggression against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on June 22, 1941, as recognized by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Article 1 of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941.

In view of the fact that regardless of the outcome of the present conversations in Moscow between the two Governments which seek agreement on their attitude in this matter in the spirit of mutual friendliness and collaboration that underlies their present relations, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has not agreed to the suspension, at least during the course of the conversations in progress, of the execution of its orders in respect of Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish Government find themselves regretfully compelled to lodge a deter-

* Ukase.

mined protest against this and to declare that they cannot recognize this infringement of the sovereign rights of the Polish State; they reserve to themselves the fundamental right to call into question in the future all *de facto* conditions, both as regards general matters and those affecting individual citizens, resulting from the aforesaid attitude of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and the right to claim compensation for any losses sustained by Polish citizens in consequence of this attitude.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RACZYNSKI.

No. 67

*Excerpts from the Civil Code of the Russian S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. containing the definition of domicile as interpreted by Soviet Law, delivered to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev on April 2, 1943.**

CIVIL CODE OF THE R.S.F.S.R.

II. Subjects of the law (persons).

11. A place of domicile is a place where a person remains constantly or for the greater part of time in connection with his or her official employment, or usual occupation, or the presence therein of his or her property.

By the place of domicile of persons under age or in custody is meant the place of domicile of their legal representatives (parents, adopters, guardians or trustees) (November 14, 1927) (G.U. No. 115, art. 770).

CIVIL CODE OF THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

II. Subjects of the law (persons).

11. A place of domicile is a place where a person remains constantly or for the greater part of time in connection with his or her official employment, or usual occupation, or the presence therein of his or her property.

By the place of domicile of persons under age or in custody is meant the place of domicile of their legal representatives (parents or guardians).

* Cf: Minute of Ambassador Romer's conversation with Mr. Molotov, Document 87.

CHAPTER 8**The Execution of Wiktor Alter and Henryk Ehrlich**

No. 68

Note of March 8, 1943, from Mr. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., protesting against the execution of W. Alter and H. Ehrlich.

London, March 8, 1943.

Mr. Ambassador,

Excerpts have been published in the American and British press of a letter from the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Washington addressed to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, containing information on the execution of Wiktor Alter and Henryk Ehrlich, who were sentenced to death by the Soviet authorities on the charge of complicity in subversive action against the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, giving assistance to Polish Intelligence and appealing to the Soviet army to cease bloodshed and conclude an immediate peace with Germany.

In connection with the above information the Polish Government refer to Notes regarding Wiktor Alter and Henryk Ehrlich addressed by the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and beg to state as follows:

1. The Councillor of the capital city of Warsaw, Henryk Ehrlich (born in Lublin in 1882), and ex-Councillor and Sheriff of the city of Warsaw, Wiktor Alter (born in Mlawa, province of Warsaw, in 1890), were released from prison on September 13, 1941, by the competent authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with the provisions of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941, and a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of August 12, 1941, granting amnesty to all Polish citizens domiciled and detained in the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The fact of their release was communicated to the Embassy of the Republic of Poland at Moscow in a Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on September 23, 1941, which clearly proves that Messrs. Alter and Ehrlich had been recognized by the Soviet authorities as Polish citizens.

2. Henryk Ehrlich and Wiktor Alter were widely known and distinguished leaders of the Jewish Socialist movement in Poland; furthermore Mr. Ehrlich was a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor International, and Mr. Alter a member of the Executive Committee of the International of Trade Unions.

In consideration of his services with the Jewish labor movement in Poland, the Polish Government had intended to appoint Mr. Ehrlich a member of the National Council, and with this aim in view had taken steps to facilitate his journey from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Great Britain. Mr. Alter was to be appointed assistant at the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev in relief work for Polish citizens on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The political and social activities of Messrs. Alter and Ehrlich for many years well-known throughout Poland and in international labor circles, their patriotism and loyalty as Polish citizens during the German invasion of Poland and also in the light of the desolation caused throughout the Polish nation and the Jewish population by that invasion, are absolute guarantees that they could not even indirectly have been sympathizers with or tools of any action whatsoever in favor of Germany, and even less so in favor of Hitlerism. At the same time the charge that Messrs. Ehrlich and Alter worked against the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics at any period whatever in conjunction with the alleged Polish Intelligence must be firmly rejected as being entirely imaginary and contrary to fact.

On the contrary, it was well known to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that during the period between their release from prison and their re-arrest in December 1941, Henryk Ehrlich and Wiktor Alter proceeded, with the knowledge and consent of the Soviet authorities, to organize in Moscow an International Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the object of which was to unite all Jewish masses throughout the world in the war effort against Germany and Hitlerism.

On the strength of the above statement, the Polish Government firmly repudiate the motives put forward in the letter of the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Washington to Mr. Green and protest against the execution by shooting of the Polish citizens Henryk Ehrlich and Wiktor Alter.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RACZYNSKI.

No. 69

Note of March 31, 1943, from Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., to Mr. E. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to the Note of March 8, 1943, protesting against the execution of W. Alter and H. Ehrlich.

London, March 31, 1943.

Mr. Minister,

In reply to your Note of March 8, 1943, I have the honor to inform you that the Soviet Government reject the entirely unfounded protest of the Polish Government concerning the execution of Ehrlich and Alter, sentenced on account of their activities directed against the U.S.S.R. at the end of the year 1941, which went so far as to appeal to the Soviet armies to cease this bloodshed and to conclude an immediate peace with Germany; this at the time of the hardest struggle of the Soviet armies against the advancing armies of Hitler.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

BOGOMOLOV.

CHAPTER 9

Relief Organization for Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R.

No. 70

Rules regulating the scope of activities of Delegates of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the U.S.S.R., coordinated as a result of negotiations between representatives of the Polish Embassy and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on December 23, 1941.

RULES GOVERNING THE SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES OF DELEGATES OF THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

General Provisions.

1. The Delegates of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the republics and districts (*oblasts*) where more important con-

centrations of Polish citizens exist, are the executive representatives of the Embassy authorized to carry out, in close collaboration with the Soviet authorities, such duties towards Polish citizens as arise from the Agreement of July 30, 1941.

2. The functions of Embassy Delegates are temporary. They act as long as concentrations of Poles exist in a given locality, or until they have completed their duty toward Polish citizens, in their capacity as Delegates.

Duties of Embassy Delegates.

The duties of Embassy Delegates include the following:

1. To inform the Embassy of the requirements and situation of Polish citizens.

2. To supply Polish citizens with information and guide them according to the spirit of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941.

3. To register Polish citizens in a given area, to record their movements, their fitness for military service, for work, and their professional qualifications; to search for missing members of their families and their near relatives.

4. To cooperate with local Soviet Authorities in directing Polish citizens to suitable work in accordance with the labor legislation in force in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. To exercise due care that Polish citizens unfit for work are assured the minimum means of subsistence, by distributing among them aid in the form of money or in kind, except in cases where the Soviet authorities are obliged to assure them means of livelihood in accordance with existing Soviet legislation.

6. To organize cultural aid for adults and education for youth.

7. To supply Polish citizens with essential documents (passports, certificates, etc.).

8. To receive, dispatch, store and distribute shipments of aid in kind from abroad for the relief of the Polish civilian population.

9. To seek out representatives for regions or localities where Polish citizens are resident. These representatives perform in the districts allotted to them the duties provided under Paragraphs 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the present Regulations, and on instruction of the Delegates the duties provided for in Paragraphs 1, 3 and 8. Candidates for representatives selected by a Delegate are subject to

approval by the Embassy. The Delegate exercises direct supervision over the activity of the representatives.

10. In areas where there are no Embassy Delegates, their duties are performed by travelling Embassy Delegates.

Cooperation with Soviet Authorities.

1. Embassy Delegates, their deputies and travelling Delegates are appointed by the Polish Ambassador. Their names are immediately notified to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, which on its part notifies their nomination and the character and scope of their activity to the Soviet authorities of the given Republic or district, instructing them to accord all necessary assistance to the Embassy Delegates.

2. The scope of activity of Embassy Delegates requires their close collaboration with the competent officials of the Soviet authorities in their district, and in particular with the local representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, *Oblispolkoms*, *Rayispolkoms*, and the district and regional officials of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. The Embassy Delegates shall acquaint the local Soviet authorities with the situation and requirements of Polish citizens and settle with them all practical questions arising from the situation of the Polish population.

No. 71

Note of July 6, 1942, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, protesting against the infringement of the diplomatic immunity of the Embassy Delegate in Archangel, and against the arrest of his staff.

The Polish Embassy has the honor to call the following to the attention of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs:

After the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government as a result of the conclusion of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, the "Rules governing the scope of activities of Delegates of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland" were established by an exchange of Notes, No. 48 of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, of December 23, 1941, and No. D. 1078/41 of the Polish Embassy of December 24, 1941.

On January 23, 1942, during a conversation which aimed at establishing in greater detail the legal status of these Delegates,

their privileges and rights, their personal security and the immunity of their archives, correspondence and offices, Mr. Vishinsky, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. stated to Mr. Kot, the Polish Ambassador, that when dealing with the problem of Embassy Delegates, the Soviet authorities realized it was indispensable to grant them a special position in relation to the local authorities, who received instructions to treat the Delegates as representatives of a foreign Embassy and as official persons. When asked by the Polish Ambassador whether this statement would be considered a guarantee that the Delegates would enjoy personal immunity, immunity of their archives and official correspondence, freedom to organize their offices and to choose their office staff and the liberty to travel, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars declared that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs had done all in its power to secure these conditions for them, and requested the Ambassador to inform him should any difficulties of a local nature arise, adding that these difficulties would be removed.

On July 2, 1942, at about 4 p.m. Mr. Józef Gruja, Polish Embassy Delegate in Archangel, 2nd Secretary of the Polish Embassy, was obliged to go on official business to Murmansk, leaving behind as his deputy in Archangel (in agreement with the local authorities) Mr. Waldemar Kuczyński, one of his officials. A few hours after the Embassy Delegate had left, three officials of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs accompanied by two women employed in the local Inturist Hotel, entered the office of the Archangel Delegate, carried out a thorough search and for several hours questioned the officials present in the Delegate's office. Finally, according to information received by the Embassy, the officials of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs took the liberty of removing all the archives and official correspondence of the Embassy Delegate in Archangel, his seal and his money, and after having arrested the officials of the Delegate's office, that is to say, the acting Embassy Delegate, Waldemar Kuczyński, the storekeeper, Anna Witkowska, the assistant storekeeper, Marjan Pytlak, and office-worker Zdzisława Wójcik, they drove these persons away to an unknown destination, leaving with Mr. Kuczyński's wife previously prepared documents concerning the search they had carried out.

In view of the fact,

1. That the action described above was taken by officials of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, a considerable number of hours before this Embassy was informed, on the night of July 3-4, 1942, of the unilateral decision of the Soviet authorities that the maintenance of an Embassy Delegate in Archangel would serve no further purpose because his principal tasks had been carried out—this at a time when even from the Soviet authorities' point of view there existed a Polish Embassy Delegate in Archangel who was acting legally, i.e., in accordance with the Polish-Soviet agreement, concluded by Notes exchanged on December 23 and 24, 1941 and on January 8 and 9, 1942;

2. That, in connection with the above, the action taken by the officials of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the entry into the office of the legally officiating Polish Embassy Delegate, the carrying out of a search therein, the violation of the immunity and the carrying away of the archives and official correspondence and a seal and money belonging to the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R., constitute a flagrant violation of the rights enjoyed by Polish Embassy Delegates and their offices, expressly guaranteed by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

3. That the Polish citizens, acting Delegate Mr. Kuczyński, in the temporary absence from Archangel of the Embassy Delegate, and the three afore-mentioned officials of the Delegate's Office were deprived of their liberty seems all the more unjustified as the Soviet authorities had not only failed to raise any objection or complaint against the activities of the Office of the Archangel Delegate, but even expressed, through the medium of Mr. Novikov in his conversation, on March 9, 1942, with Mr. Arlet, 1st Secretary of the Embassy, their appreciation of the activities of that office.

The Polish Embassy is obliged:

To regard the action taken by the Soviet authorities in Archangel as altogether inconsistent with the rules and customs accepted in international relations, and as entirely opposed to the principles of friendly collaboration, which found their expression in the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the Declaration of December 4, 1941;

To protest against this action of the Soviet authorities; and
To ask the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to cause:

1. the immediate release of the officials of the office of the Polish Embassy Delegate in Archangel, that is the Polish citi-

zens Messrs. W. Kuczyński, M. Pytlak, A. Witkowska and Z. Wójcik;

2. the immediate restoration to Mr. J. Gruja, 2nd Secretary of the Polish Embassy, on his return to Archangel, of all the archives and official correspondence of the Polish Embassy Delegate in Archangel and of the seal and money, constituting the property of the Polish Embassy;

3. that investigations be immediately ordered and that the Soviet officials, guilty of taking the action described in this Note, be punished.

Kuybyshev, July 6, 1942.

No. 72

Note of July 19, 1942, from Mr. Sokolnicki, Chargé d'Affaires of the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev, to Mr. A. J. Vishinsky, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, on the unilateral decision to close the offices of various Delegates and the arrest of Polish Embassy Delegates in the U.S.S.R.

Kuybyshev, July 19, 1942.

Mr. Chairman,

In the course of your conversation with the Polish Ambassador on July 8, 1942, when you discussed with him the latest actions of the Soviet authorities with regard to the network of local offices of Embassy Delegates established in accordance with the corresponding agreements between this Embassy and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, reference was made to the unilateral decision of the Soviet authorities to close the offices of the Delegates in Aldan-Yakutsky, Vladivostok, Archangel, and Saratov; the arrest of Mr. M. Zalenski, 1st Secretary of Embassy, acting Embassy Delegate in Vladivostok; the arrest of the entire staff of the office of the Embassy Delegate in Archangel; searches carried out in the offices of the Embassy Delegates in Vladivostok and Archangel; the violation of the immunity of the Embassy's archives in the offices of these Delegates; the seizure by the local authorities of a number of documents, of money and of seals belonging to the Embassy, and the closing and sealing of the Embassy's stores. In the course of this conversation the Polish Ambassador asked a question, which I now again put to you, that is do the above actions of the Soviet authori-

ties denote a change in the policy of the Soviet Government as initiated on July 30, 1941, in respect of that portion of the Polish population, which as a result of well known events found itself forcibly on the territory of the Soviet Union. It is the opinion of the Ambassador that if this action on the part of the Soviet Authorities was aimed at the destruction of the entire welfare and relief organization for Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R., created with such difficulty by this Embassy in agreement with the People's Commissariat, then it would be better to state this clearly instead of creating a fictitious situation in which one cannot be certain of the fate either of people or of institutions.

It was to be inferred from your reply, Mr. Chairman, that the Soviet Government did not propose to change the attitude that it had hitherto adopted towards Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. and their relief organization set up by this Embassy, and that general conclusions should not be drawn from specific cases based on misunderstandings of local officials or resulting possibly from criminal actions of individuals.

During the ten days that have passed since the aforementioned conversation took place, this Embassy has been informed of new facts, which seem to signify that the organization of Embassy Delegates on the territory of the U.S.S.R. is actually being closed down; this is accompanied by the arrest of those members of this Embassy's staff who have been most active in bringing relief to Polish citizens in their districts, the seizure by the local authorities of official archives and documents of this Embassy, the blocking of this Embassy's accounts in branches of the State Bank of the U.S.S.R., the closing and sealing by the Soviet authorities of warehouses containing relief goods from the Allied States addressed to the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the U.S.S.R.

Apart from the arrest of Mr. M. Zalenski, 1st Secretary of Embassy; Mr. Gruja, 2nd Secretary of Embassy and the staff of the Delegate's office in Archangel, already the subject of separate diplomatic correspondence, I am obliged, Mr. Chairman, to bring the following further facts to your notice:

On July 16, 1942, this Embassy received news of a search having been carried out by the local authorities in the office of the Embassy Delegate in Barnaul, the arrest of the Embassy Delegate Dr. J. Mattoszeko and his staff, M. Siedlecki, D. Wajgetner, J. Kowalewski

and K. Bartosz, and of the seizure by these same authorities of the archives and seal of the Delegate's office and the closing of the Embassy's current account in the local branch of the State Bank.

On July 17, 1942, this Embassy received news of a search having been carried out by the local authorities in the office of the Embassy Delegate in Samarkand and the arrest of Mr. M. Heitzman, Attaché of Embassy, who enjoys diplomatic immunity, and of the Delegate's staff, K. Kazimierzak, F. Kowol, K. Jaroszewski, and F. Mantel.

On July 18, 1942 this Embassy received news of a search having been carried out by the local authorities in the office of the Embassy Delegate in Kirov, where is located the greatest clearing warehouse on the territory of the U.S.S.R. for goods arriving from Allied States for the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R. At the same time Mr. A. Wisinski, the Embassy Delegate in Kirov whose appointment to this post received the approval of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on June 26, 1942, was arrested, together with his staff, T. Slucki, F. Dubrowski, S. Fink and Z. Piotrowski.

On July 19, 1942, this Embassy received news that the office of the Embassy Delegate in Petropavlovsk had been *de facto* deprived of its freedom of action, while stores of relief goods sent to the Polish Embassy from Allied States, located at the station of Mamlutka, were closed and sealed by the local authorities.

On the same day, this Embassy received similar information concerning the office of the Embassy Delegate in Syktyvkar, where Dr. Winiarczyk, the Embassy Delegate was arrested.

Further details of the aforementioned steps taken by the Soviet Authorities with regard to the local offices of this Embassy are as yet unknown to me. I do, however, possess information to the effect that telegrams addressed to this Embassy and containing reports on these events, are not delivered to this Embassy and that this Embassy's telegrams to certain of its Delegates and representatives are being intercepted. The dispatches in question included those sent by the Ambassador and intercepted and not delivered to Attachés of Embassy Ploski and Lickindorf and to Secretaries of Embassy Glogowski and Gruja, which contained instructions in accordance with the contents of this Embassy's Note to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, of July 10, 1942, No. D. 2871/42. This constitutes a new infringement of diplomatic immunity and privileges, established by law and international custom.

Though I intend to return to each of the matters just mentioned on receipt of more concrete and detailed information, I have, perforce, to limit myself at present to protesting against the action of the Soviet authorities in closing down the Embassy's relief organization; and to insist that the Delegates and their staffs who have been arrested, be immediately set free, and that the archives, seals and money belonging to the Embassy be returned.

At the same time I have to state, that as a consequence of instructions issued by the Soviet Authorities during the last three weeks:

1. Four out of the twenty, that is 20% of the offices of Embassy Delegates established in agreement with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, namely the offices of Embassy Delegates in Vladivostok, Archangel, Aldan Yakutsky and Saratov have been closed down by unilateral order of the Soviet authorities;

2. According to information so far received by this Embassy, five other offices of this Embassy's Delegates, namely those in Barnaul, Samarkand, Kirov, Petropavlovsk and Syktyvkar are *de facto* no longer able to function because the Soviet authorities have arrested most if not all of their staff;

3. In this way the Soviet authorities have actually paralyzed the activity of 45% of all the Embassy Delegates, appointed in accordance with a joint agreement between the Embassy and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and operating in districts where there are at present more than 170,000 Polish citizens, according to the as yet incomplete registration figures;

4. In view of the fact that the offices of nine Embassy Delegates have been prevented from functioning, the issue of food and clothing to tens of thousands of Polish citizens, some of them in very difficult circumstances, has had to be stopped in the districts served by these Delegates. The same applies to the distribution of financial aid to Polish citizens, unfit for work. Food, clothing, and medical stores, worth millions, and consisting of goods sent to the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R. from Allied States are left entirely unprotected. Further shipments of food, clothing and medical supplies which are on their way to the offices of individual Delegates, will no longer go to persons duly authorized to receive them. Preventive inoculation against typhus will have to be suspended. Homes for orphans and the aged, maintained by individual Delegates, will be left without suitable care;

5. In view of the fact that the relief activities of this Embassy's agencies are being formally or actually rendered impossible, the responsibility for every consequence of this action rests with the Soviet authorities;

6. In view of the effective stopping, closing and sealing by the Soviet authorities of food, clothing and medical stores, collected at great expense and effort by the Polish Government, as well as by the Governments and peoples of the Allied States, destined for Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. and delivered to Soviet ports by Polish and Allied sailors, who sacrificed much and risked their lives to accomplish this task,—the responsibility for the destruction and deterioration of these goods which may ensue, must also rest with the Soviet authorities.

I have the honor to be, etc.

SOKOLNICKI.

No. 73

Note of September 1, 1942, from Mr. Raczyński, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., concerning the closing of the Delegates' Offices, and the new organization of relief.

London, September 1, 1942.

Mr. Ambassador,

Many weeks have elapsed since the arrest of the Delegates of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, their staffs and representatives. One hundred and thirty Polish citizens recognized by the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as possessing official status and who, as I may state, have in the majority of cases carried out their duties of bringing help and relief to their countrymen with sacrifice and devotion under difficult conditions, are still in prison. The Polish Government has made several interventions on their behalf either through your good offices, Mr. Ambassador, or through the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev. All these interventions have so far been without result.

The Polish Government is not, of course, in possession of detailed information concerning the fate and treatment of those imprisoned. From the scarce and of necessity fortuitous information

reaching us, it is to be feared, that their fate is particularly hard. At the same time the relief organization for Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, only just created with great difficulty, has been closed down.

I need not repeat, for I have done so orally and in writing more than once, that the Polish Government consider that bringing relief to Polish citizens, who, neither of their own fault nor of their own will, find themselves on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is their fundamental right and duty which they will not and can not surrender. These citizens, in a foreign country, in strange conditions and surroundings, torn away from their homes and occupations, deprived of any funds whatever—have become more than anyone else the victims of a situation difficult for all, a situation caused by war, and therefore in greater need of help than others. Moreover, Mr. Ambassador, you are fully aware how difficult it was from the very first moment after the conclusion of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, to find and agree upon a form of relief administration. I shall confine myself to stating that the organization finally accepted was the result of prolonged negotiations between the Polish Embassy and the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and that the principle of entrusting specifically the responsibility for the entire organization to no one else but Embassy Delegates, who were endowed with an official status, and Embassy's representatives, was initiated by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, after the authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had rejected the plan to set up Consulates, to restore the activities of the Polish Red Cross or to form Social Welfare Committees, chosen by the Polish citizens concerned. Once the laborious preparations, which lasted until last February and March, were completed, the field organization set up enjoyed comparative freedom from interference during the first period of its activity. It is, however, particularly significant, that the moment its work commenced to develop, when relief in the form of food, clothing and medicine began to reach Polish citizens, the local authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics began to show distrust of the Delegates, and to place difficulties in the way of the Delegates and their staffs. Subsequently, when supplies arrived and their distribution started on a large scale, there followed the arrest of the Delegates, the seizure of their archives and the closing down of all these activities.

I desire to state here with all firmness and with that frankness which ought to characterize our mutual relations, that the assumption that the problem of re-establishing the relief organization can be separated from the problem of the arrested Delegates would be a denial of reality. A re-establishment of the relief and welfare organization without the release of all those arrested, and the return of the archives, is impossible not only in principle, but also for purely practical reasons. The deportation and imprisonment of the Delegates and their staffs, i.e., of people enjoying the fullest confidence of the Polish citizens under their protection, inevitably caused uneasiness and confusion in the minds of those citizens. Were there no other obstacles, the lack of faith in the probable effectiveness of their work and the fear of persecution by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on grounds incomprehensible to the general public, would make it impossible to find persons suitable to manage the work of relief, while their predecessors were suffering the torture of imprisonment for precisely the same work.

Far be it from me to criticise or even to judge the administrative arrangements and legal principles in force in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is an internal affair of your country, in which no outsider has the right to mix or interfere. You will, however, agree with me, Mr. Ambassador, that the arrangements and principles in question differ in many respects from those accepted in other European States, particularly the countries of Central and Western Europe or on the American Continent. I am only mentioning this in order to suggest that it is conceivable that some of the activities carried on in good faith by the Delegates, and in complete accord with Western European conceptions, laws and customs to which they were used and among which they had grown up, may have come into formal conflict with the more rigorous and unfamiliar regulations in force in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

I must, however, categorically reject the allegation of any action having been consciously undertaken by the Delegates to the detriment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The supposition that any of these persons, numbering more than one hundred and selected with the utmost care, should have undertaken of their own accord and independently, action inconsistent with the line indicated by the Polish Government, is devoid of any traces of likeli-

hood. As regards the general line laid down for the entire field relief organization by the Polish central authorities through the intermediary of the Polish Embassy, this was exclusively directed at the concentration of all the efforts of this organization to assure the utmost aid and relief to the Polish citizens dispersed throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Polish Government always considered and continues to consider this activity an integral and important part of the common struggle against the enemy, who has adopted as one of his most, cruel but at the same time most effective methods of total warfare the biological extermination of nations whose love of freedom opposes them to him. It is to this struggle, in which Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stand together, that the Polish Government subordinates all its undertakings.

One of the basic conditions of the victory of our common cause is the establishment of relations of confidence and sincere collaboration between the United Nations. Prompted by this principle the Polish Government has endeavored to give the least possible publicity to the difficulties which it has encountered in protecting the welfare of its citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; in so doing this Government has trusted that these difficulties will be rapidly overcome by mutual good will. The prolongation, however, of the period of the forced inactivity of the relief and distribution organization has created circumstances which, quite independently of the will of the Polish Government, make further silence on this subject impossible. The piling up and even partial deterioration of relief goods in stock, received originally from America, and the inability to distribute them among those for whom they are intended, oblige the Polish Government to warn the institutions donating them of the state of affairs created by the arrest of the Delegates.

News of the stoppage of the distribution of aid to Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has already reached Polish territory occupied by the Germans, and is spreading feelings of understandable anxiety and bitterness, reflected in reports received by the Polish Government from its agencies, political organizations and individuals. It would, of course, be entirely contrary to the intentions of the Polish Government, should this anxiety exercise a detrimental effect on the preparedness for action of the people in occupied Poland, or should it arouse sentiments likely to impede

the development of future good-neighborly relations between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in conformity with the Declaration signed in the Kremlin on December 4, 1941, by General Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Polish Government, and Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

If I insist again, Mr. Ambassador, on the release at the earliest possible moment of the arrested Delegates of the Polish Embassy, their staffs and representatives, and at the same time express my readiness to persuade them to leave the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as soon as they are released, I do so not merely in defense of my imprisoned countrymen and colleagues, as is my right and duty; I come forward not merely in the interest of those hundreds of thousands of Poles, who from one day to another have found themselves deprived of the aid and care which, not infrequently, in the present wartime conditions, constituted for them the sole means of safeguarding their lives; I address myself to you in the name of those supreme interests for which Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are fighting in the ranks of the United Nations, and in the name of what I believe to be the common aim of both our nations, the laying of foundations for future co-operation between our countries, based on good neighborly relations.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RACZYNSKI.

No. 74

Note of September 5, 1942, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the release of the arrested Embassy Delegates, representatives and staffs.

With reference to the statement made by Mr. J. Vishinsky, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., on July 20, 1942, his personal Note of July 20, 1942, Note No. 138 of July 24, 1942, and the Aide-Mémoire of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of July 27, 1942, the Polish Embassy has the honor to communicate the following:

1. This Embassy categorically rejects the allegation contained in the Statement of July 20, 1942, that all the arrested Delegates of the Embassy, and their staffs, instead of loyally carrying out their duties of bringing relief to Polish citizens—were engaged in actions hostile to the Soviet Union and in intelligence work.

It is impossible that all the Delegates without exception, most of the members of their staffs and many of their representatives who were continuously and consistently instructed by the Embassy to cooperate with the Soviet authorities in accordance with the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and the Declaration of December 4, 1941—in the spirit of the common struggle against Hitlerite Germany, could have at the same time carried on actions hostile to a State allied with the Republic of Poland. Most of these persons, and especially the Delegates, are well known personally to this Embassy and have always shown exceptional ability in social work and devotion to the welfare of the Polish population in the U.S.S.R.

The charges brought against those arrested, lacking any semblance of proof, must have been based on some tragic misunderstanding, highly injurious to the persons arrested. Indirectly—in view of the wholesale and simultaneous arrests—it shatters the entire relief organization of the Embassy and in consequence adversely affects, both from the moral and the material point of view, all Polish citizens residing on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

This Embassy again asks the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to cause the immediate release of all those arrested, and asserts that their official activities, carried on in conformity with the Rules governing the scope of activity of Embassy Delegates, for instance furnishing this Embassy with information concerning the requirements and condition of Polish citizens, can in no way provide a basis for their being charged with intelligence work in the U.S.S.R.

2. This Embassy cannot agree with the statement of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs alleging that up to now the activities of the Delegates have shown their lack of usefulness. The tremendous tasks which the Delegates had to perform were in no way decreased as the same masses of Polish citizens still remain, requiring help and feeling its lack today more than ever. The institution of the Embassy Delegates was created out of practical considerations, and in future the only really practical solution of the problem of relief for Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. must be based on some intermediary organization or other to go between the central body—the Embassy—and the field representatives working in Polish centers dispersed throughout the vast territory of the U.S.S.R.

3. This Embassy cannot consider as closed the matter of the arrest by the Soviet authorities of Secretaries of Embassy Zalenski

and Gruja, as well as other Polish diplomats. Avoiding formal discussion as to whether the local authorities were or were not informed of the diplomatic status of these officials who, in point of fact, were well known in the localities where they worked and who possessed diplomatic identification cards issued to them by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, this Embassy wishes to state that it has not as yet received appropriate satisfaction either for their illegal arrest or for their equally illegal detention in Soviet prisons.

The Embassy wishes also to correct a fundamental inexactitude contained in Paragraph 7 of the Personal Note of July 27, 1942, stating that this Embassy agreed to deprive of their diplomatic rights and privileges, as from July 6, persons with whom Note No. 128 of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was concerned. To the proposal contained in Note No. 128 of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs "that Embassy Delegates occupying diplomatic posts, be relieved by the Embassy either of their duties as Embassy Delegates or of their diplomatic posts," this Embassy replied in its Note No. 8. D-287/42 of July 10, 1942, protesting against a unilateral decision in a matter settled by mutual agreement, and informing the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of its decision to recall from posts as Embassy Delegates persons of diplomatic status, of which decision those concerned were immediately informed by telegraph.

4. The Embassy cannot agree that the return of the official seals, archives and money of the Embassy held illegally by the Soviet authorities, be made conditional on the completion of whatever kind of investigation, and once more requests the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to return them to this Embassy without further delay.

Kuybyshev, September 5, 1942.

No. 75

Aide-Mémoire of September 10, 1942, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs concerning the fate of Polish children in the U.S.S.R.

AIDE-MÉMOIRE.

The fate of Polish children is a subject of special concern to the Polish Government which is sparing no effort to provide the best

possible conditions to enable them to survive the present war. In view of the methods applied by Hitlerite Germany which by mass murder, systematic persecution and de-nationalization is endeavoring to destroy the youth of Poland, every Polish child outside the homeland and especially in Allied and friendly countries is of priceless value to the future of the Polish nation.

One of the ways by which the Polish Government is endeavoring to provide effective relief is the dispatch from abroad of food-stuffs and clothing for Polish children. Last year the extent of such relief in the U.S.S.R. was quite considerable, but unable as it was to satisfy all needs in the past, it will also not be able to satisfy them in the future.

Conditions for effective relief to Polish children in the U.S.S.R. were created by the following orders issued by the Soviet authorities in agreement with the Polish Embassy:

1. Granting of special food quotas to Polish citizens, especially to non-working members of families (*izhdiventzy*) which in practice chiefly favored children;

2. Permission for the Embassy to establish relief institutions in the form of orphanages (*diet-dom*), kindergartens (*diet-sad*), etc.

The order granting food quotas for Polish citizens was only carried out in part and irregularly by the local Soviet authorities. In practice the carrying out of this order varies considerably in different districts and generally the *izhdiventzy* receive no food rations at all, or at the best, in *kolkhoses*, half the bread ration. As the average food ration for a working person amounts to 400 grammes of bread as well as soup, he is in no position to give any of this ration to other members of his family who are not working.

On the whole, while the Embassy Delegates were still functioning, the development of orphanages and kindergartens proceeded satisfactorily. At present, however, the Embassy is continually receiving information that local Soviet authorities are closing the orphanages and kindergartens established with such great difficulty, and even the soup kitchens, especially in the Kazakh S.S.R. The number of children in relief institutions is constantly decreasing instead of increasing according to needs.

This being the case the Embassy's concern for the fate of Polish children during the approaching winter is easily understood. Parents cannot be expected to be able to feed their children from the

modest food rations they receive, and it is doubtful whether it will be possible to set up new relief institutions for children in view of existing conditions.

In order to save Polish children from the consequences of this state of affairs the Embassy deems it necessary—

1. To develop the present system of orphanages and kindergartens in the various districts and regions, and to extend the system of food quotas to all Polish citizens unfit for work, especially to all children. The Embassy is of opinion that it would be especially desirable to supplement the existing relief institutions for children by setting up in the most suitable places ten or twelve large orphanages, each to accommodate 1500 to 2000 children. The provisioning and administration of such institutions would be considerably easier and more effective. They would remain under the direct control of the Embassy which would supply the staff and provide special food for the children from foreign relief consignments. The local Soviet authorities would provide suitable premises for these institutions and the essential foodstuffs.

2. Since whatever the efforts of the Embassy and the Soviet authorities the proposed measures could not, in existing war conditions, provide for all Polish children requiring assistance, the Embassy renews its suggestion to evacuate a certain number of Polish children from the U.S.S.R. to those Allied countries which have already declared to the Polish Government their readiness to support these children for the duration of the war. If such evacuation were extended over a long period and consisted of small parties of ten to fifteen children and guardians at a time, it would not require the provision of special transport. The Embassy, on its part, would provide food and medical assistance for the children on their journey.

Kuybyshev, September 10, 1942.

No. 76

Note of September 16, 1942, from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev on the closing of Embassy Agencies.

In reply to the Note of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland of September 5, 1942, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has the honor to communicate the following:

1. The question of the reasons for the arrests of Embassy Delegates and local representatives of the Embassy and the closing of their offices was exhaustively dealt with in the declaration made by Mr. A. J. Vishinsky to Mr. Sokolnicki, Polish Chargé d'Affaires, on July 27, and in a series of subsequent conversations between the representatives of the People's Commissariat and the representatives of the Embassy, and for this reason the People's Commissariat sees no necessity to return to this question. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs can only confirm that, in spite the repeated declarations of the Embassy concerning the loyalty to the U.S.S.R. of all its delegates and the alleged lack of grounds for their arrest, the investigation of their actions now in course provides considerable evidence entirely corroborating information in possession of the Soviet authorities, as to their intelligence work hostile to the U.S.S.R.

In view of the reasons stated above, the request of the Embassy for the immediate release of the arrested persons cannot be granted, as this question can only be decided after the conclusion of the investigation and will depend upon its results.

2. The question of Embassy delegates in the field, raised in Paragraph 2 of the Note, was fully exhausted in the Personal Note of Mr. A. J. Vishinsky to Mr. Sokolnicki on July 27, 1942, and the People's Commissariat does not see any reason to reconsider its point of view in this matter.

3. The question of the arrest of Messrs. Zalenski, Gruja and others raised by the Embassy in the first part of Paragraph 3 of its Note, was also exhaustively dealt with in the Notes of the People's Commissariat No. 130 of July 10, 1942, No. 138 of July 24, 1942, and in the Personal Note of Mr. A. J. Vishinsky to Mr. Sokolnicki of July 27, 1942.

As to the question raised in the second part of Paragraph 3 of the above mentioned Note of the Embassy, the People's Commissariat deems it necessary to make clear that in Paragraph 7 of the Note of the People's Commissariat of July 27, the assent of the Embassy was given only to the cessation in future of the state of affairs under which diplomatic collaborators of the Embassy, while discharging the duties of local Embassy Delegates, retained their diplomatic rights and privileges. This viewpoint of the Embassy was confirmed in the Note No. D. 2871/42 of July 10, 1942, concerning Embassy Delegate Mr. Heitzman in whose case the Em-

bassy consented not to claim diplomatic immunity for him during the period of his activity as Embassy Delegate in Samarkand.

4. To the question raised in Paragraph 4 of the above mentioned Note, the People's Commissariat has already given answer in the Note of July 27, 1942 and for the time being does not see any reason to change its attitude as therein defined.

Kuybyshev, September 16, 1942.

No. 77

Aide-Mémoire of October 16, 1942, handed by Mr. Novikov of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Sokolnicki, Polish Chargé d'Affaires, concerning the termination of investigations in respect of the arrested members of the staff of the Polish Embassy.

Investigations in respect of the arrested Polish citizens have now been brought to a close.

The cases of 15 persons, namely: F. A. Meller, G. A. Ochnik, G. Malinowski, R. Iliniczowa, J. F. Lubowicki, G. G. Rylko, M. B. Ryczak, M. J. Matuszek, B. B. Kon, S. G. Wachtel, F. J. Mantel, Z. A. Piotrowski, A. A. Juszkievicz, G. A. Winczewska, and M. W. Nowosad, have been dismissed and orders have been issued to release these persons from detention.

The cases of 16 persons, charged with intelligence work hostile to the U.S.S.R., namely: J. J. Mieszkowski, Z. J. Bochniewicz, M. S. Sawicz, W. S. Mattoszo, G. S. Zóltowski, A. P. Saraniecki, Z. M. Kuczyński, M. T. Twarkowski, B. I. Szwajzer, E. G. Stawiński, W. J. Janczuk, W. F. Bugajski, S. A. Winter, F. W. Bednarz, L. M. Artamanowa-Pest and W. W. Zarudny—have been referred to the courts.

In respect to the remaining 78 persons, a decision was reached at a special meeting of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs whereby these persons compromised by actions hostile to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are subject to deportation from the U.S.S.R.

Kuybyshev, October 16, 1942.

No. 78

Note of November 17, 1942, from Mr. E. Raczyński, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R.,

on the arrests of the Delegates and representatives of the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Ambassador, London, November 17, 1942.

I have already had the honor to inform you in my Notes of July 11, July 24, and September 1, 1942, and in conversations with yourself, that I consider the charges brought against the diplomatic officials of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Kuybyshev, its Delegates, representatives and office staffs, to be entirely unfounded. The Memorandum, you delivered to me, Mr. Ambassador, on October 31, repeats these same charges in a form derogatory to the dignity of Polish officials and Polish authorities, to which I am obliged to take categorical exception.

For my part I desire therefore to further state that, fully maintaining the attitude previously adopted, I most categorically reject the supposition that the distinct instructions of the Polish Government along lines of collaboration with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the struggle against the common enemy, were not carried out by persons who devoted themselves with much sacrifice to the welfare of their fellow citizens dispersed throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and many of whom had already had opportunity to give proof of their efficiency and loyalty in carrying out duties entrusted to them in other posts.

After a thorough examination of the matter, for which it is indispensable, as already stated in Ambassador Romer's conversation with Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on October 31, 1942, to have all the documents and archives seized from the Embassy Delegates and their representatives by the police authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, returned to the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Kuybyshev, I shall reply to each of the points raised in the Memorandum you delivered to me.

At the same time I should like to express my deep conviction, that an early settlement of this incident would be desirable in the interests of the satisfactory development of mutual relations between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and should simultaneously include the resumption of relief work for Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the release of those Delegates and representatives who are still under arrest.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI.

Note of January 23, 1943, from the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the evacuation of Polish children from the U.S.S.R.

The Embassy of the Republic of Poland has the honor to notify the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the following:

In the course of the conversation he had on September 5, 1942, with Mr. Lozovsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sokolnicki returned once more to the subject of the evacuation from the U.S.S.R. of a certain number of children possessing Polish citizenship. In compliance with Mr. Lozovsky's request Mr. Sokolnicki despatched an Aide-Mémoire on September 10, 1942, which included suggestions for the evacuation of a certain number of Polish children in small groups at a time, the whole plan to operate over a long period. In reply to this Aide-Mémoire a representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs informed a representative of the Polish Embassy on September 28, 1942, that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs had no objection to the evacuation of a certain number of orphans possessing Polish citizenship and that it awaited concrete information from the Embassy concerning the number, destination, and method of evacuation of these children.

On the basis of this statement, the Polish Embassy advised its Government that the decision of the Government of the U.S.S.R. was a favorable one. Accordingly the Polish Government approached the British Government, which agreed to receive up to 10,000 Polish children in India and in British Africa as soon as possible. Orphanages and distribution centers were immediately arranged for in those countries as well as in Iran, and preparations were undertaken for providing the children with food and medical aid.

At the same time, in compliance with a request of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the Polish Embassy began to elaborate a plan for the evacuation of specified groups of children from a number of localities in the U.S.S.R., whereby about 1000 were to be evacuated per month during the initial period.

In the course of a conversation which took place on October 26, 1942, a representative of the Polish Embassy notified a representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that several groups of children were now ready to leave. Having taken into

cognizance this information, the representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs requested the Embassy to submit the entire evacuation plan, and in particular data concerning the number of children and the dates and localities of their departure. As a result of this conversation it was definitely settled that owing to the difficulties involved in drafting a comprehensive and detailed plan within a short time, the Embassy would submit to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a plan for the first stage of the evacuation while the subsequent ones would be communicated to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as and when further groups were made ready for departure.

In the course of a conversation which took place on November 3, 1942 in Moscow, Mr. Molotov, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, notified Mr. Romer, the Polish Ambassador, that while he did not in principle object to evacuation, he considered it expedient that it be carried out as soon as possible.

When speaking to Mr. Vishinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs on November 12, 1942, Mr. Romer, the Polish Ambassador, presented the final plan for the evacuation of 19,000 children, pointing out that by an extension of the existing relief arrangements, 10,000 orphans and semi-orphans could be accommodated in the orphanages and kindergartens organized by the Embassy. In view of the above statements made by representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the reply given by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars at this conversation that the total evacuation was to be reduced to the 600 children who were in Ashabod, or whose names had previously been notified to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, came as a complete surprise. This statement by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars fundamentally changed the evacuation plan and rendered useless the preparatory work which the Polish Government had undertaken on what appeared to be firm grounds. Such being the state of affairs, the Embassy reported the position to its Government and is awaiting appropriate instructions.

Without determining the final settlement of this problem, on November 13, 1942 a representative of the Embassy presented to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs a plan for the evacuation of 600 children. In the course of the conversations which took

place on November 27, 1942, December 21, 1942, and January 11, 1943, representatives of the Polish Embassy provided representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs with detailed information concerning the number of children in Ashabad at the respective dates, the number of children en route, details regarding the groups from among the children included in the quota of 600, who were to leave and the names of persons who were to act as guardians. In the course of each of the aforesaid conversations representatives of the Polish Embassy requested the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to issue suitable instructions to enable the children who had been in the Embassy's orphanage in Ashabad for some time to leave that town since they were all included in the 600 listed for evacuation.

According to information in the possession of the Embassy there are at present in the orphanage in Ashabad 555 children ready to be evacuated; furthermore, the following groups of children are ready to leave: 40 in Tayshet, Irkutsk district; 40 in the Zyriensk and Teguldetz regions of the Novosibirsk district; 30 in Tomsk, Novosibirsk district; 30 in Semipalatynsk; 40 in Syktyvkar, Komi A.S.S.R. The Embassy has at the same time to state that from September 29, 1942 up to the present day only one group, numbering 61 children has so far left Ashabad.

Since all the details concerning the evacuation of the children included in the quota of 600 have already been submitted to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in an exhaustive form, and since it must be considered inadvisable from the point of view of hygiene to accumulate too great a number of children in the orphanage in Ashabad, the Polish Embassy has the honor to request the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to issue final instructions which would enable the departure for other countries of the children who have in most cases been in Ashabad for several months, and of the five groups mentioned above—in all 594 children.

Kuybyshev, January 23, 1943.

No. 80

Note of March 30, 1943 from Mr. E. Raczynski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. A. Bogomolov, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R.,

protesting against the sovietisation of the relief institutions of the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R.

London, March 30, 1943.

Mr. Ambassador,

The Polish Government has received information to the effect that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proceeded to take over the administration of the relief institutions (orphanages, homes for invalids, etc.) of the Polish Embassy in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The above-mentioned institutions were set up on the strength of an agreement between the Polish Embassy and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contained in the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of February 12, 1942. In this Note the Polish Embassy was assured that the aforesaid institutions would receive food allotments (*fondy*) from appropriate Soviet organizations, and was encouraged to set up these institutions on the understanding that from then on the responsibility for the welfare of Polish citizens would rest with the Polish Embassy. In a verbal statement made by a representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to a representative of the Polish Embassy on September 26, 1942, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expressed its consent to the further extension of the network of the Embassy's relief institutions.

In accordance with the above, the Embassy set up on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, at considerable effort and great expense, several hundred relief institutions, and supplied them throughout their existence with substantial quantities of foodstuffs, clothing and medical supplies from abroad, either purchased by the Polish Government, or presented as a gift by Allied Governments and scores of welfare associations in Allied and neutral countries.

To the surprise of the Polish Government the Soviet authorities have recently begun to take over the administration of these institutions and, I state with regret, the Soviet Government did not even deem it necessary to inform the Polish Embassy thereof. In taking over the administration of these relief institutions the local Soviet authorities are at the same time dismissing some of the employees and inmates and are introducing different educational methods for those children remaining there.

The Polish Government also learned with regret that independently of the outcome of the present conversations in Moscow between the two Governments, with a view to reaching an agreement on their attitude in this matter, in the spirit of mutual friendship and collaboration underlying their present relations, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has not agreed to the suspension, at least during the course of the conversations now in progress, of the execution of its orders in respect of Polish citizens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In such circumstances, the Polish Government find themselves regretfully compelled to lodge a determined protest against the very fact of removing the relief institutions from the administration of the Polish Embassy, as well as against the procedure adopted by the Soviet authorities in the matter. In the legal and *de facto* status of institutions, functioning on the basis of a bilateral agreement between the two Governments and disposing of property belonging to the Polish State, no changes could be made unless by mutual agreement of the two parties.

At the same time the Polish Government reserve their right to demand from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the restoration of all property belonging to the Polish State or to institutions taken over by Soviet authorities in these circumstances, also compensation for all damage and loss already sustained, or which may in future be sustained or brought to light in connection with the taking over of the Embassy's relief institutions.

I have the honor to be, etc.

RACZYNSKI.

CHAPTER 10

Soviet Territorial Claims

No. 81

Note of January 9, 1942 from Mr. Kot, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland, to Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on the status of Lwów as a Polish city.

Kuybyshev, January 9, 1942.

Excellency,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's Note of January 6, 1942, in which you brought to the notice of

all Governments maintaining diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the facts concerning the unheard of treatment of the defenceless civilian population by the German Army in the territories temporarily occupied by it as a result of recent war operations.

While fully sharing the Soviet Government's view that responsibility for these inhuman and barbarous actions of the German forces rests with the criminal Hitlerite Government of Germany, I have the honor to remark that this responsibility is also shared to a large extent by the obedient and zealous executors of that Government's will, that is to say German officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks, and members of the various formations of the German National Socialist Workers Party who take part in the war operations and in the administration of the occupied territories. I have the honor to recall that in my Note to your Excellency of November 27, 1941, I already pointed out the bestial treatment of the civilian population on the territories of the Republic of Poland by the Germany Army, and I supplied facts as to pogroms and executions in Lwów, Brześć nad Bugiem, Stanisławów, Komarno and other localities.

At the same time I have the honor to draw Your Excellency's attention to the fact, that the inclusion of Lwów among "other Ukrainian cities" in your Note of January 6, 1942, must be the result of a misunderstanding, for from the historical point of view and from that of international law, and as far as the ethnological constitution of its population is concerned, Lwów was and remains a Polish city.

I have the honor to be, etc.

Kot.

No. 82

Note of January 17, 1942; from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Embassy in Kuybyshev on the status of Lwów, Brześć and Stanisławów.

With reference to the Personal Note of Mr. Kot, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland, of January 9, 1942, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs has the honor to present to the Embassy the following declaration on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

The People's Commissar deems unjustified the statement by the Embassy in the above mentioned Note and in certain other documents, in which the towns of Lwów, Brześć, Stanisławów and others on the territories of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the White Ruthenian S.S.R. belonging to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are referred to as cities which are on the "territories of the Republic of Poland."

While finding it impossible to enter into a discussion on the historical and legal bases on which the city of Lwów or any other town on the territories of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the White Ruthenian S.S.R. belong to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Commissar deems it his duty to inform the Embassy that in future he will not be able to accept for consideration Notes of the Embassy containing declarations of this kind.

Kuybyshev, January 17, 1942.

No. 83

Declaration of the Polish Government of February 25, 1943, concerning Polish-Soviet relations.

The Polish Government, at a meeting in London on February 25, presided over by General Sikorski, discussed Polish-Soviet relations and issued the following declaration:

The Polish Government affirm that neither before the outbreak of this war nor during it has the Polish nation ever agreed to any co-operation with the Germans against the Soviet Union. In her relations with the U.S.S.R. Poland has not ceased to be ready to co-operate with the Soviet Union in the prosecution of the war and in maintaining friendly, neighborly relations after the victory.

The Polish Government repudiate most definitely the malicious propaganda which accuses Poland of indirect or direct inimical tendencies towards Soviet Russia. It is absolutely absurd to suspect Poland of intentions to base the eastern boundaries of the Polish Republic on the Dnieper and the Black Sea, or to impute to Poland any tendencies to move her frontier farther to the east.

The Polish Government, representing Poland in the boundaries in which Poland, first among the Allied nations, took up the fight imposed on her, have, from the moment of the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Treaty of July 30, 1941, maintained the unchange-

able attitude that so far as the question of frontiers between Poland and Soviet Russia is concerned, the *status quo* previous to September 1, 1939, is in force; and they consider the undermining of this attitude, which is in conformity with the Atlantic Charter, as detrimental to the unity of the Allied nations.

The Polish Government consider close co-operation and confidence between all the Allies to be an indispensable factor for victory and a permanent peace, and condemn all acts and suggestions tending to wreck or weaken the common front of the United Nations.

The declaration of the Polish Government is fully supported by the following resolution passed unanimously by the Polish National Council on February 26:

"The National Council, maintaining, in unanimous agreement with the Government, its attitude that the difficulties which exist in creating mutual trust in the collaboration between the United Nations must be removed, declares that the integrity of the territory of the Polish Republic within its frontiers of September 1, 1939, and its sovereignty, are inviolable and indivisible. No unilateral acts or illegal activities, from any quarter whatever, directed against either the territory and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland or the rights of its citizens residing in Poland or outside her territorial boundaries, can in any way alter this state of affairs."

No. 84

Soviet Declaration of March 1, 1943, in reply to the Polish Government's Declaration of February 25, 1943.

The Soviet news agency issued on March 1 the following official Russian statement replying to the Polish declaration:

The declaration of the Polish Government in London bears witness to the fact that the Polish Government refuses to recognise the historic rights of the Ukrainians and Bielo-Russian peoples to be united within the national States.

Continuing to regard as legitimate the aggressive policy of imperialist States, which partitioned among themselves the traditional Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian lands, and disregarding the universally known fact of the reunion of the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian peoples within their national States which has already taken place, the Polish Government thus comes out as an advocate of a partition

of the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian lands in favour of the policy of plundering the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian peoples.

The leading Soviet circles are of the opinion that the denial of the right of the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian peoples of reunion with their blood brethren bears witness to an imperialist tendency, whereas the references of the Polish Government to the Atlantic Charter have no foundation whatever. The Atlantic Charter does not entitle anyone to encroach on the national rights of the Ukrainians and Bielo-Russians, but on the contrary it has its origin in the principle of the recognition of the national rights of peoples, including the Ukrainian and the Bielo-Russian peoples.

Even the well-known British Minister, Lord Curzon, in spite of his inimical attitude to the U.S.S.R., realized that Poland cannot put forward a claim to the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian lands, but the Polish ruling circles still show no understanding in this matter.

The assertion of the Polish ruling circles that Poland until the beginning of this war refused to collaborate in any way with Germany against the Soviet Union does not correspond with reality. The whole world knows of the pro-Fascist policy of rapprochement with Germany of the Polish Government and its Minister Beck, who tried to oppose Poland to the Soviet Union.

If the present war teaches us something it is above all that the Slav peoples must not quarrel among themselves, but must live in friendship in order to rid themselves of the danger of the German yoke. The Polish ruling circles have learned nothing if they put forward claims on the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian lands, and thereby cultivate enmity between the Polish people and the peoples of the Ukraine and Bielo-Russia. Such a policy of the Polish leading circles weakens, in the first place, Poland herself and breaks the united front of the Slav peoples in their struggle against German invasion.

The declaration of the Polish Government bears witness to the fact that the present Polish ruling circles do not reflect in this matter the genuine opinion of the Polish people, whose interests in the struggle for the liberation of their country and for the restoration of a strong and united Poland are indissolubly linked with the strengthening to the utmost of mutual confidence and friendship with the brotherly peoples of the Ukraine and Bielo-Russia, as well as with the Russian people and the other peoples of the U.S.S.R.

No. 85

Communiqué of the Polish Telegraph Agency of March 5, 1943, concerning the Eastern frontiers of Poland and containing a reply to the Soviet Declaration of March 1, 1943.

The Polish Telegraph Agency has been authorized by the Polish Government to issue the following reply to the Russian statement:

Until the conclusion of agreements between the U.S.S.R. and the Third Reich concerning the partition of Polish territories, the Treaty of Riga and its frontier clauses, approved in 1923 by the Conference of Ambassadors and by the United States, were never called in question by Russia. The Russo-German agreements were cancelled by the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941. The question of any return to the German-Soviet frontier line of that year requires no further comment.

The so-called "Curzon line" was proposed during hostilities in 1919-1920 solely as an armistice line and not as a frontier.

The polling ordered by the Soviet-occupying authorities in Eastern Poland in 1939 was contrary to international law. It constitutes one of those unilateral acts which are not recognized by the Allied nations. Therefore it cannot form a basis for any legal acts, and cannot, in particular, deprive Polish citizens of their title to Polish citizenship or to relief organized for their benefit by the Polish Government with the aid of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States.

All German proposals previous to 1939, which were aimed at gaining the co-operation of Poland in military action against Russia, were repeatedly rejected, and this led finally to a German attack on Polish territory in September 1939.

The declaration of the Polish Government of February 25, 1943, unanimously supported by the entire Polish nation, was not intended to produce controversy which would be so harmful at the present moment. It only stated the indisputable Polish rights to these territories, in which the Polish nation will continue to live in harmony with its Ukrainian and White Ruthenian fellow-countrymen in accordance with the principles proclaimed by the Polish Government. The Polish Government, categorically rejecting the absurd insinuations concerning alleged Polish imperialistic claims in the East, has expressed, and continues to express, to the Soviet Government its readiness for an understanding based on friendly mutual relations.

CHAPTER 11

The Crisis in Polish-Soviet Relations

No. 86

Letter of February 9, 1943 from General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister, to Premier Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, concerning the conference to take place between Premier Stalin and Ambassador Romer.

London, February 9, 1943.

Mr. President,

The great victories won by the Red Army over our common enemy fill the whole world with admiration. I also wish to congratulate you most sincerely as Supreme Commander of the Soviet armed forces. I never doubted their success, for I always recognized their true value.

I regret that for the moment the forces I command are only taking part in this struggle on distant fronts and not by the side of your forces on the Eastern front of Europe. Awaited with impatience, the final crushing of Germany is near. It will also bring, I am certain, the independence of Poland. Meanwhile she continues to offer to the oppressor a heroic resistance that the recent offers of the enemy, seeking to win the collaboration of the Polish people by promising to give up the reign of terror, fail to weaken.

Thus the outcome of the war presents itself to us in a reassuring light. However, I see myself obliged to point out to you the increasing concern of the Polish Government and of public opinion in Poland at more and more serious difficulties that go up against the path of the Polish-Soviet entente inaugurated in 1941 by you, Mr. President, and by myself. These difficulties threaten to compromise this entente and to disserve the interests of our two countries and of our common cause. They seem neither justified nor inevitable and I continue to believe that if examined by both sides in a broad spirit of understanding and of mutual conciliation, they can be removed.

Such at least is the desire of the Polish Government which remains firmly convinced of the advantages of a policy of rapprochement and collaboration between Poland and the Soviet Union, as

much in view of the prosecution of the war against Germany as of future good neighborly relations between our two countries. To be acceptable to the Poles, to be lasting, to be considered in accordance with the great principles that are common to all in the present struggle, this policy cannot, however, neither because of existing conditions nor of the disproportion of forces involved, consist in the elimination of difficulties that arise by asking Poland to abandon any principles or to make unilateral sacrifices. The exceptional trials my country has endured and the way she has known how to meet them, in the sight of the whole world, entitle her—I have no doubt—to special consideration of her interests and her aspirations at a time when the war of liberation is entering into a decisive phase.

It is in this spirit that I recently had the opportunity to exchange views with President Roosevelt and with the American Government on the subject of the conduct of the war and of the steps its conclusion may call for, including the final elimination of the German danger, and the task of economic reconstruction of the Europe of tomorrow. These same problems are the subjects of consultations of the Polish Government with the British Government and of the Governments in London of various European countries under German occupation.

I have not failed to emphasize, on various occasions, that the Polish Government would be desirous of examining on the same bases the said problems with the Soviet Government, within the framework of our mutual relations formed by the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and of our joint Declaration of December 4, 1941.

If you share my point of view in this matter, I shall be obliged if you will devote a moment of your precious time to receiving Ambassador Romer, who returns to his post after having been in touch with his Government and with myself and who, enjoying my full and complete confidence, is charged by me to acquaint you with the details of my recent negotiations and with the point of view of the Polish Government. This interview will also give him an opportunity to speak to you in my name of the Polish-Soviet difficulties to which I have alluded in this letter and which seem to me to deserve your serious attention.

I have the honor to be, etc.

SIKORSKI.

No. 87

Excerpts from the Minutes of the negotiation conducted by Mr. Tadeusz Romer, Polish Ambassador in Moscow, with Premier Stalin and Mr. V. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, concerning the Polish citizenship of persons deported to the U.S.S.R. and the Embassy's relief organization.

1. EXCERPTS FROM AMBASSADOR ROMER'S CONVERSATION WITH MR. MOLOTOV, PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE KREMLIN ON FEBRUARY 20, 1943.

.....
ROMER: We find ourselves at present, Mr. Commissar, in a historical moment as far as Polish-Soviet relations are concerned. The steps we take now will decide the course of those relations for many years to come. Bearing this in mind, I think, we ought to avoid the discussion of such issues as cannot be settled today and which would only strain our relations. On the other hand what we should discuss is the problem of relief for the Poles in the U.S.S.R. whose fate is causing the Polish Government special concern.

MOLOTOV: The basis of this problem is our Note of January 16, last, in which the Soviet Government declined to recognize as Polish citizens persons who on November 1 and 2, 1939 found themselves in the western districts of the Ukraine and White Ruthenia.

ROMER: What are the reasons, Mr. Commissar, for this change in the attitude of the Soviet Government?

MOLOTOV: The reasons are explained in the Note. Our good will did not meet with an appropriate response from the Polish Government. Now we simply confirmed this.

ROMER: Truly, Mr. Commissar, I fail to see any motive for this sudden decision which fundamentally changes the problem of relief for the Polish population.

MOLOTOV: Mr. Ambassador, December 1941 went by and so did the whole of 1942 and in spite of this the Polish Government never accepted the proposals put forward by the Soviet Government.

ROMER: The January Note came unexpectedly at a time when negotiations concerning relief for the Poles were well advanced and reaching their final stage. I fail to understand what new development occurred to bring about such a decision on the part of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

MOLOTOV: This subject has been discussed not only with you, Mr. Ambassador, but also with your predecessor. The problem could not have come as a surprise after our Note of December 1, 1941; on the other hand, however, the attitude of the Polish Government has remained unchanged ever since. This could not continue.

ROMER: This matter is for us of paramount importance. An attempt to deprive us of hundreds of thousands of Poles who are in the U.S.S.R. not of their own will, and this at a time when the population of Poland is being decimated as a result of the atrocities committed by the German occupants, is for us a most painful blow and cannot but have a serious effect on Polish-Soviet relations.

MOLOTOV: It is not proper, Mr. Ambassador, to connect this problem with that of German persecutions in Poland. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has waited long enough for a reply to the proposals it advanced, only by way of exception and good will.

ROMER: I point out that this matter has never been raised before in the course of my conversations with you and with Commissar Vishinsky.

MOLOTOV: On the contrary, Mr. Ambassador, during your tenure of office, we have received Notes in which our attitude was not recognized.

ROMER: Am I to understand, Mr. Commissar, that the attitude of the Soviet Government to this problem is connected with the future Polish-Soviet frontier, or is it confined to citizenship?

MOLOTOV: Our Note merely concerns our attitude towards citizenship, which in turn is connected with the problem of the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

ROMER: I cannot share your attitude with regard to citizenship, Mr. Commissar. The Government of the U.S.S.R. could not unilaterally force Soviet citizenship upon Polish citizens. In our eyes, and in the eyes of impartial foreign observers, the matter could only have been settled on the basis of an agreement between the two Governments concerned.

MOLOTOV: No foreign observers will be able to change decisions taken by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. with regard to the incorporation of the territories in question, which took place on the basis of a plebiscite in which the people freely expressed themselves.

ROMER: I do not wish to go deeper into the discussion of this problem. But I shall make two remarks. First—what you referred to as a plebiscite took place within the frontiers set up by the Soviet-German treaty, which the Soviet Government later solemnly renounced in the Polish-Soviet Agreement. Second—Soviet legislation governing citizenship is contrary to its territorial principle as it grants Soviet citizenship not according to domicile, but according to where a given person happened to be at a given time. These are merely incidental remarks independent of the fundamental attitude of my Government to this problem as a whole.

MOLOTOV: Our Note refers to the Soviet citizenship of persons who found themselves on the territories in question on November 1 and 2, 1939. Persons who arrived there subsequent to that date are Polish citizens.

ROMER: Does it not then seem unnatural, even from the Soviet viewpoint, that persons who have no connection whatever with these territories should be considered Soviet citizens against their own will?

MOLOTOV: I do not agree with your view. In accordance with Soviet legislation, the Soviet Citizenship Act also applies to persons who came to Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia from the Western districts of Poland.

ROMER: I want to make it quite clear, Mr. Commissar. Am I, therefore, to understand that the relief work to assist our people in the U.S.S.R. is to be regarded as at an end?

MOLOTOV: We examined this problem in our Note of January 16, 1943. Exceptions were made in respect of persons whom we recognize as Polish citizens, that is those who arrived in the territories we consider to be Soviet after November 1 and 2, 1939.

ROMER: Practically, one would then be able to count the number of Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. on one's fingers. Do you realize, Mr. Commissar, what consequences will result from the application of the Note of January 16, 1943, and in what position the Poles in the U.S.S.R. will find themselves?

MOLOTOV: Their position will not suffer as a result of it, Mr. Ambassador. All that was being done for them before, we shall continue to do as for our own citizens.

ROMER: Irrespective of the deep and painful impression which a decision of this kind would make on the Polish Government and

on our people in occupied Poland and abroad, representing as it does, in the present extremely hard circumstances, an entirely unjustified attempt to force foreign citizenship upon a considerable part of our nation, and this against their will, sentiments and traditions which are bound up with the struggle for independence and our most sacred ideals, I want again to draw your attention to the impression this will make abroad, and especially in the countries which collaborated with us in bringing relief to several hundred thousand Polish citizens, and who from one day to the next will learn to their surprise that these people have ceased to be Poles and no longer require their assistance.

MOLOTOV: As you are aware, Mr. Ambassador, there have been for many years considerable number of Poles in the U.S.S.R., Soviet citizens and who have never considered themselves treated any worse than Soviet citizens of other origins. There was never any question of restricting their rights, for our Constitution severely punishes all actions contrary to our principle of national equality. But as regards the subject referred to by you, Mr. Ambassador, I wish once more to state that the entire blame rests with the Polish Government. Now, as early as 1941, we made a concession and agreed not to apply our legislation, showing our good will to recognize Poles as Polish citizens. The Polish Government did not appear to be willing to accept our good will, on the contrary it rejected our proposals. We waited a month, two months, a year—and the attitude of the Polish Government remained unchanged, nor has it changed since your arrival, Mr. Ambassador. Thus, the Polish Government bear the entire responsibility for the consequences.

ROMER: I must point out, that the Polish Government never rejected the Soviet Government's readiness to recognize Poles in the U.S.S.R. as Polish citizens, but it could not accept the terms on which this readiness was conditional, and in particular it had to reject the attempt to distinguish between Polish citizens and divide them into categories for discriminatory treatment, that is unknown to Polish law. I must emphasize once again that this is the first time since I am Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. that this problem has been raised, and I see no reason for the change made by the Note of January 16, 1943 in the previous attitude of the Soviet Government.

MOLOTOV: I have already stated the position of the Soviet Government, Mr. Ambassador. It is clear and irrevocable.

ROMER: The problem is so fundamental and its consequences so serious, that I shall have to inform my Government of your declaration, Mr. Commissar, and at the same time refer the matter to renewed consideration by ourselves. For the time I only renew my request that you transmit the letter of Prime Minister General Sikorski to Premier Stalin and beg him to receive me so that I may submit to him the matters I have already referred to and learn his views on the difficulties in Polish-Soviet relations.

MOLOTOV: I shall forward the letter, Mr. Ambassador, and when I find out about your visit to J. V. Stalin, I shall let you know.

2. EXCERPTS FROM AMBASSADOR ROMER'S CONVERSATION WITH PREMIER STALIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, AND MR. MOLOTOV, PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE KREMLIN DURING THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 26-27, 1943.

.....

ROMER: I should still like to discuss the problem of Polish-Soviet relations which unfortunately are passing through a crisis, causing anxiety. We have just ended a friendly discussion on a number of important subjects dealing with military collaboration between our countries. But such collaboration can actually bear fruit only as and when accompanied by mutual friendly feeling. First of all in this connection, the fate of Polish citizens in the Soviet Union is of special interest to the Polish Government and public opinion. The Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, introduced new and unexpected elements and implications which have filled us with deep concern and which it is my duty to elucidate in this conversation with you, Mr. President.

STALIN: I am listening, please.

ROMER: As a result of the Agreement of July 30, 1941, the amnesty proclaimed by the Soviet Government affected a vast number of Polish citizens, not excluding national minorities, whose Polish citizenship was only called into question on December 1, 1941, in a note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Set free from camps and prisons our citizens began to rally en masse to the Polish Army then in formation. With the assistance of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, and of a number of social welfare organizations and institutions, the Polish

Government organized relief work on a large scale for their families and for those who remained at work in their places of exile. The need for this relief did not in the least imply a desire to assure to the Polish population an existence in any way privileged as compared with their surroundings, nor even an allegation, never put forward by us, that Polish deportees received worse treatment at the hands of the Soviet authorities than the local population. Their position was worse for other reasons. They had been deported at an hour's notice and as a rule with no money, clothing or food, torn away by force from the surroundings in which they had grown up. Frequently they were separated from their families and were taken under most difficult circumstances to distant, foreign countries, often with extremely severe climates differing greatly from that to which they were accustomed. They were settled among an alien people whose language and customs were foreign to them, and where they lacked the adequate living quarters and vegetable gardens at the disposal of the local population. They were made to do work of which they had no previous experience, for instance intellectuals were given heavy manual work which they had never done before. They were also suffering from disease. For these reasons relief in the form of food, clothing and medical supplies was and remains an absolute necessity.

STALIN: Whom do you refer to as the Polish population, Mr. Ambassador? The whole Polish population which found itself in Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia?

ROMER: According to Polish legislation, I consider as Polish citizens all those persons who possessed Polish citizenship in 1939. There is a difference of opinion between our two Governments on this subject, the more so since, as was made clear by the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, and its interpretation which I heard from Commissar Molotov several days ago,—the Soviets extended their citizenship to all persons who were in the disputed territories on November 1 and 2, 1939, even if they found themselves there quite temporarily and by accident and had no connection whatever with the place where they were staying.

MOLOTOV: That is not exact. There is reference in the Note to the Citizenship Act which differentiates between permanent and temporary residents: the former have become citizens of the Soviet Union by virtue of the law, while the citizenship of the latter is a matter for individual examination.

ROMER: The note of January 16, 1943, states quite explicitly that all persons present in the disputed territories acquired Soviet citizenship.

STALIN: But at the same time there is reference to the Soviet Citizenship Act.

ROMER: May I remark that we have received a number of Notes from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs stating that all residents in these districts have become Soviet citizens. The Polish Embassy in Kutybyshev has even received a written warning that intervention on behalf of individual persons will not be considered until evidence is produced showing the whereabouts of such persons on November 1 and 2, 1939.

STALIN: Distinction is made between those who happened to be in those territories and those who lived there permanently.

MOLOTOV: Citizens of a number of States could have been there at the time, as for example Rumanians, Hungarians, Frenchmen and others, but obviously they did not acquire Soviet citizenship on this account. Our Constitution provides distinctly for such eventualities, which, however, have to be examined individually.

ROMER: This is an entirely new situation to me. I find this interpretation, which I hear for the first time, extremely interesting. Hitherto, ever since its note of December 1, 1941, the Soviet Government has adhered consistently to the attitude that especially that category of Polish citizens who found themselves in the territories in question at the time specified acquired Soviet citizenship.

STALIN: Excuse me, Mr. Ambassador, but persons whose presence in these territories was merely transitory did not automatically acquire Soviet citizenship.

ROMER: I can quote a whole series of concrete cases of the attitude hitherto held by the Soviet Government. I do not remember them all, but a classical example is that of the two Warsaw city councillors, Alter and Ehrlich, who despite our objections and representations were classified as Soviet citizens.

MOLOTOV: There may have been individual cases.

ROMER: What is then the official Soviet interpretation in this matter, Mr. President? All Soviet Notes and statements have indicated hitherto that in practice all Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. have lost their citizenship. We cannot agree to that.

STALIN: The Polish Government persists in considering as Polish citizens all Poles now in the U.S.S.R. That is wrong. Truly,

a number of Soviet offices have overstepped their authority in certain individual cases, but we must put a stop to extremes. I must moreover point out that it also depends on the person concerned what citizenship he wishes to choose. Thus everybody must be asked. Take, Mr. Ambassador, the example of Wanda Wasilewska, a Pole from Warsaw who considers herself a Soviet citizen. The people's wishes must be given consideration, one cannot force citizenship upon them. There is in our Note a reference to the Citizenship Act. I must admit that not all Soviet bureaus have always acted along uniform lines and correctly. But not all the Poles who lived and were domiciled in Polish territory will be Polish citizens. That has to be stopped. There are some who are coming over to us.

ROMER: Many Poles, Soviet citizens, have lived in the territories of the U.S.S.R. for many years. We do not claim them, nor have we ever raised this question.

STALIN: I was thinking of Poles domiciled in the western parts of the Ukraine and White Ruthenia.

ROMER: I therefore note, Mr. President, that you recognize the will of each person concerned as an important element in determining his or her citizenship. On our part we shall gladly agree to such a criterion for we have no desire to have citizens who do not wish to be Polish citizens. I must, however, emphasize that a large number of practical issues are bound up with the citizenship problem. Of these I will mention the continuation of relief to our people and permission for individuals to go abroad without of course burdening Soviet railways engaged in war transport. I have in mind particularly Polish children and the families still left in the U.S.S.R. of soldiers serving in the Polish Army in Great Britain and in the Near East, and also families of Polish State officials and welfare workers. The fact that they are separated from their bread winners can neither be explained nor understood by any one

ROMER: Reverting to the subject of citizenship, in view of the practical consequences involved for hundreds of thousands of our people and thus also for Polish-Soviet relations, I must insist that this be settled not unilaterally but by mutual agreement between our two governments. It is unthinkable that a large and valuable portion of our Nation be thus abruptly cut off against its will from the rest.

STALIN: If we consider the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians as nations, we must recognize that a reunion (*vossoyedinienie*) has taken place between the lands they inhabit and Soviet White Ruthenia and Soviet Ukraine. Surely the Ukrainians are not Poles! Surely the White Ruthenians are not Poles! We have not joined a single Polish province to the Soviet Union. All Polish territories have been occupied by the Germans.

ROMER: Since you refer to the plebiscites in our Eastern provinces, Mr. President, I must recall that they were carried out within the boundaries set up by the German-Soviet agreement which was subsequently solemnly repudiated in the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30, 1941.

STALIN: It was the German attack on the U.S.S.R. which rendered the German-Soviet agreement invalid, and especially the non-aggression pact.

ROMER: At the time the Soviet Union took our territory we were in opposite camps, and we have not recognized any acts of violence committed at our expense. Since July 30, 1941, we are in the same anti-German camp, which entitles us to expect that no changes will be made in the lands that are ours or in our fundamental rights without our agreement. In default of this we must maintain the attitude that the former Polish-Soviet frontiers, established by the Treaty of Riga, remain always in force. . . .

.....
ROMER: We must have a friendly discussion on all subjects of friction between our two Governments, a friction that is of no benefit to either party but only serves Germany. It is in such a spirit that the problems connected with relief for Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. and with their departure should be discussed.

STALIN: What problems?

ROMER: This is a historical moment which will decide the course of Polish-Soviet relations for many years to come. We must approach the decisions it calls for with mutual and full understanding and good will, excluding for the time being from our discussions such matters as cannot now be decided and which, if raised, merely lead to friction in Polish-Soviet relations and provoke public controversies.

STALIN: The Soviet Government keeps consistently silent on the subject and so should the Polish Government.

ROMER: It is easier to remain silent when one is acquiring something than when one is losing it. As a result of the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, we are threatened with a loss of several hundred thousands of our citizens who are all the more important to us as we have lost so many at the hands of the Germans. Furthermore we are threatened with the loss on Soviet initiative of the whole eastern part of our territory. No wonder, then, that Polish public opinion is embittered.

STALIN: The territory we have lost is larger than the whole of Poland.

ROMER: But the Red Army has already reconquered vast regions and will undoubtedly regain everything. And, moreover, these territories are only a small part of the Soviet Union.

STALIN: Mr. Ambassador, after the Red Army has beaten the Germans on Russian soil it will enter Polish territory and help to chase the Germans out of Poland and then it will immediately return these lands to the Polish Government, and then, Mr. Ambassador, will you say that this will be a unilateral action adversely affecting good mutual relations?

ROMER: It will not be as bad as that.

STALIN: Mr. Ambassador, we want a strong Poland; we shall give you the whole of German-occupied Poland regardless of the fact that we are being insulted (*niesmotria na to tshto nas rugayut*). But we can take these insults on our shoulders!

ROMER: Thank you, Mr. President, for these words. I shall remember them. And do you agree with me as to the need for coming to a mutual agreement regarding the problem of the citizenship of Poles at present in the U.S.S.R. and of further relief and assistance for them from our own resources?

STALIN: There will be Poles who wish to acquire Soviet citizenship.

MOLOTOV: We are, of course, referring to citizens other than those from Western Ukrainian or Western White Ruthenian territories. This problem should furthermore be examined for the purpose of determining the citizenship of persons whose presence in those territories was only temporary.

ROMER: According to what Mr. President has said, the will of the persons concerned must be given consideration. Since on the strength of an understanding between the two governments it will be made possible for such persons to express their wishes quite

freely, I have no doubt that the atmosphere will be easily and smoothly cleared, since all those in whom we are interested will never reconcile themselves to the thought of parting with their Polish citizenship.

STALIN: It must nevertheless be carried out in accordance with our legislation relating to citizenship. The problem of persons serving in the Red Army presents another difficulty. Out of a desire to evade further service, they may express their wish to go, say to Australia in the capacity of Polish citizens. Desertion might thus be facilitated. Apart from the will of the persons concerned, other considerations will therefore have to be taken into account. The nationality of such people and their origin will have to be looked into.

ROMER: A problem of vital interest to me in this connection is that of our children. There are several tens of thousands in the Soviet Union and they will be of great value to the future of resurrected Poland. From the point of view of bringing to agreement our conflicting views on citizenship, we attach great importance to the fate of the orphans. We should like to make it possible for these orphans to go to other countries where they would find favourable conditions of existence and education and be a minimum financial burden to the Polish Government.

STALIN: In accordance with our legislation this depends on a variety of factors. It is difficult to generalize.

ROMER: I think that the problem of citizenship can only be resolved by means of a formal, bilateral agreement.

STALIN: We cannot infringe our laws.

MOLOTOV: Obviously not.

ROMER: We have seen that in the past Soviet legislation did not preclude a large measure of elasticity in its application. I think that on such a premise a way would be found to an understanding on the basis of mutual good will.

STALIN: If conversations take place then all these problems will be cleared up.

ROMER: Do you see any possibility, Mr. President, of such negotiations being begun?

STALIN: If you, Mr. Ambassador, see such a possibility, I make no objection.

ROMER: Well, we shall go into this matter further.

STALIN: Thus according to you we have as subjects for our

negotiations, the question of propaganda, the question of citizenship and the problem of frontiers (*vopros o granitzach*).

ROMER: No, I understood differently and emphasized that in order to improve our relations it would be better to avoid discussing frontiers for the time being; on the other hand I suggested that we should begin negotiations on the subject of preventing unfriendly propaganda on both sides, on the problem of citizenship and its practical consequences.

STALIN: Very well, Mr. Ambassador.

MOLOTOV: A declaration of the Polish Government was published in London yesterday. Its contents are unfriendly to the Soviet Union.

STALIN: The declaration is more than a newspaper reply. It is in fact an official statement (*eto zayavlenye*). Where Soviet territory is concerned there is no Soviet Government prepared to waive (*otkazalsia by*) any provisions of our Constitution. And the adherence of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia to the Soviet Union has been included in the Constitution.

ROMER: On the other hand you will not find a single Pole who would deny that Wilno and Lwów are Polish. I myself so declare it in your presence, Mr. President, with the fullest conviction.

STALIN: I understand your viewpoint. We also have ours. We are quits. Perhaps we should act similarly to the Polish Government as regards frontiers and also publish a statement.....

ROMER: In the interest of our common front in the fight against Germany which occupies first place in your thoughts and in ours, I insist on agreement, by means of Polish-Soviet negotiation, on the standpoint and behavior of both parties in the difficult sphere of citizenship and the problems arising from it; also for mutual cessation of public statements and propaganda unfriendly to one another. Would you authorize me, Mr. President, to suggest this to my Government?

STALIN: You are right, Mr. Ambassador. I congratulate you on your good idea. The matter must be examined, we must find out whose citizens these people are, each case must be considered.

ROMER: May I count on our being enabled to continue our relief work until our negotiations concerning citizenship are concluded?

STALIN: I do not know, Mr. Ambassador, that depends on the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

ROMER: It is a vital problem for us. We could thus avoid in the event of the suspension of our relief work all consequences which might arise in other countries interested in it, such as England and America. It would be much better if we could reach an understanding without intermediaries.

STALIN: You are right. I cannot promise you anything definite in advance, but negotiations can be started.

ROMER: Am I to conduct these negotiations in Moscow with Mr. Molotov, the People's Commissar?

STALIN: Yes, do.

MOLOTOV: If it is convenient for you, Mr. Ambassador, I am at your disposal.

ROMER: I shall report the above to my Government and ask for instructions, whereupon I shall take the liberty of communicating with Mr. Molotov. In any case, I consider the attitude of the President as an assurance that the problems under consideration will be examined with good will and I hope that the negotiations will lead to an understanding which will remove all existing difficulties.

3. EXCERPTS FROM AMBASSADOR ROMER'S CONVERSATION WITH MR. MOLOTOV, PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE KREMLIN ON MARCH 9, 1943.

ROMER: Before entering upon the actual subject of our conversation to-day I regret to have to communicate to you a number of events which to my painful surprise have recently occurred in this territory.

The arrests of local representatives of the Embassy continued throughout the whole second half of 1942 and increased in number in January and February last. In these two months twenty-one representatives were arrested whose names, previously, had been regularly made known to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and who, for the most part, had been confirmed in their functions. The Embassy has not, in one single instance, been informed of these arrests, nor of the reasons thereof.

The authorities have begun to carry out the instructions contained in the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs

of January 16 last, concerning citizenship. They are forcing Polish citizens to accept Soviet passports. At Kirov, employees at the local Embassy warehouse were summoned to take out Soviet passports. The vast majority of these employees refused to do so and were arrested together with their families. One of our largest warehouses serving a wide expanse of territory in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was thus deprived of its staff and immobilized. In this connection it must be noted that the fate of shipments of relief goods sent from abroad for the Polish population and already under way from Archangel has not yet been ascertained.

A similar procedure was applied at Kirov and Kustanay with regard to all Polish citizens living there; the number of those arrested in these circumstances already amounts to about two hundred.

The same principles are applied with regard to families of members of the Polish armed forces now on active service in Great Britain and the Near East. Thus the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs refused to allow a group of families of Polish military men to leave the Soviet Union, although before my departure from Kuybyshev, to be precise on December 23, 1942, that is to say before the issue of the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, I had received the most formal undertakings from Deputy Commissar Vishinsky on behalf of the Soviet Government that the permission would be granted. I personally attach great importance to this matter, as it gives me the measure of how assurances given to me are carried out.

On the other hand, the Polish citizenship of Mrs. Wolska from Warsaw has been questioned; she is the wife of the Embassy Delegate at Alma-Ata, who was arrested and then expelled from the Soviet Union. The same applies to Mrs. Bardecka and to the Pajonk family whose bread-winners have been deported abroad by the Soviet authorities. The Polish citizenship of Mrs. Eleonora Winczewska has been likewise challenged although she is a Polish citizen from Warsaw who in 1939 was living as a refugee in Wilno, that is to say on territory not within the scope of the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943. I must emphasize that Mrs. Winczewska is now living at the Embassy with the full consent of the Soviet authorities and that she, as well as Mrs. Wolska, is under my protection.

Throughout the territories of the U.S.S.R., Polish welfare institutions, such as orphanages, homes for invalids, etc., are being

sovietized. The home for invalids and the orphanage at Bolshaya Konstantinovka in the Kuybyshev area, organized by the Embassy on the basis of a special agreement with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, were taken over in the following circumstances. On February 22, 1943, a Commission composed of members of district and regional authorities arrived on the spot and demanded the handing over of the administration of the institution. They declared that these proceedings had been agreed to by the Embassy. In other similar cases the authorities declared that the Embassy no longer existed.

Subsequently, the whole personnel and the adult inmates of the institution were summoned to accept Soviet passports. Terrorized and yielding to direct threats twelve old and ailing persons accepted the Soviet passports. All the other adults in the institution numbering about thirty, were ousted from the building. Later a school-mistress arrived. She is, according to information received, of Volga-German origin. Lessons are in Russian only. The children, regardless of nationality, refuse to be taught in Russian and, despite orders and threats, they sing religious hymns and national songs in Polish.

Before I report on these cases to my Government, I should like to ask you, Mr. Commissar, whether you have any knowledge of these facts and whether they have occurred with the knowledge and consent of the Soviet Government?

MOLOTOV: I have not heard anything about the facts you mention, Mr. Ambassador. I will now reply to your statements, dividing my remarks in two parts:

First: I would advise that the Embassy instruct its representatives throughout the country to conform to the Note of January 16, was applied, it is not excluded that local authorities may have less misunderstandings because if applied the principles laid down in our Note will make it possible to avoid all incidents.

Second: As regards specific cases in which the Note of January 16 was applied, it is not excluded that local authorities may have carried it out wrongly. For instance, inhabitants of Warsaw do not as a matter of law become Soviet citizens. Such cases of a faulty interpretation of the Note may have occurred, but they were quite accidental. If mistakes were made, they will be rectified. I can assure you of this, Mr. Ambassador. On the other hand I must request that the Embassy cooperate with us in this matter.

ROMER: I must remark that the Note of January 16 does not say anything about the taking over by Soviet authorities of Embassy institutions, such as orphanages, homes for invalids, and that we were never notified about this. I must further emphasize in this connection that the local authorities are taking over property owned by the Polish State and I don't know on what grounds this is being done. As for the Note of January 16, it refers exclusively to the legal position of persons regarding themselves and also regarded by us as Polish citizens and on whom Soviet citizenship is now being forced.

I must lay special emphasis on the fact that this action is exceptionally painful to me and that it cannot fail likewise to affect the Polish Government and the Polish people. As you, Mr. Commissar, now appeal to us to cooperate in this matter, I must record that the way the Soviet authorities are proceeding excludes such cooperation on our part.....

ROMER: On what legal grounds are orphanages and other Embassy institutions being taken over by the Soviet administration?

MOLOTOV: If we establish that Soviet citizens are found there, then these institutions become subject to appropriation by the Soviet authorities. I desire, Mr. Ambassador, to leave no room for misunderstanding in these matters.

ROMER: These institutions and everything belonging to them are the property of the Polish State. As far as citizenship is concerned, however, from our point of view, these people are Polish citizens and, in part, would also seem to remain Polish citizens, even from the Soviet viewpoint. The state of affairs thus created is quite inadmissible

ROMER: I am forced to inform my Government about these facts. If we are to discuss in a friendly spirit questions relating to citizenship, in accordance with what was agreed on in my conversation with Marshal Stalin, then I must ask you, Mr. Commissar, what interest can the Soviet Government possibly have in arousing Polish public opinion, and also in exciting public opinion abroad where these facts will undoubtedly become known. I have precise information showing that the local authorities deal with these matters drastically. I think the only reasonable solution

corresponding to the spirit of my conversation with Marshal Stalin and with you would be the suspension of all steps of this nature by the local Soviet authorities, at least for the period of the negotiations we are to conduct.

MOLOTOV: The local authorities who received instructions on the grounds of the Note of January 16, must put them into operation. For these authorities the question is not controversial at all and it is their duty to carry out their instructions. The way in which this was done may, indeed, have provoked friction. But I must assure you, that it is the intention of the Soviet Government that conditions of life of the Polish population not only shall not suffer any deterioration but on the contrary be improved.

ROMER: I must state once again, that the manner in which these instructions are carried out by the local authorities has been extremely ruthless, and they are applied to matters that have not been agreed upon between us, although the authorities concerned referred to an alleged consent of the Embassy. I see no grounds whatever for taking over welfare institutions of the Embassy and Polish State property assigned to them.....

ROMER: How do you contemplate, Mr. Commissar, the problem of further relief aid and of handling shipments from abroad of food, clothing and medical supplies, as well as their distribution through the Embassy at least to those Polish citizens whose citizenship is regarded by both Governments as incontestable?

MOLOTOV: The Embassy may continue to assist these people.

ROMER: But if difficulties are already now being made?

MOLOTOV: We shall elucidate this matter in a spirit of collaboration.

ROMER: It would be better to settle this matter at once. I am informed that the activities of the Embassy warehouse at Ashabad through which all shipments of relief goods pass on the southern route are paralysed, since our chauffeurs are not allowed to drive from Ashabad to Badjigiran and the Soviet Embassy in Teheran refuses to grant visas valid for several crossings of the frontier to sixteen chauffeurs of Iranian nationality who were also to bring these goods to Ashabad from Iran. Owing to this, our Ashabad warehouse which serves the greater part of the territory of the Soviet Union is virtually immobilized.

MOLOTOV: It seems to me, Mr. Ambassador, that your views as to the complete cessation of relief work in the interests of the Polish population are exaggerated. This work can be continued and in point of fact is functioning in numerous places. I will have the case of Ashabad investigated.

The main object at present is to ensure that the change over to new forms of organization, as regards relief work in aid of the Polish population, should not lead to a deterioration of the condition of that population. The Soviet Government is also anxious that not only its material conditions should not be depressed but that its cultural requirements should also be safeguarded. The Soviet authorities have already received detailed instructions to this effect. . . .

ROMER: And what in your view will be the possibilities of distinguishing between the two categories of people, those who for both sides are and remain indisputably Polish citizens, and those whom the Soviet Government now considers Soviet citizens?

MOLOTOV: This problem is purely practical. It will be dealt with within the scope of our legislation.

ROMER: I have precise information, Mr. Commissar, that Polish citizens are being arrested for not accepting Soviet passports and I am unable to reconcile this procedure with the stand taken by Marshal Stalin in his conversation with me.

MOLOTOV: You simplify this matter, Mr. Ambassador. The moment is difficult. Truly there is friction. If a Pole resists the orders of Soviet authorities, we shall deal with that as with a hostile action. . . .

ROMER: In the cases on which we have most detailed reports, the Soviet authorities failed to take into account the will of individuals. Whereas, during my conversation with Marshal Stalin, the latter laid emphasis on the fact that precisely this factor would have to be taken into serious consideration. We, on our part, give due attention to this circumstance, and therefore you, Mr. Commissar, will not, for instance, have to deal with any claim on our part with regard to the citizenship of Wanda Wasilewska, of whose case mention was made.

MOLOTOV: Your reference to Marshal Stalin is incorrect. Comrade Stalin spoke of two factors and you, Mr. Ambassador, mention only one. Stalin said that one must take into consideration: first,

Soviet legislation; and second, the will of the citizen. As to Wanda Wasilewska, she voluntarily accepted Soviet citizenship although she was born in Warsaw.

ROMER: I very well remember the stand taken by Marshal Stalin and I must emphasize that the Soviet authorities only count with the one of the two factors which, according to the Marshal, were to influence the determination of citizenship, namely, Soviet legislation; but they totally ignore the second factor, the will of the person concerned. Therefore, even in the light of Marshal Stalin's explanations, the procedure applied by the authorities is unfair and unjust.

MOLOTOV: We will verify all these facts, and I will inform you of the outcome.

ROMER: I must now ask you to give me some explanation regarding citizenship laws in force in the Soviet Union and also to clear up some points which come to my mind in connection with the Note of January 16.

MOLOTOV: I am listening.

ROMER: Leaving aside, for the moment, the Polish stand in the matter of citizenship, and we know it is opposed to that of the Soviets, I would like to be informed, as accurately as possible, about Soviet guiding principles, so as to be able to eliminate from our further discussion that special category of persons whose Polish citizenship is not questioned by the Soviet side. I know from Marshal Stalin's declarations and from your own that such a category of persons actually exists according to your views and that it consists of individuals who found themselves fortuitously in the contested territory on November 1 and 2, 1939. A definition of this category of persons, for which I ask, would restrict the field of our controversial discussion.

MOLOTOV: In the Note of January 16, 1943, two laws are mentioned, the Citizenship Law of the U.S.S.R. of August 19, 1938 and the Decree of the Supreme Council on citizenship of November 29, 1939. They govern this matter. I will endeavor to give you in writing, shortly, a legal definition of the category of persons who do not come under these laws. For the moment I can only explain that the persons we regard as Soviet citizens are those who resided at the time we have in mind in the territories of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia which entered the Soviet Union. In so far as the inhabitants of these territories were not

citizens of a second or a third state—for such persons may have been there likewise, for instance Japanese, British, Rumanians or other nationals, as I have already mentioned, and insofar as this is not understood to include persons who were there fortuitously and who consequently after all may not have acquired Soviet citizenship—these cases must be cleared up individually—persons belonging to all remaining categories have become Soviet citizens. As regards military families there may be cases, for instance, the wife of a member of the Polish armed forces now in Iran may not wish to join her husband and desire to retain her Soviet citizenship. When such a person acquires Soviet citizenship, the different citizenship of her husband cannot constitute an obstacle. Cases bearing on citizenship must be dealt with individually. True, persons originating from Warsaw, Poznań and other Polish territories are Polish citizens, but, as I say, their cases ought to be treated individually, for these persons may wish to acquire Soviet citizenship and if they acquire can no longer be regarded as Polish citizens.

ROMER: May I request you to send me the text of the Decree of the Supreme Council of November 29, 1939?*

MOLOTOV: Yes, I will send it to you.

ROMER: In the notes of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of December 1, 1941 and January 16, 1943, the terms citizens of the *oblasti*** of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia are used, whereas the Law on Citizenship makes use exclusively of the terms: Citizens of the Soviet Union and citizen of the various Republics forming the Union. How then should one understand the term citizen of an *oblast* which is unknown in law?

MOLOTOV: Mr. Ambassador, all Republics are made up of *oblasti*. Thus, for instance, there can be a citizen of the Kiev *oblast* of the U.S.S.R.

ROMER: The law says nothing about this. I do not think, for instance, that there can be any such thing as a citizen of the Kuybyshev *oblast*.

MOLOTOV: Yes—yes—there can be such a thing as a citizen of the Kuybyshev *oblast*. But in that case he will be a citizen of the R.S.F.S.R. and so in all Republics.

* See Document No. 26.

** District.

ROMER: In the Soviet law on citizenship mention is made of citizens of the State, and not of a province, therefore, the use of the term: citizen of an *oblast* in both notes of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is not clear to me, the more so as at the time in question, the territories referred to did not form a part of the Soviet Union. To whom does the term employed in the Notes actually refer?

MOLOTOV: The Soviet citizens of the *oblasti* of Western Ukraine and of Western White Ruthenia and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the White Ruthenian Socialist Republic were until November 1, 1939 in various legal positions, for some were only becoming Soviet citizens while others were already citizens.

ROMER: Now, what persons were actually implied in the term used in the Notes of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, which, as we see, causes such a confusion of legal concept.

MOLOTOV: No law can provide for all practical cases. There is no such thing in the world as a perfect law.

ROMER: Has one not to do here, simply with Polish citizens, as the inhabitants of those territories at that time must have been considered even by Soviet legislation?

MOLOTOV: You are quite right, we do not deny this. The population there formerly possessed Polish citizenship.

ROMER: We can therefore stand on the ground that in the light of Soviet interpretation, we were dealing with Polish territories and Polish citizens.

MOLOTOV: I do not know what inferences you are making in connection with this matter, or what you are aiming at. Not all *oblasti* entered the Soviet Union at the same time. From part of the *oblasti*, the Soviet Union was formed in 1918. Other *oblasti* belonging to this Republic were incorporated in 1939. The Ukrainian Republic was not erected at one stroke, but step by step. We cannot help that.

ROMER: To fix the interpretation of these questions is a matter of great practical importance. As has become manifest, it is impossible to decide upon fundamental principles of citizenship, quite independently of territorial questions, and the Note of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of December 1, 1941 is a signal

proof of this. It states clearly that the unsolved question of frontiers between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be settled in the future.

MOLOTOV: What does your question aim at, Mr. Ambassador?

ROMER: I merely quote a sentence from the Note of December 1, 1941, to throw light on the problem of citizenship, in the Soviet interpretation.

MOLOTOV: The question of frontiers will certainly be subject to future settlement. We will further discuss this matter. Do you perhaps wish to enter into a conversation on this subject now?

ROMER: No, Mr. Commissar, as I already told Marshal Stalin, I do not think that it would serve a good purpose for our two governments at present, in the interest of an improvement of their relations.

MOLOTOV: The territorial boundary of the Soviet Union as confirmed in 1939 by the Supreme Council, is the frontier of the Soviet Union; however we shall not decline* to discuss in more concrete terms the subject of frontiers. Rectifications are possible. I mean a few. In the matter of citizenship I will send you an interpretation in writing.

ROMER: Thank you. I should prefer, as a means of facilitating our further conversations, if you would send me a draft of this interpretation first, so that we could still discuss it before it is given final form. I should like, in particular, to emphasize that the discussion on citizenship which we have had was only of an informative nature and that it merely aimed to enlighten me as to the standpoint and views of the Soviet Government in this matter, without affecting any change in the fundamental viewpoint of the Polish Government on this subject. I should like it to be well understood, that in asking you these questions, I do not cease to support entirely our different viewpoint in this matter. I shall inform my Government of the regrettable incidents I communicated to you at the beginning of our conversation to-day and shall also advise them of your assurance that these facts will be investigated without delay and that the result will be made known to me.

MOLOTOV: I shall do so immediately after I receive the explanations.

* In Russian: "*Nie otkazyvayemsia.*"

ROMER: Well, it is always better to clean up all matters in an amicable way, to avoid further incidents that can only complicate the situation.

MOLOTOV: I understand.

ROMER: Do you wish to inform me of the date of our next interview, Mr. Commissar, or is it more convenient to you for me to suggest it?

MOLOTOV: I am at your service, Mr. Ambassador.

4. EXCERPTS FROM AMBASSADOR ROMER'S CONVERSATION WITH MR. MOLOTOV, PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE KREMLIN ON MARCH 18, 1943.

ROMER: In the course of our last conversation, three days ago you promised to send me an explanation in writing concerning the manner in which Soviet laws on citizenship are to be interpreted, and also on a number of events affecting our interests, which occurred in Soviet territory.

MOLOTOV: I must also ask you a question. Did you receive the Decree of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of November 29, 1939? (The Ambassador nods assent.) I shall now answer your question.

During our last conversation I had not at hand the above Decree. On reading it, I saw that the matter of citizenship is quite explicitly dealt with. The text refers to inhabitants of the districts of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia. Within the meaning of this Decree, therefore, any person who was not an inhabitant of these *oblasti* remains a Polish citizen. The Decree deals with this question quite exhaustively and does not require any further elucidation; it says everything there is to say.....

ROMER: To revert to the written interpretation of Soviet legislation on citizenship which you promised to give me during our last conversation, I again emphasize the great importance I attach to receiving it. The Decree actually speaks of inhabitants whereas the Soviet Notes of December 1, 1941, and January 16, 1943, mention persons who found themselves on the contested territories on November 1 and 2, 1939. All this is not clear, and consequently the local authorities interpret their instructions in a divergent and arbitrary fashion.

MOLOTOV: There is no intrinsic difference in the texts, although different expressions are used. We base ourselves on the Decree. I see no need for issuing an interpretation in writing, since obviously the term inhabitant is perfectly understandable. We refer to permanent inhabitants, residing on this territory. What is it, that is not clear in this?

ROMER: Your explanation on this point is valuable to me in itself, but the whole matter nevertheless still presents certain doubts. The question is to define the Soviet principle in accordance with which permanent residence is established.

MOLOTOV: There is no one law in the world that could be applied to all cases arising from life. However detailed a law, it will never decide all possible individual cases. If controversial questions arise, we shall be able to discuss them. Personally, I think, that the law is quite clear.

ROMER: But the application of the law is relevant, the more so as it exposes our citizens to still greater hardships.

MOLOTOV: Is it necessary to explain what inhabitant means? During our last conversation you did not have the text of the Decree. Do you really require additional explanations, although in the meantime we sent you the text of the Decree?

ROMER: I propose, Mr. Commissar, to postpone this discussion until later, so that the concrete cases I intend to present to you may furnish practical illustrations.

MOLOTOV: Willingly I agree, this will be more appropriate.

ROMER: The facts I have to bring to your notice are very painful, because they do not show that the Soviet authorities act in a way consistent with the spirit of friendship that ought to be the rule between our two governments. I shall divide these facts into the following categories:

First: The forcing of Soviet citizenship about which we already have information, fragmentary but sufficient to draw the conclusion that this is a mass procedure ordered by the central authorities and applied to the entire Polish population in the U.S.S.R. This procedure is carried out on lines of moral and physical compulsion that arouse my deepest indignation, as being inadmissible in relations between Allies and in the midst of a hard war against our common enemy. We have proof that Polish citizens, men and women, subjected to this procedure are detained for examination for days on end, that they are even deprived of food and drink to break

their resistance. Such arguments are made use of for this purpose, as statements that there is no longer any Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R., or that Poland no longer exists. Those who resist are thrown into prison. Local authorities do not, as a rule, investigate the place of origin of a given person, and consequently do not respect the differentiation implied in the interpretation of the Soviet law on citizenship that I received from Marshal Stalin and from you.

Second: The taking over by the Soviet authorities, Mr. Commissar, of the relief institutions of the Polish Embassy, a proceeding likewise carried out on a mass scale. These institutions—they number about 570—were created and operated on the basis of agreements between the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Embassy; they were subordinated exclusively to the latter and had at their disposal, in all cases—in larger or smaller measure—Polish State property, equipment, supplies of food, clothing and medicines, school utensils, etc. On grounds unknown to me and in a totally inadmissible manner, the Soviet authorities are taking over these institutions and disposing of them and also of Polish property without the consent of the Embassy, to whom the rightful ownership of and control over these objects belongs. They do not even give any warning of what they intend to do. As regards the taking over the home for invalids and orphanage at Bolshaya Konstantinovka, in the Kuybyshev district, under conditions I described to you during our last interview, the Embassy has received a Note from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, dated March 10, giving as justification for all this that no Polish citizens were found there. This allegation has no foundation in truth. It was precisely Polish citizens refusing to accept Soviet passports who together with the manager of the establishment were expelled from it. The citizenship of children was obviously decided by higher authorities without any investigation, despite opposition put up by the children themselves. I am therefore compelled to state once again, that methods of actual terrorism were employed by the local authorities, methods wholly incompatible with the spirit of Polish-Soviet friendship and collaboration.

MOLOTOV: Mr. Ambassador, it is very easy to speak about friendly understanding in the matter of incidents that have occurred, but here I do not see anything of this sort on your part. Your reproaches on this subject are unfounded and out of place. I shall not reply to them.

However, as regards Polish State property, I already told you the last time and I repeat once more, that all losses will be made good.

If the Embassy should obstruct our action, the result will be anything but good. I see that you do not want to get reconciled to our standpoint, and the Embassy still continues to follow its old line of procedure. This has nothing to do with assurances of friendship. I must remark that the Embassy's attitude towards these problems is strange, for it does not issue instructions in accordance with our laws. No good can result from this. All this is quite incomprehensible to me.

ROMER: Your expostulation, Mr. Commissar, I shall answer later when I substantiate my statement with facts. I will now submit to your consideration a further series of facts, and, in doing so, I would—in connection with point three—emphasize that the Embassy has been exposed of late to various vexations and difficulties. Even I, personally, have trouble when I speak over the telephone with Kuybyshev. Long distance telephone calls of the Embassy are not attended to. An ever increasing number of telegrams from outlying places are not delivered to the Embassy. Callers leaving the Embassy are forced to show their identity papers and are arrested. Worse, cases are known in which such persons have been beaten up in public. If you so desire, I can give further particulars as well as the dates of the incidents. Families of Embassy officials and of employees of institutions under it in outlying districts are forced to accept Soviet passports.

(The Ambassador deals at length with the cases of Mrs. Zagórska, Mrs. Kasińska, Mrs. Maksymowicz, Mrs. Emchowicz, Mrs. Winczewska, Mrs. Wolska and of Messrs. Kulyba, Cygler and Wójtowicz, and shows that none of the persons involved originated from the contested territories or were resident therein.)

I will now revert to the matter touched on by you, Mr. Commissar, concerning the taking over of relief institutions by the Soviet authorities. I am obliged to emphasize, once more, that the Embassy never agreed thereto and was not even notified by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in this matter, and that a policy of accomplished fact is being applied. The institutions are closed down before the question of citizenship of the staff and inmates has been established. This is not indicative of any good will on the part of the Soviet Government. I suggest, on my part, that the local authorities discontinue this action at least until our

conversations have been brought to a close, as they are intended to bring about a friendly settlement of pending difficulties. At the present juncture it is difficult to arrive at an understanding. Whilst we are discussing questions of principle, things are happening out there in the provinces that are apt to change the whole situation. The Polish Government cannot be indifferent to these happenings.

MOLOTOV: I would like to ask, Mr. Ambassador, at what you are actually aiming? We shall verify the individual facts mentioned by you. (Molotov repeats this twice.) What more can you wish? If you start by not recognizing our laws, then all attempts to achieve an understanding will be futile. From the conversations we have had hitherto I have gained the impression that you continue uninterruptedly to maintain your standpoint of not recognizing the Decree of November 29, 1939.

I will make several remarks:

First: I have the impression that what you actually have in mind is that we should ask each individual inhabitant of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia what citizenship he wishes to retain. Here I must state that there can be no question of any individual citizen, who acquires Soviet citizenship by virtue of the Decree declaring his or her consent. That would be contrary to Soviet legislation.

Second: Within the meaning of the Decree the place of birth of a given citizen is irrelevant; what is relevant, however, is whether that citizen resided in the territory of Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia.

Third: I should like to emphasize that if the Embassy hampers our action of issuing passports to Soviet citizens in accordance with our Decree, and if it induces such persons not to accept Soviet passports, then no good will come of it. There will be unnecessary incidents. If, however, the Embassy will cooperate with us in a helpful spirit then we shall be able to investigate individual cases very carefully and rectify any possible mistakes. You certainly do not possess, Mr. Ambassador, general information as to how this whole action is being carried out.

ROMER: On the contrary, Mr. Commissar, I have a large number of facts affecting not only Embassy officials. I can for instance mention the case of Mrs. Sigmund, born and domiciled in Warsaw, now residing at Kustanay, a daughter of the well-known writer Adolph Nowaczyński.

MOLOTOV: We will verify these facts.

ROMER: Persons who know beyond any doubt that even within the meaning of the Decree they may retain their Polish citizenship and who consequently refuse to accept Soviet passports, are sentenced to imprisonment for this in violation of every principle of law. I can in this respect refer to the cases of three employees of the Embassy's warehouse at Kirov who were sentenced each to two years in prison. What I want is that the local authorities should not consider the question of citizenship from different angles, and that we should draw practical conclusions from the facts, Mr. Commissar.

MOLOTOV: Right!

ROMER: I wish to obtain a precise definition of that special category of persons who even from your viewpoint, for all that it does not as we know correspond to our own, remain Polish citizens within the meaning of the Decree.

MOLOTOV: I agree with you, Mr. Ambassador, that persons not falling within the scope of the Decree may be classed separately as Polish citizens. However as Soviet legislation on citizenship is questioned on the Polish side, I must remark that our authorities will execute the legal enactments that are binding upon them. What I am concerned with is that no obstacles, in the nature of a demonstration, be placed in the way of these orders.

ROMER: The Embassy never did anything of the sort, but on the contrary always advised Polish citizens to loyally obey orders of the authorities. On the other hand, our citizens must have the possibility of appealing to the superior authorities and also to their Embassy, against decisions which they consider legally unjustified. I may add that, as bearers of Soviet passports thrust upon them by sheer force, they are—under severe penalties—deprived of the possibility of applying to the Polish Embassy and that they would likewise not be in a position to appeal against the unjust decisions of which they may be victims. I am, therefore, first of all anxious to make sure that Soviet authorities do not wrongly interpret the rules set down by the law. Besides, I should like to point out once more, that the local authorities compel the Polish population by various means to accept Soviet passports and that they destroy and deride their national identity papers, which justifies the terms used by me in presenting this matter. I recall that according to the statements of Marshal Stalin, the free will of the persons concerned was also to be an important factor in deciding the question of citizenship. Do

you authorize me to assure my Government that in the future, at least pending the termination of our conversations, the method of compulsion in the question of citizenship will be abandoned?

MOLOTOV: I do not agree, Mr. Ambassador, I cannot agree. The authorities are carrying out the Soviet law on citizenship, and they cannot remain passive in the face of resistance. You refer to your conversation with Comrade Stalin and you say, you had the impression that he made the matter of citizenship dependent upon an expression of will. The case of Wanda Wasilewska was mentioned then, and the question was whether she wished to be a Polish or a Soviet citizen. Such individual cases may arise, when Polish citizens not falling within the scope of the Decree are concerned. But it appears, Mr. Ambassador, that you wish that every citizen be asked his opinion.

ROMER: I should like to further discuss the category of persons of incontestable citizenship.

MOLOTOV: We will verify these cases.

ROMER: The local authorities undoubtedly are acquainted with a series of successive Soviet legal enactments of various dates, the Amnesty Decree, the Note of December 1, 1941, the Note of January 16, 1943. The contents of these documents differ in each case. This leads to a variety of interpretations and is a source of confusion for local authorities, as they do not know how to proceed with regard to Polish citizens, and unnecessary incidents arise. In my view—quite apart from the conflict of principle existing between us—the local authorities ought to receive more precise instructions.

MOLOTOV: If local authorities have applied the law wrongly, Mr. Ambassador, we shall check these facts. But, I should like to remark that the Decree on Citizenship of November 29, 1939, and the Soviet Note of January 16, 1943, constitute the basis of action by our authorities.

ROMER: I revert to the discussion we had at the beginning of our conversation to-day. A more precise definition of the terminology used in Soviet legislation as to who is a resident of the contested territories will contribute to remove friction and difficulties.

MOLOTOV: I do not see any need or necessity to further elaborate such a definition. We shall never reach an ideal formula. Everybody understands what is meant by inhabitant. It is better to deal with these cases individually.

ROMER: There can be no question of individual cases since the authorities apply the law to all and compel even persons, incontestably Polish citizens in the meaning of Soviet law itself, to accept Soviet passports.

MOLOTOV: These facts must be verified.

ROMER: I am in possession of accurate information. Nine days ago you promised to send me an interpretation in writing. The facts occurring throughout the country are becoming more numerous and causing many unnecessary additional difficulties.

MOLOTOV: There will be no difficulties; the local authorities apply the laws correctly.

ROMER: I revert now to the matter of Embassy institutions and relief establishments taken over by Soviet authorities. Would you be willing to authorize me to assure the Polish Government that this action will be suspended at least for the duration of the conversations now proceeding between us?

MOLOTOV: The principal consideration by which we are actuated is that the condition of the Polish population should not be impaired. I do not exactly know how far the transfer of these institutions to Soviet administration has been accomplished. But I can state that the entire property of the Embassy and all the possessions of the Polish State will be restored in full or compensation paid.

ROMER: In each of these 570 institutions are objects belonging to the Polish State. I make the formal proposal that the action of taking over these establishments be stayed until we reach an agreement.

MOLOTOV: The interests of the Embassy shall be safeguarded in any case.

ROMER: But here we deal with the infringement of property rights and management of these Embassy institutions.

MOLOTOV: To avoid misunderstandings, let me quote an example: if butter was taken away, the same quantity of butter will be returned.

ROMER: Is the Administration of the said institutions being changed?

MOLOTOV: You will understand that at present a large number of persons belonging to the management have turned out to be Soviet citizens.

ROMER: It would appear to be fairer, if the questions themselves were first cleared up and deductions reached later, after this has been done. Meantime the institutions should be able to carry on as heretofore. Moreover, there are many children there whose citizenship has not yet even been verified.

MOLOTOV: There are institutions where the employees may have been ill or unable to fulfill their duties, and others which do not function properly. For this reason the Soviet administration was bound to intervene and appoint people who will better fulfill their tasks. The procedure, Mr. Ambassador, is of no importance, what really counts is that the population should not suffer.

ROMER: Only the Embassy could decide who worked well in its own institutions. I really do not see any valid grounds on which the local authorities can interfere in the matter. And I must further remark that the Embassy issues instructions to these institutions, supplies them with funds and assistance in kind, and that it is not even notified when they pass into other hands. This causes unprecedented and most harmful confusion.

MOLOTOV: The main thing, Mr. Ambassador, is that the material condition of the population should not suffer.

ROMER: Have any instructions been given out by the central authorities for these institutions to be taken over? Why were we not notified of this in advance?

MOLOTOV: I repeat once more that the central authorities, acting on the grounds of the decision of the People's Commissars of January 15, 1943, gave categorical orders to the local authorities that the taking over of these institutions by the Soviet Administration must not entail any hardship on the population. But I wish to emphasize that the Embassy will have very little to say in the matter of institutions whose staff and inmates are now for the most part Soviet citizens. The majority of these people acquired Soviet citizenship by virtue of our Note of January 16, 1943. Today is March 18, and the whole matter is now about to be closed.

ROMER: How could it happen that the Embassy was not previously notified of this decision nor of the orders issued under it which do not respect Polish State property? Besides, this is wholly contrary to our previous agreements, under which the relief institutions of the Embassy were called into being.

MOLOTOV: The authorities have received instructions to the

effect that the situation of the Polish population must not suffer any deterioration.

ROMER: It is also our concern, and it was precisely thanks to the work of the Embassy in the field that the Polish population was provided with substantial relief.

MOLOTOV: The Embassy will not lose a farthing.

ROMER: That matter, in truth, is secondary. But the violation of principle is inadmissible.

MOLOTOV: Persons who are found to be Soviet citizens must obey the orders of the authorities who are—as a matter of fact—concerned in not allowing the situation of the population to deteriorate. The authorities have been instructed to see to this, irrespective of the sentiments of individual persons.

ROMER: I must emphasize once more that the taking over, by an officially recorded act, of relief institutions belonging to the Embassy is illegal and incompatible with their interests, as well as with those of persons benefited by them.

MOLOTOV: What are you aiming at?

ROMER: I want the transfer of these establishments to the Soviet Administration to be suspended. I repeat my question whether I may assure my Government that this will be done?

MOLOTOV: I have already told you that the central authorities formally ordered the local authorities to take over these institutions. Apart from this, these institutions have now become Soviet institutions, since the persons serving them are now Soviet citizens. The inviolability of the property of the Polish State will be safeguarded.

ROMER: How do you contemplate the question of further relief in kind now due to arrive, bought or ordered abroad by the Polish Government and already shipped with the collaboration of Allied Powers, or donated by friendly Governments and welfare institutions in allied and neutral countries? I am now looking at the practical side of the problem.

MOLOTOV: In principle, I regard all assistance as being desirable if it serves the interests of the Polish population. I am ready to discuss this matter separately.

ROMER: Finally, I would like to ask you, Mr. Commissar, to give me an assurance that compulsory methods in the matter of citizenship will not be applied.

MOLOTOV: I regard this demand as unfounded, since our Administration is proceeding in accordance with the instructions.

ROMER: Then I have no other choice but to appeal to my Government. And may I count on receiving a written interpretation of the term inhabitant, as contained in the Decree of November 29, 1939?

MOLOTOV: I have already answered this question, Mr. Ambassador.

No. 88

Note of April 25, 1943, from Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Romer, Polish Ambassador in the U.S.S.R., severing relations between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government.

Moscow, April 26, 1943.

Mr. Ambassador,

On behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honor to notify the Polish Government of the following:

The Soviet Government consider the recent behavior of the Polish Government with regard to the U.S.S.R. as entirely abnormal, and violating all regulations and standards of relations between two Allied States. The slanderous campaign hostile to the Soviet Union launched by the German Fascists in connection with the murder of the Polish officers, which they themselves committed in the Smolensk area on territory occupied by German troops, was at once taken up by the Polish Government and is being fanned in every way by the Polish official press.

Far from offering a rebuff to the vile Fascist slander of the U.S.S.R., the Polish Government did not even find it necessary to address to the Soviet Government any inquiry or request for an explanation on this subject.

Having committed a monstrous crime against the Polish officers, the Hitlerite authorities are now staging a farcical investigation, and for this they have made use of certain Polish pro-Fascist elements whom they themselves selected in occupied Poland where everything is under Hitler's heel, and where no honest Pole can openly have his say.

For the "investigation," both the Polish Government and the Hitlerite Government invited the International Red Cross, which is compelled, in conditions of a terroristic regime, with its gallows and mass extermination of the peaceful population, to take part

in this investigation farce staged by Hitler. Clearly such an "investigation," conducted behind the back of the Soviet Government, cannot evoke the confidence of people possessing any degree of honesty.

The fact that the hostile campaign against the Soviet Union commenced simultaneously in the German and Polish press, and was conducted along the same lines, leaves no doubt as to the existence of contact and accord in carrying out this hostile campaign between the enemy of the Allies—Hitler—and the Polish Government.

While the peoples of the Soviet Union bleeding profusely in a hard struggle against Hitlerite Germany, are straining every effort for the defeat of the common enemy of the Russian and Polish peoples, and of all freedom-loving democratic countries, the Polish Government, to please Hitler's tyranny, has dealt a treacherous blow to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government is aware that this hostile campaign against the Soviet Union is being undertaken by the Polish Government in order to exert pressure upon the Soviet Government by making use of the slanderous Hitlerite fake for the purpose of wresting from it territorial concessions at the expense of the interests of the Soviet Ukraine, Soviet Byelorussia and Soviet Lithuania.

All these circumstances compel the Soviet Government to recognize that the present Government of Poland, having slid on the path of accord with Hitler's Government, has actually discontinued allied relations with the U.S.S.R., and has adopted a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union.

On the strength of the above, the Soviet Government has decided to sever relations with the Polish Government.

MOLOTOV.

No. 89

Note of April 26, 1943, from Mr. Romer, the Polish Ambassador, to Mr. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, stating his reasons for refusing to accept the Soviet Note severing relations between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of Poland.

Moscow, April 26, 1943.

Mr. People's Commissar,

You were good enough to receive me today at 0.15 a.m. at your own invitation and for the purpose of reading to me a Note dated

April 25, 1943, signed by yourself and addressed to me, notifying me of the decision of the Soviet Government to sever relations with the Polish Government. Upon hearing the text of the Note, I declared that there was nothing I could do but accept with regret the news of this decision of the Soviet Government, which will be held fully and exclusively responsible for this step. At the same time, however, I most emphatically refused to be a party to the motives and conclusions set forth in the Note that was read to me, and which ascribed to the Polish Government in an inadmissible form, conduct and intentions entirely inconsistent with the facts, thus making it impossible for me to accept your Note. I stated, moreover, that contrary to the allegations contained in the Note, the Polish Government had striven for close on two years to obtain from the Soviet Government information concerning the fate of the missing Polish officers, and had as recently as the 20 inst. returned to this matter in a Note to Ambassador Bogomolov.

Since despite my refusal to accept the Note, I received it later at my hotel in a sealed envelope of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to return it herewith in conformity with my attitude as set forth above.

I have the honor to be

ROMER.

No. 90

Statement of the Polish Government of April 28, 1943, concerning the decision of the Soviet Government to sever relations with the Polish Government.

The following statement was issued on April 28, 1943, by the Polish Government in London:—

The Polish Government emphatically declare that their policy aiming at a mutual friendly understanding between Poland and Soviet Russia on the basis of the integrity and full sovereignty of the Republic of Poland was and continues to be fully supported by the Polish nation.

Conscious of their responsibility towards their own nation and towards the Allies, whose unity and solidarity the Polish Government consider to be the cornerstone of future victory, they were the

first to approach the Soviet Government with a proposal for an understanding, in spite of the many tragic events that had taken place from the moment of the entry of the Soviet Armies on the territory of the Republic, that is from the day of September 17, 1939.

Having settled their relations with Soviet Russia by the Agreement of July 30, 1941, and by the Declaration of December 4, 1941, the Polish Government have strictly discharged their obligations.

Acting in close union with their Government, the Polish nation, making unheard of sacrifices, fights unswervingly in Poland and abroad against the German invader. It produced no traitor Quisling and accepted no collaboration with Germany. In the light of facts known throughout the world, the Polish nation and the Polish Government have no need to defend themselves from any charge of contact or understanding with Hitler.

In a public statement of April 17, 1943, the Polish Government categorically denied to Germany the right to abuse the tragedy of Polish officers for her own perfidious aims. They unhesitatingly denounced the effort of Nazi propaganda to create mistrust between the Allies. About the same time a Note was sent to the Soviet Ambassador accredited to the Polish Government asking once again for information which would help to elucidate the fate of the missing officers.

The Polish nation and the Polish Government look to the future. They appeal in the name of the unity of the Allies and of elementary human principles for the release from the U.S.S.R. of the thousands of families of soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces, engaged in the fight or preparing in Great Britain and the Middle East to take their part in the fight, tens of thousands of Polish orphans and children for the education of whom they would take full responsibility and who now, in view of the German mass slaughter, are particularly precious to the Polish people. The Polish Army, in waging the war against Germany needs as reinforcements all Polish men able to fight who now find themselves on Soviet soil. The Polish Government appeal for their release. They reserve their right to plead the cause of all these persons before the world. Finally, the Polish Government appeal for the continuation of relief for the mass of Polish citizens who remain in Russia.

In defending the integrity of the Republic of Poland, which accepted the war with the Third Reich, the Polish Government never

claimed and do not claim, in accordance with their statement of February 25, 1943, any Soviet territories.

It is and will be the duty of every Polish Government to defend the rights of Poland and of Polish citizens. The principles for which the United Nations fight, and the strengthening by all means of their solidarity in this struggle against the common enemy, remain the unchanging bases of the policy of the Polish Government.

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